

Cultural Impressions of the wolf, with specific reference to the man-eating wolf in
England

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Summary

An examination of attitudes towards the wolf, specifically the man-eating wolf in England. Recent studies by zoologists have claimed that the wolf does not fully merit the bad reputation afforded it by many individuals and groups. In particular it has been claimed that the wolf rarely, if ever, eats people. This contradicts legends, historical records and other accounts.

This study examines the history of the wolf in England and the various sources which were available, and likely to have influenced impressions of the animal. Because the wolf has been extinct in England for approximately six hundred years it is likely that such impressions were and are formed by sources other than direct observation.

The results of a questionnaire which ascertained the opinions of 187 people, mostly in England, about wolves are included.

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References

For the first reference to a text within a chapter the full bibliographical reference is given in a footnote. Subsequent references to the same text within that chapter are shortened to author's name or names and shortened title.

Most of the American newspapers cited in the text and bibliography were viewed online and page numbers were not cited.

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Introduction

*"The truth is we know little of the wolf. What we know more about is what we imagine the wolf to be."*¹

The wolf, *canis lupus*, has been despised and persecuted by humanity for centuries. Reasons for this hatred include a fear of competition for prey, a desire to protect livestock and a belief that wolves eat people, especially children. This last belief is recorded in the folklore, oral traditions and historical records of many different cultures. Despite this recent studies show that wolves rarely kill people and most stories of wolves eating people cannot be substantiated.²

Scientific observations of wild wolves describe an animal that is essentially timid and eager to avoid humans wherever possible.³ In one area it was noticed that the number of wolf scats left on public trails was reduced significantly during times when the public had access.⁴ This strongly implied that wolves consciously move away from areas where humans are present. The elusiveness of wolves has allowed men to build myths and form superstitions about them, in the absence of direct observation. Cohen noted that wolves were ideal subjects for allegorical representations as they existed on the periphery of human society in dark, gloomy forests where people rarely ventured.⁵ These dense forests filled gaps between villages and, before the advent of artificial lighting, were largely avoided, especially at night. They were home not only to wolves and other animals but also outlaws and criminals. The term wolfs-head denotes an outlaw in the laws of Edward the Confessor and was used in this context for several

¹ Lopez, B. H., *Of Wolves and Men*, Toronto, J M Dent, 1978, p.3.

² Linnell, J. D. C., ed., *The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans*, Trondheim, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, 2002.

³ My only encounter with a wild wolf resulted in the animal running away as we approached.

⁴ Peterson, R. O., "The Wolves of Isle Royale, New Developments", In E. Klinghammer, ed., *The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves. Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves*, London, Garland STPM Press, 1979, p. 14.

⁵ Cohen, E., 'Animals in Mediaeval Perceptions, the Image of the Ubiquitous Other', In Manning, A., and Serpell, J., eds, *Animals and Human Society*, London, Routledge, 1994, p. 64.

centuries afterwards.⁶ In its preferred habitat the wolf became associated with evil and stories of wolf attacks on people cemented this image.

Bernard Heuvelmans pointed out that assumed savage beasts rarely attack men, unless injured, provoked or startled.⁷ Heuvelmans further notes that animals such as the mountain gorilla and giant panda were assumed to be hostile prior to their official discovery.⁸ Science soon revealed such images as false and they were quickly discarded. It has also declared the popular image of the wolf to be false but, as yet, this has not been discarded. Neither panda nor gorilla are indigenous to Western Europe and any beliefs concerning them in European culture are therefore relatively new. Beliefs about the wolf are much deeper engrained and therefore harder to dislodge, if indeed they are false.

Alternatively it is possible that the zoologists are wrong. The vast majority of modern wolf studies have been carried out in North America and Canada where wolves have little contact with people. Similar studies in areas where wolves live in closer proximity to human settlements may yield different results. It may also be the case that wolves feared humans less in the days before guns and when the wolf population was much higher. One would be unwise to consider the behaviour of wolves in one time and location to be an accurate depiction of their behaviour in all other places at all other times.

The aim of this study is to examine beliefs about wolves, especially man-eating wolves in England over a period of time. This is more a study of ideology, psychology and folklore than of history or zoology. Each chapter will look at a different aspect but although the structure is chronological it is not intended to form a complete history. In this introduction a brief general history of human-wolf relationships will be outlined, identifying individual topics that will be explored throughout the course of the text.

⁶ Laws of Edward the Confessor, vi. c.1000 in Thorpe, B., ed., Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, Comprising Laws Enacted Under the Anglo-Saxon Kings from Ethelbert to Cnut with an English

Translation of the Saxon, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1840. Horwood, A. J., ed. and trans., Yearbooks of the Reign of King Edward the First, Years XX and XXI, London, Longmans Green, 1866, p. 237.

⁷ Heuvelmans, B., trans. R. Garnett, On the Track of Unknown Animals, London, Rupert Hart Davis, 1962, p. 383.

⁸ Ibid., pp. xxiii-xxiv

Varieties of wild wolves presently survive in all continents except Australia. In most parts of the world they are rare, having been eradicated completely in England by c.1509, Scotland c.1743⁹, Ireland c. 1776, Japan c. 1910 and France c. 1920 although some wolves have now returned to France. Wolves currently occupy just five percent of the territory they formerly roamed in the United States and have been eliminated from fifteen of the twenty three European countries where they were once common.¹⁰ The main explanation for this is hunting by humans.

Ziswiler identified three motives for the basic principle of hunting; profit, fear of competition and the urge to kill.¹¹ A fourth, of no relevance to wolves, is the desire for food.¹² Fear of disease may be postulated as a fifth reason although the spreading of disease through animals was not always recognised.

Profit is not a significant motivation for the destroyers of wolves. The high prestige attached to wolf skins offers some reward to poachers but generally they can find richer, and easier, pickings elsewhere as the wolf's skin is too brittle to possess any real commercial value in the clothing industry.¹³ In most cases he is hunted as an assumed threat to livestock and people. Subsequent chapters in this study will examine the evidence which supports this view and will also consider statistics which suggest that wolf predation on domestic animals is often overstated.

Economic motivations cannot be the only explanation for humanity's disproportionate hatred of the wolf. In the United States wolves were eliminated from virtually all areas when economic interests only required their removal from livestock-

⁹ There are plans to reintroduce wolves to Scotland. A wild wolf was supposedly seen in Aberdeenshire in 2000, *Press and Journal*, 21/08/2000.

¹⁰ Linnell, p. 18, includes a table showing the status of wolves around the world.

¹¹ Ziswiler, V., rev., and trans., F. Bryne and P. Bryne, *Extinct and Vanishing Animals*, New York, Longmans, 1967, p. 1.

¹² Wolf meat does not appear to have been consumed anywhere as a matter of course. However there was a belief in the early Middle Ages that eating the flesh of a wolf helped cure sickness and poor eyesight, Delcote, J., ed., *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitats buchandlung, 1914, p. 21. There is a story, probably apocryphal that a sportsman served wolf cutlets to his friends, *The Times*, 29/10/1859, p. 6c.

¹³ However Harting, J. E., *A Short History of the Wolf in Britain*, Whitstable, Pryor Publications, 1994, p. 43, notes a Canterbury will dated 1573 which bequeathed a gown faced with wolf skin.

producing areas.¹⁴ Other predators also threaten livestock and have not been hunted so vigorously. Ideological reasons for this different treatment of the wolf should be considered.

One possible reason is that the wolf presented a threat to humans by its freedom. In predominantly Christian cultures which believed that all animals were created to serve mankind this was considered unacceptable. As a predator of lambs, the symbol of Christ, the wolf became associated with the devil. Cultures not influenced heavily by Christian belief and industrialisation do not possess the same dislike of the wolf. Native Americans admire the wolf for its hunting abilities although they will kill individual wolves when they consider it necessary.¹⁵ If wolves were a consistent and constant threat to humans then this discrepancy between attitudes would not be so apparent.

Attempting to analyse beliefs about the wolf over a wide geographical range would cause insurmountable problems in terms of identifying cultural differences so it is necessary to limit research to one particular area, in this case England, where the wolf has been extinct for several centuries and there are no widely known surviving tales of wolves eating people. Wolves can be viewed in England in zoos and wildlife parks with sixteen private individuals licensed to keep them in 2000.¹⁶ The beliefs that English people hold in respect of wolves are unlikely to be based on direct contact with wolves. Identifying these beliefs may help us understand how they developed and to evaluate their cultural significance.

To help determine what impressions are held about the wolf in England today a questionnaire was designed and distributed. This was comprised of eighteen questions which are discussed more fully in the appendix to this volume. The first four of these questions related to age, location and gender which were included in order to ascertain if these factors affected impressions of the wolf and also to demonstrate that the questionnaire had been disseminated to a diverse audience across the whole of

¹⁴ Documents describing this process are included in Mc Intrye, R., ed., War Against the Wolf, Stillwater, Voyager, 1995.

¹⁵ See Stevenson, R, and Aghook, B., "The Eskimo Hunter's View of Wolf Ecology and Behavior", In M. W. Fox, ed., The Behaviour of Wolves, Dogs and Related Canids, London, Cape, 1971, pp. 286-291.

¹⁶ Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, 2, (2002), 7.

England. Question five asked the religion of the respondent. This was intended to demonstrate a diverse sample and to see if it could be established that certain religious groups had different opinions about wolves.

Questions six asked when the wolf became extinct in England and question seven asked if wolves only lived in forests. These questions, along with question thirteen which asked if wolves existed in ten specified countries, were intended to ascertain how much the respondents actually knew about wolves.

Questions eight to twelve were concerned with what the respondents believed about wolves. They asked if wolves eat people and if wolves should be hunted. These were important to compare with the knowledge questions.

The most important questions were those from fourteen to eighteen which attempted to identify the sources, specific and general, which had influenced impressions of wolves. Replies to all the questions, apart from the first four, were directly relevant to individual chapters of the thesis and are discussed there. The first four were intended to show to the diversity of the sample and it was important to devise a system of dissemination that included people in several different locations, with England, from different age groups and representing both genders.

The recipients were selected by a variety of methods. Many had connections to various literary magazines to which the compiler of this study was submitting material. Some requested questionnaires following a request at the end of an article, written by the compiler or other requests posted on electronic and conventional notice boards at universities and general internet communities.¹⁷ None of these communities were connected to wolves. Other people were given questionnaires by friends and relatives of the compiler. The editor of the mediaeval journal Oriflamme was amongst those who distributed questionnaires to his subscribers. The compiler further distributed some questionnaires by personal contact to individuals in Sheffield, Birmingham, Rugeley, and Brighton. All replies were anonymous, except for some of those returned by email or where the respondent volunteered personal information. The majority of

¹⁷ Williams, P., "The Big Bad Wolf and his Vegan Friends, The Vegan, Spring 2001, p. 21.

the respondents were either unknown to the compiler of the study or could not easily be identified. There are however possibilities that not all the replies were independently produced; for example four replies received in one envelope might indicate that a family or other group consulted each other. The advertising of the questionnaire might be considered to have attracted people who had an existing or previous interest in wolves but it could also be said that people who had no interest in wolves might be less inclined to return the questionnaire.

The method of distributing the questionnaire was unconventional due to the necessity of obtaining a diverse sample of attitudes from people living in different parts of the country and representing all age groups and both genders. If it had been more localised then a random sample of people could have been selected by more orthodox methods. However it was essential not to restrict the dissemination of the questionnaire by focusing on particular geographical locations within England. For this reason the questionnaires distributed by personal contact were in very different areas and in equal proportion. It might have been possible to obtain lists of voters in different areas and pick individuals at random to ensure a greater geographical balance. Such a procedure could also have ensured a greater balance between genders. However it would not have taken the age of the respondents into consideration, omitting children for instance. Age and gender were considered to be important for assessing the answers to the questions which asked about influential sources. For this reason it was considered better to adopt the methods of distribution outlined above. The compiler knew that the magazine editors receiving questionnaires represented different age groups and both genders.

There were no restrictions placed on the race, gender, or religion of the respondents. The only pre-requisite for completion of the survey was that the respondent should be living in England, or have spent some time there. However the nature of the random distribution saw a few questionnaires returned from other countries, including other parts of the British Isles, and these were included in the final analysis as it seemed unreasonable to exclude them without evidence that the respondents in question had no connection to England. Questionnaires were returned from many different parts of England from respondents in different age groups and representing both genders.

Copies were distributed by post and email between 01 June 1999 and 31 December 2002. 200 replies were anticipated, a convenient round number for statistical analysis, but only 187 were received. Nevertheless this constituted an acceptable sample.

The aims of the questionnaire were to establish what English people know about wolves and more importantly what they believe about wolves. Although no comparable survey has been conducted before interesting information can be gleaned from research projects in related fields. For example Widdowson studied the use of animals as threatening figures in systems of social control in Newfoundland with reference to England.¹⁸ There were 115 citations of individual animals, two of them being the wolf which is extinct in Newfoundland.¹⁹ The wolf also featured in the English data collated by Widdowson, despite being extinct there too.²⁰

In some countries there have been surveys asking the public questions about wolves, usually for the purpose of influencing government policy towards wolves. These have been distributed in America where wolf reintroduction has occurred and in parts of Europe where wolf reintroduction has been considered by the authorities. In most cases the compilers of the surveys have prejudicial agendas. A survey in Spain revealed that 53% of gamekeepers felt that the wolf should be eradicated.²¹ In France a survey by the Group Loup received a more favourable response.²² Another survey, conducted in 1998, revealed that nearly half of Minnesota adults felt that the wolf posed a threat and should be controlled but most opposed hunting.²³ Such surveys are few and, in isolation, do not explain why people are opposed to wolves. Nor do they attempt to compare attitudes. Usually they are short, consisting of two or three direct questions, and are often designed and distributed by individuals or groups with fixed

¹⁸ Widdowson, J. D. A., "Animals as Threatening Figures in Systems of Traditional Social Control", In J. R. Porter, and W. M. S. Russell, eds., Animals in Folklore, London, D S Brewer, 1978, pp. 133-141.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 137.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 139-140.

²¹ Blanco, J. C., Reig., S., and de la Cuesta, L., "Distribution, Status, and Conservation Problems of the wolf, *Canis Lupus*, in Spain", Biological Conservation, 60, (1991), 77.

²² Anon., Proposals of the Group Loup France for an active policy for wolf protection in France, Council of Administration of Group Loup France, 01/06/1998.

²³ Duluth News Tribune, 27/12/1998.

agendas. In addition they are localised. The present questionnaire differed in terms of the nature and number of the questions and also because of its wider dissemination.

To identify factors which shape attitudes towards wolves it is first necessary to test knowledge of wolves. Attitudes stem from perceived awareness and if it can be demonstrated that such awareness is based on ignorance then it becomes clear that further education about wolves is required to alter such attitudes in current and future generations. The questionnaire was deliberately general, was not intended to be used in conjunction with any other project and neither anticipated nor desired any given set of results. Any conclusions reached after the analysis of the gathered data are the compiler's own interpretation and were not predetermined.

Throughout the chapters of this study the answers given to specific questions in the questionnaire will be considered. Firstly the history of the wolf in England will be summarised and analysed in conjunction with the answers given to question six which asked when wolves became extinct in England.

The first chapter will briefly outline the history of the wolf in England. The second chapter will look at the historical sources that describe wolves, and their possible influence. It is primarily concerned with sources that influenced, or had the potential to influence, impressions of the wolf in England over a period of time.

The third chapter will examine twentieth century works of zoologists and the picture of the wolf which they now present. This will provide a template to compare with selected historical cases of wolves eating people as described in chapter four.

The fifth chapter will consider the impact of Christian symbolism on connotations of the wolf in England. The sixth chapter will consider the belief in the werewolf and how this influenced beliefs about wolves.

The seventh chapter will look at selected works of fiction featuring wolves and discuss their impact. Fiction, and film, are influential sources in the modern world.

The eighth chapter will examine reports of the wolf in The Times newspaper during the nineteenth century and consider their influence. As well as highlighting a

particular, and significant, source this will enable a comparison between nineteenth-century and twentieth-century attitudes towards wolves.

The ninth chapter will look at reports of children being raised by wolves in India during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In India there are several cases of wolves eating people, some of which are discussed in chapter four, although the Indian wolf should not be confused with the European wolf. Chapter nine will focus on a more benevolent image of the wolf.

Finally the above chapters will be summarised and comments made on the current status of the wolf, in ideology and reality.

The English Wolf

There are few mentions of the wolf in extant English records. That wolves did once roam the countryside is attested by prehistoric remains and sporadic references in extant literature and documents. Skulls and teeth of ancient wolves found in various locations around the country can be viewed in museums and private collections. However apart from imported artefacts, such as the Lorraine flask (c.450BC) which has a wolf's head and a thirteenth century English ring with the heart-shaped bezel set inside a wolf's tooth, there are few other relics which have survived.²⁴

The only detailed study of the wolf in England was compiled by Harting in the late nineteenth century.²⁵ He felt that the wolf became extinct in England at the start of the sixteenth century. This date is not always accepted. According to Kendall, who received the information from an unspecified authority, the last English wolves were killed in the New Forest in the late fourteenth century, at Bolton Priory in Wharfedale, Yorkshire in 1306 and in Whitby in 1396.²⁶ Given the survival of wolves in Scotland for at least three centuries after this date it is at least possible that wolves survived in Cumbria, Northumberland and Yorkshire for a while longer. The Rolls of Disbursement for Whitby Abbey show the tanning of thirteen wolf skins in 1395, implying that there were several wolves in that area then.²⁷ It is unlikely that wolf skins would be imported in such a small quantity. However four imported wolf skins reached London in the early fourteenth century, allegedly for usage in medicine.²⁸ Yalden in his History of British Mammals, concluded that the last reliable records of wolves in England dated to the fourteenth century and there is no reason to disagree with this.²⁹

Wolves were mentioned by Manwood in his treatise of 1615, although he did not believe they were still in England then, but were not referred to in a later treatise by

²⁴ Jones, M., The Secret Middle Ages, Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 2002, p. 17.

²⁵ Harting, J. E., A Short History of the Wolf.

²⁶ Kendall, H. P., History of the Abbey of Whitby, Whitby, Horne and Son, p. 115.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁸ Thomas, A. H., ed., Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls of the City of London, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1925, p. 51.

²⁹ Yalden, D., The History of British Mammals, London, T & A D Poyser, 1999. p. 168.. He did not refer to the Whitby Rolls.

Cooke.³⁰ The absence of references to the wolf in seventeenth and eighteenth century English hunting treatises indicate that it was extinct in England by that time. Sir John Oliver said, during the Earl of Stafford's trial for treason in 1641, that beasts of chase were given a chance to escape but it was fine to kill wolves and foxes as beast of prey wherever they could be found.³¹ However this does not confirm that wolves were still extant in England at this time as he could have been using a metaphor. Philip Sidney in 1577 was telling German scholars that no wolves existed in England outside of private collections.³² He referred to an ancient law which allowed some criminals to avoid punishment by procuring wolf heads and tongues.³³ Details of such a law, if it existed, are no longer extant.

There is not only a debate concerning the date of the wolf's extinction in England but also the reasons for that extinction. Dent felt that the economic importance of the wool trade to England explained why the wolf was exterminated at a relatively early date.³⁴ He described a revolution in sheep husbandry following the removal of the wolf, as this permitted twenty four hour grazing. Certainly the wolf survived in other areas of the United Kingdom for much longer although its elimination in Scotland, Ireland and Wales apparently did not coincide with an increase in the importance of the sheep industry there. There are several proverbs on the wolf and sheep theme.³⁵ They include "*While you trust to the dog the wolf slips in the sheepfold*", "*Two Wolves may worry one sheep*", and "*Dust raised by the sheep doesn't choke the wolf*".³⁶ Along with others they may have been well known in England during the Middle Ages but there is no evidence to confirm this. The wolf was already extinct by the time that they are known to have appeared in writing.

³⁰ Manwood, J., A Treatise of the Laws of the Forest, London, 1656, reprinted Amsterdam, Waller J Johnson, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1976, p.39. Cooke, E., Institutes of the Laws of England, 1794-1897, 4th edition, ch. 73.

³¹ Oliver, Sir John, An Argument Concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treason of Thomas, Earl of Stratford, London, n.s, 1641, 72.

³² Holtgen, K. J., "Why are there no wolves in England?" Anglia, 99, (1981), 60-82.

³³ Ibid., p. 72.

³⁴ Dent, A., "The Last Wolves in Yorkshire and in England", Bulletin of the Cleveland and Teesside Local History Society, 43, (1982), 18.

³⁵ See Smith, W. G., rev. P. Harvey, The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, Oxford, Clarendon, 1948.

³⁶ According to the above dictionary the first extant record of these proverbs in England are 1732, 1641 and 1732 respectively.

Sources from Saxon and Norman times do not indicate the existence of a widespread hostility towards the wolf. On the contrary Harting believed that Anglo-Saxon names such as Eadwulf (Noble Wolf), Berthwulf (Industrious Wolf), and Ealdwulf (Old Wolf), indicated a certain respect for the wolf.³⁷ To these might be added Byrhtwulf (Bright Wolf) and others. The first volume of English Historical Documents, edited by Dorothy Whitelock contains 82 charters, grants of property and other legal documents from 672 to 1035, with names of signatories and others mentioned including nineteen compound names starting with Wulf and sixteen ending in Wulf.³⁸ It has been pointed out that such names belong consistently to persons of high rank.³⁹ Although extant historical records understandably concentrate on the social elite it is noteworthy that none of the people mentioned in lower groups had a wolf name.

It would appear that in Mediaeval England wolves were hunted by the elite for the purposes of sport. Controlled populations of wolves were allowed to live in specific areas for hunting. The principle of this is similar to modern wolf reintroduction schemes in the U.S.A where the wolf may live in permitted areas but outside of those boundaries may be removed. The historical evidence, such as it is, indicates that wolves were hunted in England in a manner akin to the way in which the fox is currently hunted, as sport with no intention of removing the species. Traps would be set and precautions taken against the wolf when it interfered with human requirements but it was not pursued by hunters determined to eliminate the species.

However there is evidence of a gradual change in attitude as there are some references, during the thirteenth century, to noblemen being granted land in return for driving away wolves and other animals. The most widely quoted such document was issued on May 14th 1281: "*The King to all his bailiffs, etc, greetings. Ye are to know that we have enjoined our beloved and trusted Peter Corbett to capture and destroy wolves wherever they may be found in all the forests, parks, and other places within our counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Shropshire and Stafford, by every*

³⁷ Harting, A Short History of the Wolf, p. 10.

³⁸ Whitelock, D., ed., English Historical Documents, Volume 1, London, Eyre Methuen, 1955.

³⁹ Unpublished information from Stephen Kellett.

means that should appear efficacious, employing men, hounds, and his own native cunning and for that reason we command that you assist him with the same end in view."⁴⁰

From such orders we may infer that wolves were regarded as a menace but there is no record of an organised national campaign against them. Boitani claimed otherwise, suggesting that the Celts hunted wolves in the third and fourth centuries BC with trained wolf hounds.⁴¹ They may have done, he fails to cite his sources, but wolves survived in England for much longer.

In another article Boitani, in conjunction with Zimen, stated that the hunting and extermination of wolves was economically motivated.⁴² This was the case in some countries at certain times but probably not in England where the extinction of wolves was not necessarily caused by direct human predation.⁴³ Other factors such as the destruction of forest habitat, a possible decline in prey species and disease should be considered. It may be true that the population of wolves in England was never very high, the virtual absence of the animal in extant mediaeval writings would suggest this, and could not be reinforced by migration from elsewhere. Saxon place-names featuring wolves might argue for a high number of wolves but it has been suggested that these derive from metaphor and not the actual presence of wolves in those locations.⁴⁴

Whatever the reasons for the extinction of the wolf in England it is apparent that people in England at the turn of the twenty-first century can have no memories of wild wolves in their country. Their beliefs about the wolf are far more likely to stem from preconceived ideas than direct observation.

⁴⁰ Trans Pollard, J., Wolves and Werewolves, London, Hale, 1964, pp. 72-73.

⁴¹ Boitani, L., "Ecological and Cultural Diversities in the Evolution of Wolf-Human Relationships", In L. N. Carbyn, S. H. Fritts, and D. R. Seip, eds., Ecology and Conservation of Wolves in a Changing World, Alberta, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 35, 1995, p. 4.

⁴² Zimen, E., and Boitani, L., "Status of the Wolf in Europe and the Possibilities of Conservation and Reintroduction", in E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland SPTM Press, 1979, p. 71.

⁴³ Yalden, History, notes an increase in bounties in England between the reigns of Henry II (1154-89) and John (1199-1216), p. 168.

⁴⁴ Rackman, O., The History of the Countryside, London, Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1966, p. 35.

Question six in the questionnaire asked “*In which century did wolves become extinct in England?*” The answers are given in table A. Where more than one century was mentioned in one answer the earliest has been accepted.

Table A: When did Wolves become extinct in England? Summary of answers to Question 6 in the Questionnaire.

Century	Number of Respondents
5 th	2
7 th	1
10 th	1
11 th	3
12 th	6
13 th	5
14 th	4
15 th	11
16 th	13
17 th	24
18 th	44
19 th	31
20 th	8
Don't know	13
Not extinct	6
Not answered	16
Total	187

Few of the respondents were well informed about the status of the wolf in England. Just 27, 15%, identified the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which are historically the period in which the wolf probably became extinct in England. Most placed the extinction at times of rapid industrial progress in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

One of the reasons for their ignorance could be the lack of available, accessible

literature. As mentioned before Harting's work is the only detailed study of the wolf in England and, despite a recent reprint, is not well known.

In another question, eighteen, the respondents were asked to nominate sources that influenced their impressions of wolves but before analysing these answers, it is useful to look at the main literary sources concerning wolves, and especially man-eating wolves. The information contained in these texts can then be compared with recorded beliefs.

2. The Wolf in Writing

“Once two wolves met and got to talking about men, how they naturally hated wolves and denounced them even when they were doing no harm.”¹

The initial objective in any literature search is the discovery of a text or texts capable of providing a broad overview of the subject in hand which contain pointers towards further reading and crucially any original documents. This cannot be done in respect of a study of perceptions in England concerning man-eating wolves because no such texts exist. Research into the behaviour of wild wolves has mostly been conducted by zoologists who are primarily concerned with recording the results of their own observations. They are content to ignore or dismiss supposedly genuine accounts which contradict those observations. This is understandable as they have neither the inclination nor the required skills to evaluate such stories and account for any differences.

The belief in man-eating wolves is recorded in a variety of oral, written and pictorial evidence emanating from many diverse cultures. This study is restricted geographically to England with occasional forays elsewhere. It cannot be restricted chronologically since one of the purposes is to trace and describe the development of ideas about wolves, specifically man-eating wolves, in a particular context.

Potentially there are many useful sources within this framework so further selectivity is required. The myths and legends of peoples such as Eskimos, Native Americans and Lapps probably had little, if any, impact on general impressions of the wolf in England, at least until recently when the increasingly diverse nature of society and the ease of global communications have helped disseminate beliefs from other cultures and countries. Norse, Egyptian, Greek, German and French are among the cultures that may have influenced beliefs about the wolf in England prior to the late twentieth century. To debate all these in detail would not be possible in a single study and their influence on popular belief over a period of time cannot always be measured

¹ Codex Bruxellensis, trans. B. E. Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus, London, Loeb Library, 1965, Appendix 676.

with any accuracy. There is a distinction to be made between sources which may have influenced impressions of the wolf in the past and those which influence such impressions now. Clues to the latter appear in the responses to the questionnaire but locating the former is more problematic.

In order to analyse the influence of earlier sources in earlier times it seems sensible to begin by examining those texts which are known to have been widely available and which had a demonstrable influence on later thought and writing. It is pointless to analyse in detail every ancient and mediaeval text that mentions wolves since most obtained their information from the same earlier sources. Those are the texts that should be considered and their successors only examined when fresh information is added or a different emphasis put on the original information.

Germane sources can be identified in many diverse subject fields, ethology, ethnology, history, mythology, psychology and zoology being prominent amongst them. These fields are the product of relatively recent classification. Unlike many of the earlier authors whose works will be considered, modern writers tend to specialise and divide knowledge into categories, although precise boundaries are not necessarily closely observed. The division into subject fields is an inevitable consequence of the abundance and diversity of material now available. Keith Thomas illustrated this point when he wrote: "*By the time of Linnaeus the number of known plants was ten times that which had been recorded in antiquity and the range of animal life had been similarly extended.*"² It is impossible for a serious modern writer to discuss all aspects of natural history in one volume. Classical authors were able to attempt this because they had much less material to include. These authors were fewer in number, which gave their works a longevity and authority rarely granted to their modern counterparts. Theories promulgated during and after the late twentieth century are always debated and rarely accepted in their entirety. Reasons for this include advances in the technology of printing, greater public access to materials and also social changes which permitted greater individual freedom. For centuries it was considered unacceptable to question the statements of respected ancient authorities such as Galen, Aristotle and Pliny and also early Christian writers such as Augustine. In attempting to discern

² Thomas, K., Man and the Natural World, London, Allen Lane, 1983, p. 168.

attitudes towards the wolf in earlier times the researcher is aided by the lack of expressed dissension. The absence of extant sources offering a counter viewpoint makes analysis of the views expressed, and their influence, much easier. This is not to assume that those views were universally accepted, merely to note that their influence was dominant. It is therefore possible to identify a series of core influential texts that transmitted information about wolves from the ancient to the mediaeval world. This is a useful starting point but greater selectivity is required when identifying additional source material.

For the initial survey of works likely to have shaped attitudes towards the wolf in England the criteria required are content, audience and importance. What does the source say about wolves, specifically man-eating wolves? How widely available was it in England, and when? Did it reinforce old beliefs about wolves or shape new ones? These are the questions which help identify sources of potential relevance.

This chapter considers some of the more influential written sources concerning wolves, specifically man-eating wolves, in three categories: fiction, natural history and other secondary sources. It is important to note that these are modern categories. People in previous times may not have distinguished between fiction and natural history. The various bestiaries, for example, may have been considered by some to be authentic records of natural history at the time of compilation but are mostly considered to be fiction now. However the division has been made because it indicates the development of ideas at a popular level, then at a scientific level, and finally in the works of secondary commentators influenced by both fiction and natural history. It also allows for the sources within each category to be discussed in a roughly chronological order. Attempting to assimilate the material into a coherent form by any other division would have made it harder to follow.

Material relating to the themes of wolf-children and lycanthropy along with purportedly genuine cases of wolves eating people will be dealt with in later chapters on those specific topics.

This chapter will also consider the answers given to questions fourteen and eighteen in the questionnaire. Question fourteen asked the respondents to name a work of fiction featuring a wolf and question eighteen asked them to nominate, from a list,

the types of source that had most influenced their impressions of wolves and to give a specific example from within that type. These answers give us an indication of the sources which are currently influencing perceptions of the wolf in England.

The Sources

The term 'fiction' can be difficult to define. There are fictitious sources, such as novels, which contain facts and factual sources, such as newspapers, which contain fiction. In this section of the study specific examples drawn from designated fictitious sources, namely fables, folktales, hagiography, fairy stories, poems, short stories and novels will be examined. The choice of sources is highly selective and does not wholly reflect the choices of those who responded to the questionnaire. However the respondents were selecting sources which influenced them as individuals during the twentieth century. We have no sources explicitly stating which texts influenced their predecessors in earlier centuries but logical inferences can be made, based on known facts about the availability and distribution of particular sources and their later influence.

The wolf features in many fables and folktales, and as such is introduced to the minds of children at an early age. Stories read or heard when young are likely to have a special and lasting influence. The answers to question fourteen of the questionnaire which asked the respondents to specify an influential work of fiction featuring wolves tends to confirm this.³

Fables often reflect a popular rather than an elite view of life and therefore can grant an insight into popular culture. Handford writes: "*Since the fable is essentially a popular genre of literature it naturally reflects the ideas of ordinary people about the conduct of life.*"⁴ This comment is perhaps truer of oral than of written fables but nevertheless written fables about the wolf are of primary importance to this study. Oral tales are often difficult to date and their influence on particular cultures at particular times cannot easily be determined. For this reason they have largely been excluded

³ These answers are examined in chapter seven.

⁴ Handford, S., trans., Fables of Aesop, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963, p. xx

from this study although it is probable that oral stories had more impact than written ones due to low literacy levels.

Many fables that have reached us from the ancient world are attributed to a Greek slave named Aesop although it is unlikely that he composed all the stories with which he is credited. The earliest extant collections of Aesopic fables were compiled by Babrius, who wrote no later than the end of the second century AD, and Phaedrus who wrote shortly after 31AD.⁵ Many mediaeval writers made modifications and additions to these, with the standard Aesop text in mediaeval England being compiled by Walter of England.⁶ This was widely used in the educational curriculum. Walter wrote in Latin but English translations of Aesop followed as usage of the vernacular increased. The most significant is the seventeenth century version by Sir Roger L'Estrange whose reflections on the tales are often longer than the stories themselves.⁷

The Aesopic fables are followed by a moral, usually making a general point about life. The collection of animal fables includes such famous tales as the shepherd who cried wolf three times,⁸ the wolf who spoke ill of the fox before the lion and then lost his skin when the fox said that it would cure the lion's illness⁹ and the wolf who promised to reward a crane or heron for removing a bone from his mouth then broke that promise.¹⁰ In these early fables there is no sense of hostility towards the wolf. Glosecki felt that the wolf in Aesop was somewhat ambiguous as it symbolised liberty, forbearance and victimization but was also shown to be "bloody, starved and ravenous".¹¹ The animal is variously conceited, greedy and arrogant but neither malicious nor evil. Most commonly he is depicted as a deceiver attempting, and usually failing, to steal sheep. The narrator does not despise him for this aim although it

⁵ Ibid. Babrius and Phaedrus. See also Aesop, trans. O. Temple and R. Temple, The Complete Fables, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1988. Numbers used for reference in the present study are taken from this edition.

⁶ Wright, A. F. E., ed., The Fables of Walter of England, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997.

⁷ L'Estrange, R., Fables of Aesop and other eminent mythologists, with morals and reflexions, London, R. Sare, 1692.

⁸ Aesop, 196. Thompson, S., Motif Index of Folk Literature, 6 Volumes, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, J2172.1

⁹ Aesop, 26. Motif Index, K961.

¹⁰ Aesop, 29. Motif Index, TM1 W154.

¹¹ Glosecki, S. O., "Wolf (*Canis lupus*) and Werewolf" in Lindahl, C., McNamara, J., and Lindow, J., eds, Medieval Folklore, An Encyclopaedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs and Customs, Volume 2: L-Z, Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, 2000.

conflicted with human interests. This may imply that ancient farmers and shepherds accepted the loss of livestock to wolves as an occupational hazard. The basic wolf/lamb metaphor appears in several later sources including a few English songs during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, notably The Song of The Times which repeats the story of the wicked wolf and fox defeating the humble ass before King Lion.¹²

The only Aesopic fable that hints at a belief in man-eating wolves is the story of a nursemaid who threatened to throw an unruly child to the wolf.¹³ The wolf overheard this and waited in vain. The first extant version is that of Babrius who adds a description of the wolf's wife scolding him, and the comment that women are deceivers. L'Estrange's version features a repeat visit by the wolf to the house in which he heard the nurse praising the child and saying that she would not allow the wolf to get him.¹⁴ L'Estrange comments that the child obeyed the nurse more through fear of the wolf than love of the nurse. Later chapters of this study will consider the idea that this fear was deliberately induced on a wide scale.

L'Estrange notes in his preface the educational importance of fables and also that Christ used them.¹⁵ Since Christ was considered to be the Lamb of God it was inevitable that the wolf would become associated with the devil as the enemy of Christianity. This was not always the case. The Bible, probably the most influential text in Europe during the last two thousand years, is not directly hostile to the wolf.¹⁶ Although it contains examples of the bad wolf metaphor in both Old and New Testaments, this is not the only image that it presents. The twelfth tribe of Israel, the tribe of Benjamin, has a wolf emblem which indicates a respect for the animal comparable with that in other ancient cultures.¹⁷

¹² Wright, T., ed. and trans., The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward 11, London, Camden, 1839, "The Battle of Lewes", p. 77, "The Order of Fair-Ease", p. 137, "Song on the Scottish Wars", p. 164, "The Song of The Times", pp. 195-205.

¹³ Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus, Babrius, 16, Appendix, 158. Avaianus, trans. J. W. Duff, and A. M. Duff, in Minor Latin Poets, London, Loeb Library, 1934, 1. Motif Index, J2066.5.

¹⁴ L'Estrange, Fables of Aesop, 219.

¹⁵ Ibid. Preface.

¹⁶ It has however been suggested that the Old Testament is hostile towards the dog, Merlen, R.H. A., De Canibus, Dog and Hound in Antiquity, London, Allen and CO, 1971, p. 20.

¹⁷ Genesis, 48:27. Here the comment, "*Benjamin is a ravening wolf, in the morning devouring the prey and even during the spoil*", is intended to be a positive connotation of courage.

There are several extant stories of early Christian saints being able to command the wolf, and other wild animals. The works of Plummer, who translated the lives of several early Irish saints, contain three significant examples which were probably known in England.¹⁸ In one the fox, badger and wolf all obeyed Ciaran.¹⁹ In another a total of eight wolves paid obeisance to Maeg²⁰ and in the third a boy who extinguished the sacred fire was killed by wolves.²¹ Despite this act of aggression the wolf was not considered to be an evil being in early Christian literature. Like all beasts it was thought to lack a soul and to have been placed on Earth to obey God or God's designated agents. Animal species in hagiography are often interchangeable.

The third of Plummer's examples is one of many which show the wolf being utilised as a punishment sent by God. The principle for this was established in the Old Testament where it was indicated that wild beasts, along with other portents, would punish sins.²² Jeremiah names three specific beasts, the wolf, lion and leopard.²³ Both of the felids would have positive connotations in later Christian ideology, being associated with Christ in the mediaeval bestiaries.

The writers of Christian literature were influenced heavily by the Old Testament. They took up the idea of wild beasts being used as divine punishment and singled out the wolf for special attention, perhaps because it was the only, or most common, large predator in their societies. Examples of this usage will be debated in chapter five of this study which will examine how the wolf then became associated with evil, specifically with the Viking raiders who began attacking Western Europe in earnest towards the end of the eighth century. Increasingly from this point onward individuals and groups considered evil or disruptive would be described as wolves. Yet these connotations existed alongside ones more favourable to the wolf. The tenth century life of St. Edmund, by Abbo of Fleury, describes how the eponymous saint was martyred by the Vikings and how a wolf guided searchers to his severed head.²⁴ Perhaps the point being made is that the Vikings were worse than wolves in their

¹⁸ Plummer, C., ed. and trans., *Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 Volumes, Oxford, Clarendon, 1921.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 108.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 177.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 111.

²² 2 Kings, 24-25. 2 Maccabees, 6.12.

²³ Jeremiah, 1.14.

²⁴ Arnold, T. *Annals and Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, London, Rolls Series, 1890, pp. 18-19.

atrocities. Abbo claimed to have received his information from Edmund's standard bearer but the only surviving near contemporary report of Edmund's death is a single line in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, for the year 870. "*And in that winter King Edmund fought against them and the Danes had the victory and killed the King.*"²⁵ Abbo's claim of veracity is undermined by his usage of motifs borrowed from classical sources. This particular story may derive from a tale by the Greek writer Pausanias who said that a wolf killed a man who had been plundering wealth and then led searchers to the spot where the spoils were hidden.²⁶ The present study is not primarily concerned with historical truth, since the most influential sources are not necessarily accurate. Abbo's text indicates that the wolf was not used exclusively as a symbol of evil by Christian writers. At times they were prepared to borrow the symbolism of their pagan predecessors.

Examples of wolves being afforded positive connotations further imply that the evil image was by no means dominant in the tenth century. The reasons why wolves became strongly associated with evil are perhaps linked more to the changing concept of evil within Christian ideology than to the behaviour of the wolves. This idea will be examined more fully in chapter five.

The mediaeval collection known as the Gesta Romanorum typifies the development of mediaeval fables and demonstrates the use of pedagogy. One tale in the collection is relevant here; it tells how a character called Eustacius saw one of his children taken by a wolf and another by a lion.²⁷ This story may imply that wolves were considered a general danger to children. Chaucer's The Knight's Tale contains a curious reference to a wolf devouring a man by the statue of Mars.²⁸ As Mars was the Roman god of war this may be associating the wolf with battle, a common link in Anglo-Saxon poetry which will be discussed in chapter four.

²⁵ Whitelock, D., Douglas, D. C., and Tucker, S., I., eds. and trans., The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965, 870.

²⁶ Pausanias, trans. P. Levi, Guide to Greece, 2 Volumes, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979, Volume 1, p. 443.

²⁷ Gesta Romanorum, trans. C. Swan, rev. W. Hooper, London, G. Bell, 1877, pp. 194-97.

²⁸ Robinson, F. N., ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970, The Knights Tale, line 2048.

The most significant source for the study of fables and folk-tales is Stith Thompson's Motif Index of Folk Literature.²⁹ As the title suggests this is a classification of motifs used in folktales. It contains separate listings for wolves and werewolves, and a surprisingly high number of these motifs involve a benevolent wolf. Motifs of particular interest are:

The wolf as God's dog, A1833.3

The wolf returning sheep that had been stolen from a saint, B256.11

The wolf suckling a hero, A511.2.2.1

The wolf killing a blaspheming priest, Q554.4

A saint's prayer causing the wolf to bring back a child that it had abducted, B256.8.

The Devil in the form of a wolf, G303.3.3.21.

The belief in a man-eating wolf is rarely evident although the motif B256.8 implies that wolves were considered to abduct children. Some motifs describe the wolf as an instrument of divine punishment, others view it as controlled by the saints or other agents of God, and some associate it with the Devil. Arguably there is a chronological progression here as Christianity came to terms with the natural world. Firstly it was thought that God controlled nature, and therefore bad weather and hostile actions by wild beasts were his way of punishing sin. Gradually Christians came to accept that some wild beasts had free will but were still subject to God's control, if a saint interceded. Finally it was acknowledged that the devil and his agents had control over some natural forces. This last point was the easiest way of explaining the devastation caused by these forces without compromising the concept of a benevolent deity. Yet it is difficult to date with precise accuracy where and when each motif first appeared.

The identification of motifs in folklore points to a lack of originality in certain works and also highlights the presence of fiction in supposedly factual sources such as the St. Edmund story. Being able to detect fictitious elements within a source can help determine the overall reliability of that source.

²⁹ Thompson, Motif-Index

When individual wolves appear in later stories they are often portrayed as stupid and gullible, which is not that far removed from their role in Aesop's tales. These characteristics were personified by Isengrim, the principal adversary of Reynard the Fox. Isengrim, whose name means one in iron-mask, first appears in Ysengrimus by Nivardus of Ghent in 1150.³⁰ Caxton's English translation of a later version of Reynard the Fox first appeared in 1481 and enjoyed much popularity.³¹ The story, which incorporates many earlier tales, tells how Reynard is tried for his crimes and uses a variety of tricks to evade justice. Blake's article on Reynard in England remains the essential starting point for any study of the story's impact.³² It is noteworthy that Isengrim is outwitted by the quicker thinking fox. His role is one to be pitied rather than feared whilst Reynard himself is an immoral hero, being devious, violent and cruel. Such characteristics would sometimes be associated with the wolf, indicating a lack of distinction between canid species. In 1657 Joshua Poole wrote a text called The English Parnassus, which listed the connotations of various words. The wolf was described as: "*rapeful, ravening, cursed, Thracian, hungry, greedy, devouring, raping, howling, Appulian mountain, insatiate, bloody, preying, foaming, grinning, night-stragling, gluttonous, furious and savage.*"³³ Poole described the fox as: "*wily, sly, subtle, thieving, ravenous, greedy, stinking, strong-breathed, bush-tailed, in earth, snarling, cunning, crafty, devouring, pullet-eater.*"³⁴ There are many similarities with these two descriptions. In the Kalendar of Shepherds translated into English in 1518 from the French text of 1493 the fox is described as doleful and the wolf as gluttonous.³⁵ Later chapters will show that the confusion between canids was, and continues to be, evident in reality as well as fiction.

The next major development in fiction about wolves was the emergence of what are commonly known as fairy stories. Longer than fables these are generally, but

³⁰ Nivardus of Ghent, trans. F. J. Sypher and E. Sypher, Ysengrimus, Lunenburg, Vermont, Stinehour Press, 1980.

³¹ Caxton, W., trans., The History of Reynard the Fox, ed. N. F. Blake, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970.

³² Blake, N. F., "Reynard the Fox in England", in E. Rombauts, and A. Welkenhuysen, eds., Aspects of the Mediaeval Animal Epic, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, pp. 53-66.

³³ Poole, J., The English Parnassus, London, Tho. Johnson, 1657.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 91

³⁵ Anon., The Kalendar & Compost of Shepherds from the original edition, London, Peter Davies, 1931, p. 144

not exclusively, aimed at children. Like fables they usually contain a strong moral message and often their characters are rigidly labelled good or bad. Few have an English origin but many have been popular in England since the nineteenth century, owing much of that popularity to the Grimms Kinder-und Hausmarchen which was first translated into English in 1823.³⁶ Some stories in this collection contain references to man-eating wolves, notably Little Red Riding Hood which will be examined in chapter seven.

It would not be practical to list every fairy story featuring the wolf and analyse each in detail. Only a selection of the most popular, in England, will be discussed.

Peter and the Wolf is a variant on the Aesopic tale of the shepherd who cried wolf, and was made famous by Russian musical renditions. It tells how a bored shepherd's boy twice pretends that the wolf is attacking his charges. The third time there is a real attack and nobody comes to Peter's aid.³⁷ The wolf is not usually a threat to people in this story, only to their animals. In the original Aesopic version there are several wolves.³⁸ Threats which once came from a vague source are often personified in fairy stories.

Another well known fairy story is that of The wolf and the Three Little Pigs. The original version is thought to have come to England from Native American culture in the early seventeenth century.³⁹ In this the first pig is female and it is the third who is devoured by the wolf as he is unable to build a brick house. It may be a tale of the conflicting cultural values of the English and the Powhatan. The third pig represents the English, scoffing at the primitive natives and believing that his brick house will be better than the accommodation they can construct with their basic materials. It is noticeable too that this pig fears the wolf more than his siblings. In the most common modern version it is the first two pigs who are consumed and the third who outwits the

³⁶ Grimm, J. and Grimm, W., trans. E. W. Taylor, Fairy Tales, 2 Volumes, London, Scholar Press, 1977.

³⁷ There are different versions, see Peter and the Wolf from the musical tale by Sergei Profokiev, Perry Colour, Place and year not stated. In this Peter is warned by his grandfather not to enter the woods through a fear of the wolf. He disobeys and manages to catch the wolf. The final scene of a duck escaping from the wolf's stomach is similar to some endings of Little Red Riding Hood, in which the girl, grandmother or both are released unharmed.

³⁸ Aesop, 196.

³⁹ See Pleasants C., The Three Little Pigs as it was originally passed into English Folklore in 1620, Virginia, Gate of Heck, 1994.

wolf, often because his brick house is better than the others. This sees the triumph of the new values represented by the third pig, and possibly represents the conquest of nature, or of the Powhattan, by the invaders.

In all versions of The wolf and the three little pigs, the wolf is a destroyer. Another version is The wolf and the seven kids. In this the mother goat goes out leaving her kids in the house when the wolf comes round. It devours them all, bar the youngest who hides and tell his mother of the tragedy. She gains revenge by scalding the wolf to death. Scalding as a punishment for the wolf appeared in Reynard the Fox and in many other tales. In L'Estrange's version of The wolf and the seven kids, the wolf fails to gain entry to the house and the author remarks, "*There are wolves in policy as well as mythology.*"⁴⁰ Clearly he was drawing on the established belief that wolves were deceivers and encouraged his audience to sympathise with the goats.

In all of the above stories the wolf is portrayed as a villain. This may be following the trend established by Isengrim but he was a rather ineffective opponent of Reynard and it appears that the wolf, and indeed the werewolf, only became a direct enemy of humanity in western fiction after Christianity associated the wolf with the Devil. These fictitious wolves have deeper motives than sheep stealing, desiring to outwit Reynard or eat Red Riding Hood. The key difference is the crediting of intelligence, albeit limited, to the wolf. In Aesop's tales the wolf is stupid, apart from perhaps the one who disguised himself as a sheep but he was killed anyway.⁴¹ Longer stories discard such one-dimensional characters and decorate them with many more connotations.

Not all long stories are hostile to wolves however. The Jungle Book describes a pack of friendly wolves adopting the boy Mowgli.⁴² Here it is the tiger who is the enemy. Generally in Colonial India the tiger was considered more dangerous than the wolf and this is reflected in Kipling's novel.⁴³ Wolves play an important role in The Jungle Book which is the first modern English work that features a wolf, or wolves, assisting a human. The author may have been influenced by stories of wolves raising

⁴⁰ L'Estrange, Fables of Aesop, 28.

⁴¹ Aesop, 36.

⁴² Kipling, R., The Jungle Book, London, Macmillan, 1909.

⁴³ Burton, R., W., ed. D. J. Tovey, Tigers of the Raj, Gloucester, Allan Sutton, 1987, describes several tiger hunts whilst regarding the wolf as insignificant.

children in nineteenth century India and chapter nine of this study will examine some of these.

In the twentieth century there appeared a number of short stories and novels featuring wolves. Jack London's Call of the Wild, and White Fang, are maturely written works which use the individual wolves, or rather hybrids, as central characters and encourage the reader to feel sympathy for them.⁴⁴ Both feature violence by men against the canids. However White Fang opens with a pack of wolves chasing two travellers and devouring one. It is difficult therefore to assess the influence of the story. Do people remember how White Fang was adopted by the rich man and nearly sacrificed himself to protect that man's family or how White Fang's mother enticed dogs away from the men so that all could be devoured? One of London's themes is that the wilderness belongs to the wolf and that man, especially western man, is an intruder there. These books are notable for their realistic depiction of events in the natural world. The wolves do not represent or resemble humans. They are animals behaving like animals, without consideration for the actions of humans although both of London's canid heroes develop a bond of affection with individual men.

Other books retain images of the wolf as a brutal man-eater. Joan Aitken's novel for children The Wolves of Willoughby Chase is set in a fictitious nineteenth century where the Channel tunnel has allowed wolves to enter England.⁴⁵ In the story two young cousins are threatened by the machinations of a woman wishing to usurp their wealth. The message is that the real wolves are the wicked governess and her sister. Consequently animal wolves become less important, and appear less, as the story progresses. In the earlier chapters their attacks, and indeed presence, appear to indicate forthcoming perils for the heroines. This subtle adumbration strongly reinforces the idea that wolves are dangerous and always willing to devour people.

One of the most popular modern works about wolves, believed by many to be a factual account, is Never Cry Wolf by Farley Mowat.⁴⁶ It supposedly contains the results of the author's own observations, conveyed in the first person. The narrator is sent to examine wolves in the Arctic and to assess their impact on the caribou

⁴⁴ London, J., White Fang and the Call of the Wild, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984.

⁴⁵ Aitken, J., The Wolves of Willoughby Chase, London, Random House, 1992.

⁴⁶ Mowat, F., Never Cry Wolf, London, Pan Books, 1979.

population. During this research he becomes increasingly sceptical about public and official views concerning wolves. Never Cry Wolf is summarised well by wolf expert David Mech: *"It appears to have been compounded of his own limited adventures with wild wolves plus a general quantity of unacknowledged experiences of other authors: a certain amount of imagination and embellishment probably completed the formula."*⁴⁷

In his introduction Mowat states correctly that many of his conclusions have since been confirmed by zoologists but not his thesis that the wolf poses no threat to man and is not a competitor of any significance to humans.⁴⁸ Despite this it cannot be said that Mowat has added anything to our understanding of the wolf. His work is however important as the first literary text to present an entirely favourable image of the wolf and it also portrays the humans who opposed wolves as misguided and bigoted. At the time when this book was published criticism of governments and official bodies was becoming more open, and acceptable, in western societies. Public awareness of issues such as environmentalism and industrialisation was also increasing, and attracting voices of dissent. As a symbol of freedom and conservation the wolf was finding new supporters.

Scientists who have written about the wolf are cautious and strive for accuracy yet it is the sensational works that have a greater influence on the general public. This is the same in countless other fields. The theories of Charles Berlitz in relation to the Bermuda triangle and Stephen Knight in relation to Jack the Ripper have all been convincingly discredited but are accepted as facts by many people. Possible reasons for this include an increased public willingness to doubt official views and the fact that authors such as Mowat and Berlitz wrote in an accessible and convincing literary manner. This enables them to appeal to readers who would not read 'scientific books' on the same topics. In this way films such as Dances with Wolves may influence impressions of wolves more than zoological studies and films such as Jurassic Park may influence impressions of dinosaurs more than the writings of palaeontologists.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Mech, D., The Wolf, The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species, New York, Doubleday, 1970, pp. 339-340.

⁴⁸ Mowat, Never Cry Wolf, p. vi.

⁴⁹ Dances with Wolves was nominated by one respondent as the work of fiction that had most influenced their impressions of wolves.

Perhaps the work of fiction which finally shattered the old image of the wolf is Company of Wolves by Angela Carter.⁵⁰ This version of Red Riding Hood will be discussed in the chapter seven but it is not the only story about wolves written by Carter.⁵¹ These tales twist the connotations of familiar childhood stories. Some of her peasant characters believe implicitly in the man-eating wolf although she is subtly mocking that and other beliefs. For example, the character of the lycanthropic duke who looks after the wolf-girl Alice appears to be based on a character in Webster's seventeenth-century play, The Duchess of Malfi.⁵² Wolf Alice blends the separate notions of a child raised by wolf and of a man transformed into a wolf. Carter took old ideas and made them relevant to a fresh audience.

Catherine Storr wrote three short story collections of children, portraying a potentially man-eating wolf. Her tales of Clever Polly and the Stupid Wolf describe the wolf's attempts to catch and eat a seven-year old girl.⁵³ In the main these stories are told from the wolf's viewpoint. He is not a wholly unsympathetic character due to his continued failure and stupidity. His plans are often derived from fairy stories and fables such as Little Red Riding Hood, Goldilocks and the Three Bears, and Hansel and Gretel. There is more than a suggestion that he thinks chasing the little girl is how a wolf should behave rather than such pursuit being part of his nature.

Like Carter, Storr mingles fantasy with reality. It is common in fairy stories for animals to interact with each other and with humans, ignoring usual restrictions of language and behaviour. Only in Storr's final tale, "Kind Polly and the Wolf in Danger", do the other human characters identify the wolf as unusual.⁵⁴ Prior to that he mingles with them unnoticed, conducts conversations and is able to perform mundane tasks such as shopping.

The wolf in fiction has not always been portrayed as evil, or as a man-eater. In fact such depictions were rare in early fables and fiction. The notion of the man-eating

⁵⁰ Carter, C., "Company of Wolves", In, Burning Your Boats, The Collected Short Stories of Angela Carter, London, Chatto & Windus, 1995, pp. 212-220.

⁵¹ Ibid. "The Werewolf", pp. 210-211, "Wolf Alice", pp. 221-230, "Peter and the Wolf", pp. 284-291.

⁵² Webster, J., The Duchess of Malfi, ed. J. R. Brown, London, Benn, 1967, 5.2, lines 4-21.

⁵³ Storr, C., Clever Polly and the Stupid Wolf, London, Chivers Press, 1982. Storr, C., Tales of Polly and the Hungry Wolf, London, Chivers Press, 1985. Storr, C., Last Stories of Polly and the Wolf, London, Chivers Press, 1990.

⁵⁴ Storr, C., "Kind Polly and the Wolf in Danger", in her, Last Tales of Polly and the Wolf, pp. 89-102.

wolf in literature developed as society became more industrialised. During the eighteenth century Little Red Riding Hood became the first widely disseminated work to portray a specific man-eating wolf.

Evidence that wolves eat people will not be found in works of fiction. Sources on natural history may help provide a definite answer to the question.

There are several important surviving natural history texts from the ancient world which describe wolves. Like current zoologists the authors of these works wished to record the results of observations though rarely their own. They seemed content simply to commit all their zoological knowledge, including legend and hyperbole, to paper. Most relied heavily on second-hand information which they had no means of verifying.

Aristotle wrote three such treatises, On the Generation of Animals, Parts of Animals, and Historia Animalium.⁵⁵ It is in the Historia Animalium, c. 344-342 BC that he makes specific comments about the wolf. He describes it, like the leopard, as always wild, true to its own type and scheming.⁵⁶ Aristotle was concerned with the classification of animals and sought to establish connections between different species. He recognised the uniqueness of wolves in one respect, namely that they were the only animal to eat earth.⁵⁷ Wolves do sometimes ingest soil but they are not the only animal to do so. Aristotle stated that adversaries of the wolf included the pig, the ass, the bull and the fox.⁵⁸ One negative story, which he relates, tells how wolves near the sea of Azov destroyed the nets of fishermen who refused to share their catch.⁵⁹ This is not described as a hostile action however and throughout Aristotle reserves judgment. His only comment on man-eating in wolves is to state that it is a trait of single wolves, although no examples are given.⁶⁰ The idea that single wolves are potentially more dangerous to people than packs will be debated in detail in chapter four of this study.

⁵⁵ Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck, Generation of Animals, London, Loeb Library, 1943. Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck, Parts of Animals, London, Loeb Library, 1938. Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck and D. M. Balme, Historia Animalium, London, Loeb Library, 1965-1991.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 1.1.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 7.5.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 7.7 and 8.1.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 8.36.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 7.5

Aristotle's work is reserved and compact, and is an accurate record of natural history in many respects. It is to be regretted that the Historia Animalium, was less influential in mediaeval times than the works of Pliny and Aelian which followed it but which more frequently drifted from records of scientific observation into speculation and legend.

Pliny the Elder completed his mammoth work around 77 AD.⁶¹ He is rare amongst ancient writers in acknowledging sources, although he does not directly attribute information to specific authors. He took Aristotle's point about wolves feeding on earth and described it as an augury. If a wolf did this in large mouthfuls when barring the path of travellers on the right hand side, it was the finest of omens.⁶² This implies that the wolf was more revered than feared. Pliny also states that no wolves existed on Mount Olympus or in Crete.⁶³ This comment suggests that he, or his source, considered wolves to be common enough in all other areas. According to him the wolf, like the hyena and the lion, had a stiff nape.⁶⁴ This may be related to the story that when a man and wolf met, whoever spied the other first would strike him dumb and this injury made it impossible for the wolf to turn away.⁶⁵ This 'striking dumb' belief is important since it survived in literature until at least the seventeenth century, appearing for instance in the manuals of witch-hunters and bestiaries.⁶⁶

Pliny's achievement in collating such a mass of material is undermined by his credibility. For example he speaks of enormous snakes swallowing stags and the sky raining iron, blood, milk and wool.⁶⁷ However he is not hostile to wolves in any way.

⁶¹ Pliny the Elder, trans. H. Rackman, Natural History, Vol. 3, London, Loeb Library, 1960.

⁶² Ibid. 8.34.

⁶³ Ibid. 8.83.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 11.65.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 8.34. Plato, trans. F. Mac Donald Cornford, Republic, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1957, 1.336, writes: "*When I heard this speech I was astounded and gazed on the speaker in terror; and I think if I had not set eyes on him before he eyed me I should have been struck dumb.*" Several citations of this can be found in Smith, W. G., rev. P. Harvey, The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, Oxford, Clarendon, 1948. Frazer notes an ancient Arabian belief that a hyena treading on a man's shoulder can deprive him of speech and motion, Frazer, J., The Golden Bough, abridged, Ware, Wordsworth, 1993, p. 190. See note 71 below.

⁶⁶ Kramer, H., and Sprenger, T.J., trans. M. Summers, Malleus Maleficarum, London, Arrow Books, 1971, p. 66. Boguet, H., trans. E. Allen Ashwin, ed. M. Summers, An Examen of Witches, London, John Rodker, 1925, XXVII, p. 63. White, T. H., The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the twelfth century, London, Cape, 1954, p. 58.

⁶⁷ Pliny, Natural History, 9.29 and 2.62.

Nor does he refer to wolves as man-eaters although he does describe the lion as a potential eater of children.⁶⁸

Chronologically the next important text was written by Claudius Aelianus in the early third century AD.⁶⁹ He believed in advancing the good qualities of animals to illustrate the failings of individual humans. For the history of wolves his is an important text in terms of technique and subsequent influence as it occupied an important place in the mediaeval curriculum. It is a blend of Pliny's research and Aesop's fiction, making precise classification difficult, as myth and legend are not distinguished from points of zoological accuracy. Aelian describes Crete as hostile to wolves and reptiles and learnt from Theophrastus, not Pliny, that there were places on Macedonian Olympus where wolves did not go.⁷⁰ Regretfully an explanation is not provided. He elaborates on Aristotle's comment that the wolf fights with the bull, describing how a wolf attempts to avoid the bull's horns and the feigning of an attack.⁷¹ Cunning is a characteristic often attributed to the wolf by later writers but is more commonly associated with the fox.

Not content with Aristotle's description of the fox as an adversary of the wolf Aelian goes on to say that the two animals are at war. Perhaps this is the origin of the conflict between Reynard and Isengrim.⁷² He tells us that the wolf goes numb when near the leaves of squill and that the fox throws those leaves into wolf dens.

Aelian further states that the strength of their claws and sharpness of their fangs made wolves, leopards and lions bold.⁷³ In later texts all these predators would often be grouped together under the heading of beasts. Aelian claims that the neck of the wolf is short and compressed, making the animal look straight ahead and forcing it to turn its whole body.⁷⁴ All these points are extensions of what Pliny and Aristotle wrote. They

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 8.48.

⁶⁹ Aelian, trans. A. F. Scholfield, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 3 Volumes, London, Loeb Library, 1953.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 3.32.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 5.19.

⁷² *Ibid.* 1.36.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 1.31.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 10.26. Julius Solinus states that the hyena is unable to bend its neck, Golden, A., trans. *The Excellent and Pleasant Works of Julius Solinus Polyhistory*, London, I Charlewood, 1597, p. 126. See notes 64 and 65 above.

provide ample illustration of the extent to which writers often expand on information provided by their predecessors.

Aelian gives three examples of the wolf being used as an instrument of divine providence. In the first a wolf leads priests to booty stolen from a temple.⁷⁵ In the second two men, who wished to make the right marriage, asked the oracle at Delphi for advice. They were told to look in the area where they met the fiercest animal carrying the gentlest. This turned out to be a wolf bearing a lamb at Cleonae, which is seven or eight miles south-west of Corinth.⁷⁶ In the third story a wolf ran into a schoolroom and stole the writing tablet of Gelon of Syracuse (c. 540-578 BC), a future ruler. Gelon gave pursuit and then the schoolroom collapsed, killing everyone else. Aelian remarked: "*The strange thing is that the wolf did not kill a man but saved his life for the Gods did not disdain to foreshow a kingdom to one even by means of a dumb animal.*"⁷⁷ Clearly he was aware of a belief in wolves that killed people but, like Aristotle, he does not give details.

Aelian expanded on earlier descriptions of the satiated wolf, an image which would become popular in mediaeval times largely through the Reynard epic. He states that the satiated wolf would become gentle and refrain from attacking men and beasts.⁷⁸ Again he implies that wolves were known to attack people.

Many later perceptions of wolves can be traced back to Aelian. Yet one must doubt his concluding comment: "*I prize truth in all its spheres,*"⁷⁹ He tells how wolves swam across rivers by linking their tails in their mouths and then relates the same story about mice and rats.⁸⁰ This repetition alone, even before one considers the likelihood of the story, ensures that he cannot be considered a reliable commentator on natural history. As with Pliny and Aristotle however there is nothing to be found in his works which indicate that the wolf was despised, or considered evil, in his time.

Such are the principal extant ancient works on wolves. They do not contribute much to a study of man-eating wolves and were not mentioned by any of the

⁷⁵ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 12.40. This is the same motif as noted in Abbo's story of St. Edmund, see page 24.

⁷⁶ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 12.31.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 13.1

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 4.15.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. 3, Epilogue, p. 391.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 3.6, 5.22, 17.7, 8.4.

respondents to the questionnaire. However their influence on mediaeval thought can clearly be seen in the number of later works which copy from them or expand on the points which they outline.

Like Aelian's work the bestiary could also be placed in the section of this chapter on fiction. These collections of statements about animals, including mythical beings such as the unicorn and the yale were accompanied by illustrations and a written moral. They derived from the Physiologus, a Greek text, dating from the fifth century AD although many of the stories were much older.⁸¹ Neither the original Greek text nor the Physiologus B text, on which most Latin bestiaries produced in England from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries were based, included the wolf although this description is in some bestiaries dating from the twelfth century.⁸² Bestiaries will be examined in more detail in chapter five. They generally consider wolves to be man-eaters but do not emphasise the point. Further they associate the wolf with the Devil but compare other predators such as the lion and leopard to Christ.⁸³ The definition of wild beasts in one twelfth century bestiary is particularly interesting: "*Beasts are lions, leopards, tigers, wolves, foxes, dogs, monkeys and others which rage about with tooth and claw, with the exception of snakes. They are called beasts because of the violence with which they rage and are known as wild because they are accustomed to freedom by nature and are governed by their own wishes.*"⁸⁴ This not only implies that all beasts were habitually violent but also grants them free-will. No longer were they subject to God's control. This distinction would allow writers to distinguish between good and evil beasts.

As records of natural history bestiaries are wildly inaccurate but they contain important information about how some people of that time viewed the wolf and other animals. The inclusion of mythical creatures demonstrates an ignorance of the natural

⁸¹ Carlill, R., trans. The Physiologus, London, G. Routledge, n.d.

⁸² Anon., A Thirteenth Century Bestiary in the Library of Ainswick Castle, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1958. Barber, R., trans., Bestiary, being an English Version of the Bodleian Library Oxford MS. Bodleian 764 with all the original miniatures reproduced in facsimile, London, Folio Society, 1992. White, Book of Beasts. Anon., Libellus de Naturalibus Animalium, A Fifteenth Century Bestiary reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by J. I. Davis, London, Dawson, 1958. Wood Rendell, A., trans. Physiologus, A metrical Bestiary of Twelve Chapters by Bishop Theobald, Printed in Cologne, 1492, London, John Edwin, 1928.

⁸³ See above p. 24.

⁸⁴ White, Book of Beasts, p. 7.

world although it should not be assumed that bestiaries were widely used as a source of information. The vast majority of the laity were unable to read. They may have been influenced by the illustrations but there is no evidence to indicate that the contents of the bestiary were widely accepted as fact. In the case of the wolf there are no extant sources contradicting the bestiary account. Other sources from the same time confirm what the bestiary says. Even if they copied from the bestiary this would still indicate that the information was considered authentic.

The Master of Game is an early fifteenth century hunting treatise, translated from French by Edward III's grandson, the Duke of Aumarle.⁸⁵ It was not the only hunting treatise circulating in England at this time but contains more information about wolves than any other, perhaps because it was drawn from an earlier French source. The author excludes the French chapters on the ibex and bear as these animals were not common to England but retains the section on the wolf. Crucially he comments that it is impossible to tame a wolf because "*he knoweth well that he doth evil.*"⁸⁶ Suggesting that the wolf was consciously evil may have encouraged hostility towards it. This statement is also important as it credits the wolf with free will.

The Master of Game puts forward several reasons to explain why wolves eat people. These influenced later writers and will be discussed fully in chapter four. Man-eating was apparently not a trait attached to all wolves but was considered an exceptional characteristic which some writers felt a need to explain.

Like Aelian the author of The Master of Game claims to be truthful.⁸⁷ Disproving this claim should not be viewed as evidence of deliberate falsification but instead be understood in the context of the time at which he was writing. Then claiming veracity for statements made was quite normal, even when the information had not been confirmed by the author. For example it is difficult to believe the assertion that the foot of the wolf is good for clearing blotches on the jaw.⁸⁸ Yet the author is often cautious, using phrases such as 'men say' to indicate his own

⁸⁵ Edward 2nd Duke of York, ed. W.A. Baillie-Groham and E. Baillie-Groham, The Master of Game, London, Chatto and Windus, 1909. Cottonian MS Vespasian B. X11. From the Livre de la Chasse of Gaston Phoebus, ed. C. Couderc, Paris, 1909.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 63.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 63.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 63.

uncertainty. It was common for authors to accept all previous works on their topic, especially those by a respected authority, as genuine. Critical analysis of sources is a modern technique. It was not always taught, encouraged or permitted.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century writers on natural history often drew their information from the bestiary and ancient authorities. One English example is Maplet's A Greene Forest, first published in 1567. In his brief section on wolves Maplet does not refer to a belief in man-eaters.⁸⁹ He provides an abridged version of the bestiary account, adding favourable stories such as Abbo's St. Edmund tale and the Romulus and Remus legend.

Such are the important early sources, available in England, on the natural history of wolves. There may be others which have not survived but it is necessary to remember that natural history was not widely studied until recently. In the ancient and mediaeval world information on wolves and other animals came from books, art and legend, rather than from travel, exploration and observation. People were generally not interested in studying the creatures around them. They believed that animals were created for their own benefit, to work for people, to feed people or simply to be ignored. For the most part the wolf, which tends to live away from man, fell into the last category. This attitude began to change from about the seventeenth-century onwards as human populations in parts of Europe became more inquisitive about the natural world.

Carl Linnaeus's System Naturae was the first attempt since Pliny to classify all animal species. Yet this is not a scientific description. His account of wolves, taken from the English translation in 1820 reads as follows:

"Lupus. Tail bent inwards. Inhabits Europe, Asia, Africa and North America. Hunts in packs and destroys cattle. Suspicious, being hardly heard in the woods, fearful of a rope drawn across the ground, will not pass through a door but leaps over the fence, dreads the sound of a trumpet, exquisite in the art of smelling, patient of extreme hunger and cold, devours man and even his own species, howls in the night"

⁸⁹ Maplet, J., A Greene Forest or Natural Historie, London, Henry Denham, 1567, p. 111.

and is destroyed by the lichen vulpinum. Female gravid 10 weeks, brings forth 5-9 young, which are blind at birth."⁹⁰

He then gives a brief physical description of the wolf and identifies four species; yellow in France and Germany, white in Russia, black in Canada and grey tinged with black on the Cape of Good Hope. There are several subspecies of wolves but a yellow one has never been identified and the species common to Canada, Russia and Western Europe is the same, *canis lupus lupus*.

The ideas that wolves avoid ropes and doors and dread the sound of a trumpet apparently do not appear elsewhere. Most animals react to loud sounds and will be cautious with unfamiliar items. For example it has been noted that wolves can be deterred from attacking sleighs by a rope being drawn through the snow behind.⁹¹ Linnaeus's work is littered throughout with personal judgments and the author seems to have been influenced more by bestiaries than observation.

Linnaeus's shortcomings were recognised in the mid-eighteenth century by an Englishman named John Hill. He wrote his own natural history, which he claimed differed from that produced by Linnaeus in terms of observation.⁹² It is unlikely that Hill personally observed all the creatures which he wrote about but his account of wolves appears to be objective. He does however state: "*In hard winters when the woods afford no food they will come down in troops and attack houses and villages, destroying everything they can get at.*"⁹³ The implication is that wolves will attack and eat people but only when forced to do so through hunger.

In the mid nineteenth century Blaine wrote a hunting treatise which included several comments on wolves.⁹⁴ He described wolf hunting in Germany, India and Russia and stated: "*We hardly need a plea for the propriety of introducing wolf hunting in Britain when it is notorious that the ravages of this animal proved very destructive, not only to the animals around him, but also on many occasions, to the*

⁹⁰ Turton, W., A General System of Nature through the three Grand Kingdoms of Animals, Vegetables and Minerals, translated from Gamelin's last edition of System Naturae by Sir Charles Linne, 7 Volumes, London, Lackington, Allen and Co, 1820, Volume 1. 15.

⁹¹ Smith, A. C., "Notes on Observations in Natural History during a tour in Norway", The Zoologist, 9, (1851), 3224-3225.

⁹² Hill, J. H., A General Natural History, 3 Volumes, London, Thomas Osbourne, 1751 -1752.

⁹³ Ibid. Vol. 3. p. 552.

⁹⁴ Blaine, D., Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, Longmans, 1852.

human inhabitants, children we are told were sought for by him and fell a prey to this thirst for blood."⁹⁵

It is not clear why Blaine was supporting wolf hunting in a country where wolves no longer existed in the wild. He cites no evidence to support his claims and continues, "Yet, even in this marauder we can find redeeming traits, for we are not without numerous instances of undoubted authority to prove that he wants attention, not only to redeem him from his habitual ferocity but also to convert him into an attendant, the most faithful and attached."⁹⁶

The taming of nature, allegedly achieved by some early saints, was progressing well in the Victorian age thanks to the industrial revolution, overseas expansion and campaigns which exterminated wild creatures and their habitats. Many animals were brought back to zoos so that the public could see them for the first time.⁹⁷ In the eighteenth century it was argued that domestication was good for animals and towards the end of that century the Zoological Society of London was founded with the intention of creating more efficient domestic animals.⁹⁸ Blaine therefore wrote at a time when total human control over the environment was considered achievable. His text reflects a commonplace attitude although not all accepted that the wolf could be tamed and some felt that it should be eliminated. Chapter eight of this study will look at reports of the man-eating wolf in The Times newspaper during the nineteenth century, a time when the story of Red Riding Hood was widely disseminated and when rapid industrialisation was destroying much of the wolf's habitat. Those reports, and others in the same newspaper, appear to be advocating the elimination of the wolf on the grounds that its survival was incompatible with human aims.⁹⁹

Blaine was not narrating from his own experiences. All of his comments on wolves and werewolves can be traced back to earlier sources. In his discussion of werewolves he quotes verbatim from Verstegan who wrote in 1673, and who himself

⁹⁵ Ibid. pp. 104-105.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 104-105

⁹⁷ There was an earlier zoo, of sorts, at the tower of London from the twelfth century until 1834.

⁹⁸ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p. 20.

⁹⁹ The Times, does carries a report of Bismarck donating a tame wolf to the botanical gardens at Dusseldorf, 01/06/1882, p. 5e.

was summarising earlier texts.¹⁰⁰ Why Blaine decided to mention lycanthropy in a discussion on hunting is not clear. He used a technique common in several pre-twentieth century works, namely to repeat and expand on all available information on the given topic, irrespective of direct relevance.

Authentic scientific observation of the wolf may be said to have commenced in 1939 with the publication of Adolph Murie's research into the ecology of Mount McKinley National Park.¹⁰¹ This text is purely descriptive and avoids speculation. Objectivity in earlier writers, possibly excluding Aristotle, is rare. Murie was the first to examine wolves from a purely scientific viewpoint in their natural habitat. His comments provide a direct challenge to the wolf's image as a habitual man-eater; an image which had developed in the absence of previous research.

In 1970 David Mech published what remains the definitive guide to the wolf.¹⁰² Drawing for the most part on his own observations in North America he described an elusive creature, fearful of humans. Mech's observations have largely been confirmed by simultaneous and subsequent research, notably recorded in essays collected in Klinghammer's, The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Harrington and Paquet's, Wolves of the World, and the seventh edition of American Zoologist which was devoted entirely to wolves.¹⁰³ Mech's achievement was in persuading people that there could be errors in common perceptions of the wolf, especially in North America. He also helped unite and motivate wolf researchers in different parts of the world.

Since Mech wrote there have been various studies of the status and behaviour of the wolf in many countries. In the main they portray a positive image of the animal.

Changing attitudes to wolves in recent times have created a climate more receptive to the publication of research and opinions challenging traditional views. Yet this is not likely to bridge the gap between academic research and popular culture

¹⁰⁰ Blaine, Encyclopaedia, p. 327. Verstegan R., Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, Concerning the most Noble and Renowned English Nation, Antwerp, Robert Brown, 1605, pp. 263-264.

¹⁰¹ Murie, A., The Wolves of Mount Mc Kinley, Fauna of the National Parks of the US, Fauna Series, 1987.

¹⁰² Mech, L. D., The Wolf, The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species, New York, Doubleday, Natural History Press, 1970.

¹⁰³ Klinghammer, E., ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland STPM Press, 1979. Harrington, F. H., and Paquet, P. C., eds, Wolves of the World, Perspectives of Behavior, Ecology and Conservation, New Jersey, Noyes Park Ridge, 1982. American Zoologist, 7, (1967).

unless expressed in a medium likely to influence public opinion. An important development was the introduction of televised wildlife documentaries. For the first time people in countries where wolves were rare or no longer extant were able to see the animal in the wild. In general these documentaries do not portray wolves as dangerous towards people; indeed many are sympathetic towards them. The development of satellite and cable television in Britain has resulted in channels dedicated to the natural world which frequently show documentaries about the wolf. Their influence is hard to measure. Viewing figures for specialist channels are generally low but regular repeats potentially expose the programmes to bigger audiences. Viewers are entirely at the mercy of the production team who may show images of the wolves chasing and devouring deer or of wolf cubs playing peacefully. The accompanying narration need not always be accurate and can unduly influence.

Television documentaries are one way of studying the wolf in the present. To study the wolf in the past researchers depend heavily on the works of their predecessors.

The nineteenth century saw the publication of the first historical study of the wolf in England. Harting's A Short History of the Wolf in Britain originally formed part of a longer work Extinct British Animals, published in 1880 and was reprinted in 1994 as a thin paperback.¹⁰⁴ The section on England is much longer than those on Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Harting does not have much to say on man-eating wolves, except to repeat a few legends. He was unconcerned with wolf behaviour and probably never encountered a real wolf.

Harting provided a valuable service by collecting historical data, often from obscure sources, about wolves in England and other parts of the British Isles. However he does not criticise his sources, showing a respect for them that is typical of his generation. At the end of his work he states that he neglected superstitious elements, principally meaning werewolves, in order to keep the study short.¹⁰⁵ Others might be tempted to include the oral tales which he cites in abundance, and with reverence, under the heading 'superstition.'

¹⁰⁴ Harting, J. E., A Short History of the Wolf in Britain, Whitstable, Pryor Publications, 1994.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 90.

In 1933 and 1943 articles hostile to the wolf appeared in respected journals. The first was in the periodical Nature, written by an anonymous author.¹⁰⁶ He, or she, states that during winter wolves often invaded European villages and took human life. There is a further claim that in 1875 wolves killed 161 people in Russia. The source of this information, Lydecker's edited Royal Natural History, was cited in full by Colin Matheson who wrote an article in Antiquity, ten years after the one in Nature.¹⁰⁷ Research in Russia indicates that there may be some truth in this story, although it failed to differentiate between attacks by rabid and non-rabid wolves.¹⁰⁸

Another possible influence on the above articles is Smith's hostile comments concerning wolves in Norway in 1851.¹⁰⁹ These articles show the continued reluctance to question the works of earlier writers. It is unlikely that modern editors of the above journals would publish such articles now without accompanying primary evidence to support the outlined claims.

In 1964 John Pollard's Wolves and Werewolves, was published.¹¹⁰ This text is not annotated and contains many myths described as true occurrences. Pollard provides a brief list of sources, although vague details such as S. H. Moore, "Wolves in France", The Guardian, and mentions of periodicals without issue numbers, year of publication and page numbers are not much help in locating these references. He relied heavily on reports in The Times, the reliability of which is questioned in chapter seven of this study, and in many cases appears to have copied from Harting. For example his section on mediaeval wolf hunters quotes the edict granted to Peter Corbett, albeit in English whereas Harting gives the same text in the original Latin.¹¹¹ Understandably someone researching the wolf in the British Isles would consult the same limited sources as their predecessors but one would expect some differences in interpretation and also pointers to the original documents, which Harting provides but Pollard does not. Moreover it

¹⁰⁶ "The European Wolf", Nature, (9/12/1933), 906.

¹⁰⁷ Lydecker, R., ed. Royal Natural History, London, Fredrick Ware & Co, 1893-94, p. 498. Matheson, "The Grey Wolf". The Times, 21/06/1877, p. 5f quotes an official report giving the same figure.

¹⁰⁸ Linnell J.D. C., ed., The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans, Trondheim, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, 2002, pp. 24-25, Appendix 4, p. 163

¹⁰⁹ Smith, A., "Notes on Observations", pp. 3224-3225.

¹¹⁰ Pollard, J., Wolves and Werewolves, London, Hale, 1964.

¹¹¹ Ibid. pp. 72-73. Harting, A Short, p. 29.

cannot be considered a worthwhile exercise to rely almost exclusively on a book written several decades earlier without searching for additional material.

Pollard referred to a battle between wolves and men, implying a fight to which both parties consciously contributed. Inane chapter headings such as “The Wolf that ate the Postman”, and “Killer Wolves in Scotland”, indicate the extent to which he was influenced by a preconceived belief in bellicose wolves. The eponymous postman is not named, nor is many of the other alleged victims.¹¹² Pollard rarely gives dates and precise locations and often his accounts are preceded by apocryphal dialogue. “The Wolf in Legend” is a chapter heading that might well be applied to the book as a whole.

According to Pollard the wolf is cowardly and irrational but also fierce and determined. No evidence is presented to support the attribution of such general, and contradictory, characteristics. Furthermore he is willing to accept stories where, by his own admission, the details cannot be checked. The required chary approach of serious researchers must regretfully reject, or question, any information that cannot be confirmed.

Despite differences in orientation there are similarities between the works of Pollard and Mowat. Both authors targeted their books at a popular audience and were apparently prejudiced with Mowat favouring the wolf and Pollard disliking it. Both appear to have included a great deal of invention or distortion.

One scholarly author who achieved wider recognition is Keith Thomas. Principally known for his Religion and the Decline of Magic, he also wrote about attitudes towards the natural world in England, c.1500 to c.1800.¹¹³ This second book has very little to say about wolves but has proved useful in the compilation of the present study. Impeccably referenced it traces the development of environmental concerns in a period before such concerns were widely recognised and discussed. An interesting point made by Thomas is the danger posed to people by animals not

¹¹² This postman is also referred to by Thompson, R. H., Wolf Hunting in France in the Reign of Louis XV, The Beast of the Gevaudan, Lewiston, Edwin Meller, 1991, p. 158. He does not cite sources either but gives an approximate year of 1955 for the alleged incident.

¹¹³ Thomas, K., Religion and the Decline of Magic, London, Weindenfield and Nicholson, 1971. Thomas, Man and the Natural World.

normally considered to be dangerous. For example he states that there are incidents of pigs killing children until well into the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ In the absence of verifiable incidents of wolves doing the same it is interesting that the pig has, in the main, favourable connotations. Perhaps society was more willing to forgive ‘crimes’ committed by domestic animals than wild ones or perhaps the pig was considered blameless whereas the wolf was thought to exhibit cunning and evil intelligence.

Another study aimed at a more general audience is Of Wolves and Men by Barry Lopez.¹¹⁵ This objective work, crossing the boundaries of history, zoology and psychology is in some ways similar to the present study. Lopez is generally sceptical of man-eating wolves although he stated that wolves had killed Native Americans and Eskimos.¹¹⁶ This information came to him from oral testimony and consequently cannot be verified at source. He wrote one of the first non-scientific books to question accepted views about man-eating wolves but it is not well known in England.

The works outlined above are the basic written sources likely to have influenced impressions of the wolf in England, including some that have influenced the writing of this study. Invariably the selection of sources is speculative and the influence cannot be measured. For the period from 1999 to 2002 the questionnaire provides more precise information on the sources that were influencing impressions of the wolf in England.

Question eighteen in the questionnaire asked the respondents to specify, from a list, the type of source that had most influenced their impressions of wolves, and to indicate an example from within that type. The available choices were: Fairy Stories or folktales, novels, zoological literature, television documentaries, newspapers, films, observing wolves in zoos and observing wolves in the wild. Nine respondents did not answer this question. Several respondents cited more than one choice so the figures given in table A refer to the number of citations and not the number of respondents.

Table B. Summary of Answers to Question 18 in the Questionnaire

Type of Source	Number of Citations
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¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 95.

¹¹⁵ Lopez, B. H., Of Wolves and Men, Toronto, J M Dent, 1978.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

Television Documentaries	76
Fairy Stories	62
Films	28
Novels	21
Zoological Literature	14
Observation in Zoos	12
Observation in the Wild	6
Newspapers	6
Other	2
Total	221

Television documentaries and fairy stories were overwhelmingly voted the most influential types of source. Fairy stories and folktales generally portray wolves as dangerous to people whilst television documentaries usually do not.

The number of citations for visual sources (TV, Films and observations) is 122. When it is considered that fairy stories are often published with illustrations or read aloud, and that modern newspapers often contain illustrations and/or photographs it appears that visual sources are more likely to be influential than written ones.

As a general guide these results tally well with the types of sources described in this chapter. There were only six citations for observations of wild wolves although others may have seen them and not been influenced. With the exception of television documentaries, it is the fictitious sources which the respondents regarded as more influential than the factual ones. It is possible that many respondents were first exposed to these influential sources in their childhoods but more analysis would be needed to confirm this.

These results relate only to England in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A thousand years earlier there would have been no television documentaries to select and other types of sources would undoubtedly have been nominated. If attitudes towards the wolf in England have changed then one of the reasons for that may lie in the accessibility and variety of source material. Television documentaries

allow almost everyone to observe wolves in the wild. Previously people relied on other, possibly less accurate, sources.

To understand and explain perceptions of the man-eating wolf it is first necessary to become better acquainted with the animal itself. Since 1939 zoologists have been conducting detailed surveys of wild wolves in Canada, America and parts of Europe. Their conclusions provide a template which can then be used, with caution, to examine particular man-eating wolf allegations from the past and to ascertain their reliability or otherwise.

3. The Wild Wolf.

“As for wolves there are those who flatly deny what has been said about them.”¹

Before commencing a study of perceptions of wolves some comments on the behaviour and characteristics of the species are expedient. Since 1939 serious research has been conducted into wild wolves and the findings, based largely on direct observation, challenge the traditional image of the man-eating wolf. In the introduction to their edited collection of essays on wolves Harrington and Paquet write: “*Despite countless opportunities over untold generations, our perceptions of wolves reflected our prejudices more than reality.*”² This reality, to a degree, can now be observed and analysed then compared with various prejudices, allowing us to comprehend the origins and developments of some beliefs concerning the activities and behaviour of wolves.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to briefly summarise behavioural patterns in wolves, as determined by modern observational and other techniques, and to contrast them with earlier accounts and beliefs. However this may not provide an accurate picture of wolf behaviour. Scientific studies of the wolf often concentrate on small packs of wolves in relatively stable areas. The results of these studies cannot be considered representative of the species in all areas or in earlier times. Nevertheless they do provide an indication of how wolves might previously have behaved.

A secondary concern of the chapter is to examine the results of the questionnaire in respect of the questions relating to wolf behaviour in order to see how closely these match the observations of zoologists. This should demonstrate how well-informed, or ill-informed, the respondents are about wolves and also indicate if the modern scientific evidence has influenced them more than other, less scientific, sources. One might expect the knowledge of the respondents to be reasonably good as

¹ Boguet, H., trans. E. Allen-Ashwin, ed. M. Summers, An Examen of Witches, London, John Rodker, 1929, XXVII, p. 83.

² Harrington and Paquet, Wolves of the World, Perspectives of Behavior Ecology and Conservation, New Jersey, Noyes Park Ridge Publications, 1982, p. 5.

nearly half of them nominated television documentaries, which are usually based on fact, as a source that had influenced their impressions of wolves.³

The emergence of the modern wolf between half a million and a million years ago means that it is older than both *homo neanderthalis* and *homo sapiens*. It was once common in various countries but no more. The extant wolves in parts of Asia, Europe, America and the Arctic inhabit a much reduced range and in many areas are, like many other large carnivores, in danger of extinction.

Question thirteen of the questionnaire asked the respondents if wolves still existed in ten specific countries; India, Israel, China, France, Spain, Italy, Ireland, Iran, Russia and Serbia. Wild wolves, of some form, exist in all these countries bar Ireland. Although they were only given two possible answers, yes or no, some respondents indicated that they were unsure how to reply and others did not answer.

Firstly it is apparent that the majority of the respondents did not have a definite answer. Only two gave correct answers in respect of all the listed countries so it must be assumed that the rest were guessing in respect of some of the countries at least. Many indicated that this was the case as indeed it was the intention behind the question. For a survey of beliefs about the wolf it would be unhelpful if the respondents had taken the trouble to obtain correct answers from books or the internet.

Table C: Summary of answers to question 13, Do Wolves Exist in the Following Countries?

Answer	India	Israel	China	France	Spain	Italy	Ireland	Iran	Russia	Serbia
Yes	127	51	100	76	100	82	27	80	165	140
No	37	99	41	83	52	71	139	70	4	16
Don't Know	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	6	4	5
Other	3	4	5	3	5	4	3	4	4	2
Not answered	15	27	36	20	23	25	23	26	9	23

³ Above, Table B, p. 53.

In view of geography and likely access to information it could be assumed that people in England are more likely to know about the status of the wolf in France, Italy and Spain than in Iran and China. The results of the questionnaire do not support this as more respondents gave a correct answer for China than for Italy and Spain.

Only France and Israel attracted more incorrect than correct votes. Two reasons may explain this; lack of publicity concerning wolves in those countries and a perception that the countries are not suitable for wolf populations. The return of wolves to France has not been widely publicised in England and it is likely that the respondents compared France with England and Ireland where wild wolves do not exist. Wolves in Israel are found in small numbers in the Golan Heights, annexed from Syria in 1973. The respondents may have been influenced by news coverage which concentrates on urban areas of Israel.

Just four respondents gave an incorrect answer in respect of Russia and just fifteen did so in respect of Serbia. Overall 511 answers were incorrect, an average of just over 51 for each country. After Russia and Serbia the country with the lowest number of incorrect answers was Ireland. It is reasonable to assume that the respondents would be more familiar with the status of the wolf in Ireland than Russia and Serbia but this was not the case.

Evidently the respondents were largely guessing their answers. With this in mind it is interesting to note that they were more inclined to guess in respect of some countries than others. Overall 418 answers were not definite, classed as anything other than yes or no including no answer. This is an average of 41, for each country. Only seventeen respondents, (9%), did not give a definite answer in respect of Russia. This figure would be even lower if one ignored the two respondents who did not answer any of these questions. Serbia also received very few answers, 30, that were not definite. This would indicate that the majority of the respondents were either aware of the status of wolves in those two countries or that they guessed correctly. Since it is unlikely that so many of the respondents would have greater first-hand knowledge of Russia and Serbia than Ireland and France it can be assumed that they were guessing.

Possible reasons for guessing that wolves exist in Serbia and Russia include: an association between wolves and countries with a cold climate⁴, an association between wolves and countries which are not perceived to be heavily industrialised and an association between wolves and countries which are often portrayed in a negative way by the English media. However if the last two reasons are valid one would expect similar results in respect of Iran and China. A fourth reason may therefore be suggested, namely that a large number of respondents associate werewolves with Eastern Europe and would therefore assume that wolves still lived in those countries. Answers to the questions on werewolves, analysed in a later chapter, reveal that many respondents linked the werewolf to Transylvania or parts of the former Soviet Union.⁵

The results have established that the knowledge of wolves amongst the respondents to the questionnaire was limited and that the answers were, in all probability, based largely on intuition. The respondents were more inclined to believe that wolves still existed in Russia and Serbia than elsewhere.

Species of Wolves

The average wolf is 110-140 centimetres long, with a tail of 20-40 centimetres. Its height at the shoulder is 70-80 centimetres and it weighs 25-50kg. Most stories of man-eating wolves refer to much bigger animals, suggesting that they are exaggerated or that larger wolves existed until relatively recent times. Lopez noted that people commonly assume wolves to be bigger than they are, citing the case of an experienced wolf trapper who estimated the weight of a 67 pound wolf at 85-90 pounds.⁶

Several species and subspecies of wolves are no longer extant. Those that do survive vary in colour, size, and appearance and, to an extent, behaviour. For example the Arctic wolf is white, a colour affording perfect camouflage in its environment. Other wolves can be red, grey, black, fawn, buff or sandy. In 1972 Mech identified 32 subspecies, not all of which were known to survive at that time.⁷ By close examination of skull measurements Novak reduced this list to fifteen, four of which he was not able

⁴ Pliny believed that wolves were more likely to be dangerous in a cold climate, Pliny the Elder, trans. H. Rackman, *Natural History*, 10 Volumes, London, Loeb Classical Library, 1960, 8.80.

⁵ Chapter 6, pp.

⁶ Lopez, B. H., *Of Wolves and Men*, Toronto, J M Dent, 1978, p. 18.

⁷ Mech, L. D., *The Wolf, The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species*, New York, Doubleday, Natural History Press, 1976, pp. 350-354.

to examine.⁸ The present study concentrates predominantly on the common grey wolf, *canis lupus lupus*, which once existed in England and still exists in other parts of Europe.

Crude distinctions between wolf species were made by several ancient writers. Herodotus claimed that Egyptian wolves were about the size of foxes.⁹ Pliny expressed similar sentiments, believing that the size was due to lack of food and also the cold climate.¹⁰ He further commented that African and Egyptian wolves were feebler than their cruel and fierce counterparts in other parts of the world.¹¹ Since he almost certainly did not observe wolves in Egypt it is possible that he described them as weak simply because the Egyptians did not consider them to be dangerous. Indeed he announced that the Egyptians actually worshiped the wolf.¹² This was noted in other classical sources. In one story it was said that Osiris's son carried the foreparts of a wolf as an amulet in battle and in another tale that Osiris adopted the form of a wolf to fight Typhon.¹³ In his study of the Egyptian Gods Wallis Budge states that the fight between the brothers Horus and Set possibly involved them changing into wolves rather than bears as was previously assumed.¹⁴ He further believed that the Egyptian bears described by Herodotus were species of wolves.¹⁵ If true this would indicate a serious inability on the part of Herodotus to distinguish between different animal species. However there is nothing to support the suggestion, apart from the fact that bears do not appear to have been native to Egypt. Herodotus was not, like Pliny, intending to record facts about natural history. If he were then he would surely have included the hyena in his description of Egyptian animals. He describes bears as being scarce and although he refers to wolves and foxes in the next sentence it is only in the context of discussing animal burials.

⁸ Novak, R. M., "Another Look at Wolf Taxonomy", in L. N. Carbyn, S. H. Fritts and D. R. Seip, eds., *Ecology and Conservation of Wolves in a Changing World*, Alberta, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 35, pp. 394-396

⁹ Herodotus, trans. G. Rawlinson, *The Histories*, Wordsworth, Ware, 1996, 2.67.

¹⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.80

¹¹ *Ibid.* 8.80.

¹² *Ibid.* 30. 99.

¹³ Oldfather, C. H., trans. *Diodorus of Sicily*, 10 Vols. London, Loeb Library, 1933, 1.18 and 1.88.

¹⁴ Wallis Budge, E. A., *The Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 Vols. London, Methuen, 1904, pp. 365-366. cf. Macrobius, trans. P. V. Davies, *Saturnalia*, London, Dawson, 1958, 1.19.

¹⁵ Wallis Budge, *The Gods*, pp. 365-366. Herodotus, 2.67.

The Egyptian deity Anubis is sometimes depicted with the head of a jackal and sometimes with the head of a dog, which may indicate that an inability to distinguish between canids was present in popular thought.¹⁶ Wallis Budge believed that the wolf and jackal were confused in Egyptian mythology. He cited Herodotus's story of two wolves leading a priest to a temple and believed that the wolves represented jackal gods.¹⁷ Diodorus notes that Osiris, who was served by the jackal god, returned from the underworld in the form of a wolf.¹⁸ It would then appear that canids were interchangeable in Egyptian mythology. This is also noticeable in other cultures. In the Old Testament the fox and the jackal were both used as symbols of cunning and duplicity.¹⁹ No canid species has exclusive connotations.

This confusion between canids passed into literature and probably influenced many people. Timotheus of Gaza tells us that the hyena mated with the wolf to produce a lone wolf that preyed on men and animals.²⁰ This beast may have been the Crocotta, referred to by several ancient authorities.²¹ It was allegedly capable of imitating human speech and could lure men to death by calling out their names in the same way that mermaids bewitched sailors. It could have been the hyena, an animal which Aristotle described as being similar to the wolf but with a shaggier coat and longer spine.²² A belief in the Crocotta was still present in Linnaeus's time as he included it in his System Naturae, defining it as the spotted hyena which dwelt in Guinea, Ethiopia and

¹⁶ The association between Anubis and the jackal is not accepted by everyone; see Brown, T. R., "The Black Dog in English Folklore", in J. R. Porter and W. M. S. Russell, eds., Animals in Folklore, London, D S Brewer, 1978, pp. 49-50.

¹⁷ Wallis Budge, The Gods, pp. 365-66. Herodotus, Histories, 2.122.

¹⁸ Diodorus, 1.88.

¹⁹ Cooper, J. C., Symbolic and Mythological Animals, London, Aquarius, 1992, p. 179.

²⁰ Bodenheimer, F. S., and Rabinowitz, A., trans., Timotheus of Gaza on Animals, Paris, Academie Internationale d'histoire des Sciences, 1950, 4.4.

²¹ Pliny, Natural History, 8.3. Strabo, trans. H. L. Jones, Geography, 8 Volumes, London, Loeb Library, 1923-30, 16.14.16 citing Artemidorus. Agatharchides, ed. and trans., S. M. Burstein, On the Erythraean Sea, London, Hakluyt Society, 2nd Series, 172, 1998, 5.78a.

²² Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck and D. M. Balme, Historia Animalium, London, Loeb Library, 1965-1991, 6.32. Timotheus of Gaza refers to a spotted hyena, the size of a wolf, which called out names, 50.1.

the Cape of Good Hope and ate people.²³ Later writers describe the hyena as a potential man-eater.²⁴

The Croctotta is one example of an assumed hybrid. Since all wild canids can interbreed, hybridisation is a fairly common occurrence. Kolenosky described an experiment in which a captive female wolf was bred with a male coyote. Two litters, instead of the usual one, were bred.²⁵ Some of the pups were consumed by the mother. Those that survived resembled the coyote more than the wolf. Wolf/dog hybrids are often assumed to be wolves and are often dangerous to people. One hybrid, described as 97% like a timber wolf attacked a human in July 1997.²⁶ In another case an American woman was killed by two hybrid canids in front of her sons.²⁷ The excessive curiosity and activity levels of hybrids coupled with an inability to accept human discipline makes them dangerous pets.²⁸

It is not always possible to distinguish between wolves and wolf/dog hybrids or between wolves and other canids. The rare red wolf, *canis rufus gregoryi* is a cross between coyote and grey wolf. It can only be distinguished from the coyote by brain morphology, chromosome analysis and electrophonetic analysis.²⁹ Such techniques are not widely known and certainly were not known in previous centuries. Therefore when people use the term wolf they may be referring to any canid resembling a wolf which is behaving in a manner associated, rightly or wrongly, with wolves. This means that attacks on people by canids other than the wolf may have been erroneously attributed to the wolf.

This confusion between canids is still noticeable today. The following examples are from the twentieth century. Dent felt that the presence of Alsations, left by

²³ Turton, W., *A General System of nature through the three grand kingdoms of animals, vegetables and minerals*, translated from Gamelin's last edition of *System Naturae* by Sir Charles Linne, 7 Volumes, London, Lackington and Allen, 1820, p. 44.

²⁴ Burton, R. W., ed. D. J. Tovey, *The Tigers of the Raj*, Gloucester, Allan Sutton, 1987 cites cases in which hyenas have killed people, notably a woman and child, p. 38.

²⁵ Kolenosky, G. B., "Hybridization between Wolf and Coyote", *Journal of Mammalogy*, 52, (1972), 446-449.

²⁶ *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, 10/07/1997.

²⁷ *Lexington Herald Leader*, 18/12/1996.

²⁸ Hull, S., "Wolf Hybrids in the UK, What you Should Know", *Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter*, 2, (2001), 1-3.

²⁹ A group calling itself the National Wilderness Institute unsuccessfully challenged the endangered status of the red wolf on the grounds that hybrids are not protected by federal law, *Charlotte Observer*, 10/12/1997.

retreating German soldiers at the end of World War II, contributed to reports of wolves in France at that time.³⁰ Zimen described how it proved impossible to persuade Italian villagers that the dead animal in front of them was a dog and not a wolf as they believed.³¹ In India the dhole is sometimes mistaken for the wolf.³² In Spain attacks on domestic animals by stray and feral dogs were erroneously attributed to wolves.³³ The identification of a wolf by witnesses is not always accurate. This is despite the fact that rural workers usually have a sound knowledge of the natural world. Lopez refers to a North Dakota rancher who blamed wolves for damage which was actually caused by his own dog.³⁴

The most common wolf in North America, the so called Eastern wolf, *canis lupus lycaon*, is one of the smallest subspecies of wolves. It shares its environment with many similar canid species, making it difficult for humans to distinguish between them. Aware of this problem the United States Department of Natural Resources specifically told hunters in Wisconsin not to confuse wolves and coyotes.³⁵ In one case a hunter shot what he believed was a coyote but was in fact a timber wolf or hybrid at least twice the weight of the average coyote.³⁶ It is possible that misidentification is an excuse used by hunters who are not legally allowed to hunt wolves but may hunt coyotes. However such individuals would be unlikely to report the occurrence so the majority of cases brought to the attention of officials should be considered genuine mistakes. If hunters, who generally have a good knowledge of their environment, can make such mistakes then it is reasonable to assume that members of the public may do the same.³⁷

³⁰ Dent, A., Lost Beasts of Britain, London, Harrap, 1974, p. 13.

³¹ Zimen, E., The Wolf, London, Souvenir Press, 1980, p. 298.

³² Fox J. L., and Chundawat, R. S., "Wolves in the Transhimalyan Region of India: The Continued Survival of a low Density Population", in Carbyn, et. al., Ecology and Conservation, pp. 100-101.

³³ Fuente, de la., F. R., and Galdiano, J. C., "Protection of the Wolf in Spain" in D. H. Pimlott, ed., Wolves, Proceedings of the First Working Meeting of Wolf Specialists of the First International Conference on Conservation of the Wolf, Morges, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1975, pp. 103-112.

p. 105.

³⁴ Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 197.

³⁵ Wisconsin State Journal, 23/11/1996.

³⁶ Weissee, T. F., Robinson, W. L., Hook, R. A., and Mech, L. D., "An Experimental Translocation of the Eastern Timber Wolf", in Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, p. 406.

³⁷ The assumption that hunters understand their surroundings is not always valid. There are cases of hunters mistaking people for deer and shooting them, see Smith M., "Analysis of the Australian "Hairy

There are several recorded incidents of non-diseased coyotes attacking children in North America. In his study Carbyn concluded that these individual animals were those who had lost their fear of people.³⁸ He reported that attacks were most common in national parks and urban areas where coyotes associate people with food. Adult coyotes with young were more persistent in their attacks. The coyote is perceived to be less dangerous than the wolf yet it is known to occasionally attack people. This raises questions about the extent to which human perceptions of the natural world are based on preconceived ideas rather than direct observation. Given that only a few trained experts can distinguish between wolves, wolf hybrids and other canids of similar appearance it is highly likely that wolves are often blamed for the actions of these other animals. Three possible reasons may explain this. Firstly the wolf is symbolic of the wild and untamed. Secondly it is considered to be larger than other canids and thirdly, it has an evil reputation. People do not want to imagine coyotes, and especially domestic dogs attacking people.³⁹ Yet this does happen and such incidents may well have been attributed to the wolf in the past. The wolf is a convenient scapegoat because it tends to avoid humans. Other canid species live much closer to human society and to admit that they can be aggressive to humans could cause panic.

The wolf is now acknowledged as the forerunner of the domestic dog, *canis lupus familiaris*. A team of expert researchers led by Robert Wayne demonstrated the connection between wolves and dogs by extracting samples from 162 wolves and 140 dogs, representing 67 full breeds and five mixed breeds.⁴⁰ They found that the differences between wolves and dogs were less than between different breeds of dog. This demonstrated a genetic link, indicating wolf ancestry for all dogs.

It is not clear precisely how dogs developed from wolves. One possibility is that the process of taming dogs carried out by early hominids played a role. That was

Man" (Yahoo) data", *Cryptozoology*, 8, (1989), pp. 27-36. A similar case occurred in Greece where a man named Nicholas Kavalakis who imitated wolf calls was shot by three hunters, Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, (Summer 2000), 8.

³⁸ Carbyn, L. N., "Coyote Attacks on Children in Western North America", Wildlife Society Bulletin, 17, 4, (Winter 1998), 444-446.

³⁹ The author has witnessed several attacks on people by domesticated dogs. In many countries dogs are trained to be aggressive towards humans.

⁴⁰ Vila, C., Savolainen, P., Maldonado, J. E., Amorim, I. R., Rice, J. E., Honeycutt, R. L., Crandell, K. A. Lunderberg, J., and Wayne, R. K., "Multiple and ancient origins of the domestic dog", Science, 176, 5319, (13/06/1997), 1687-1689.

the conclusion of Fentress, one of the few modern humans to successfully tame a wolf.⁴¹ His pet quite happily played with dogs and developed a particular friendship with a Labrador. On one occasion it escaped and was restrained by a young girl, previously unknown to it. Others who have successfully tamed wolves include Louis Crisler and her husband who reared wolf pups in the Arctic, and also in their home.⁴² Some Americans now have pet wolves although this is illegal in many states. Morris told how a wealthy American lady took a wolf on a cruise ship and allowed fellow passengers to think that it was a dog.⁴³ Such examples effectively challenge the belief asserted in earlier texts, such as The Master of Game, that it was impossible to tame a wolf.⁴⁴

The Motif Index of Folk Literature lists four motifs referring to a tame wolf, as the dog of a giant, the dog of God, the defender of a child and the rescuer of a man with assistance from the lion and bear.⁴⁵ In the first two of these the wolf is portrayed as a large dog simply to reflect the superior qualities of the owner, again indicating a lack of distinction between canid species. The third more commonly involves a dog defender and a wolf, or snake, aggressor. The fourth shows the miracle of taming nature.

It was the development of zoos which cultivated the belief that the wolf could be tamed. People in the mediaeval world had felt that the world in which the wolf dwelt could not be conquered. People in the industrial world felt that both animal and environment could be brought under their control. However the process of keeping and rearing wolves in captivity has meant that captive wolves are less likely to fear humans. If returned to the wild these animals could become a nuisance. Mech described how some newly released wolves began to harass tourists although they did

⁴¹ Fentress, J. C., "Observations on the behavioral development of a hand-reared male timber wolf", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 329-352.

⁴² Crisler, L., Arctic Wild, London, Secker and Warburg, 1959.

⁴³ Morris, D., The Animal Contract, London, Virgin, 1990, p. 133.

⁴⁴ Edward, 2nd Duke of York, eds., W. A. Baillie-Graham and F. Baillie-Graham, The Master of Game, London, Hanson and Co, 1909, p. 63.

⁴⁵ Thompson, S., Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 Volumes, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, F531.4.1, A1833.3, B524.13, B515.

not injure anyone.⁴⁶ Recent reports suggest that some reintroduced wolves have been attacking people after becoming accustomed to them.⁴⁷ Despite this there remains no evidence that wolves pose a general threat to people.

Hunting techniques of wolves and their relationships with other animals

Pullainen took some wolf cubs at birth and, after a suitable period of growth, introduced them to dogs of various ages, specifically Alsatians and Samoyeds.

Friendship was the common outcome although the wolves did attack a twelve week old female Alsatian.⁴⁸ Wild wolves are often inclined to attack dogs. In Fairbanks, Alaska, more than 25 dogs were once lost to wolves during a three month period.⁴⁹ Wolves are also known to have killed foxes and coyotes.⁵⁰ In addition they sometimes attack and kill other wolves and consume the bodies of dead wolves.⁵¹ Hornaday said that wolves were the only species to practise cannibalism, which is not true as many animals devour their own kind.⁵² According to Aelian there was an Egyptian belief that wolves who failed in their hunting would run around in circles until one collapsed. This individual would then be devoured.⁵³ It is hard to believe in this premeditated purging. Mech felt that wolves would not eat members of the same pack.⁵⁴ Serious injury,

⁴⁶ Mech, L. D., The Wolves of Isle Royale, Washington, US Government Printing Office, Fauna of the National Parks of the United States, Fauna Series 7, 1962, p. 26.

⁴⁷ Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, Winter 2000, 1.

⁴⁸ Pullainen, E., "A Contribution to the Study of the Social Behaviour of the Wolf", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 314.

⁴⁹ Mech, L. D., "Some Considerations in Re-establishing Wolves in the wild" In E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland STPM Press, 1979, p. 447. Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 2, gives this figure as 42.

⁵⁰ Zimen, E., and Boitani, L., "Status of the Wolf in Europe and the Possibilities of Conservation and Reintroduction", in E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland SPTM Press, 1979, p. 66. Mech, The Wolf, pp. 284-85, and Mech, The Wolves of Isle Royale, p. 156.

⁵¹ Murie, A., The Wolves of Mount McKinley, Washington, Fauna of the National Parks of the US, Fauna Series, 1987. 59. Wisconsin State Journal, 14/12/1996. Stevenson and Aghook, "The Eskimo Hunters View", p. 291. Meadows, L., Watched by Wolves and Other Anecdotes of Animals, London, Roxburghe Press, n.d. p. 4.

⁵² Hornaday, W. T., The American Natural History, London, George Newness, 1904, p. 22.

⁵³ Aelian, trans. A. F. Scholfield, On the Characteristics of Animals, 3 Vols. London, Loeb Library, 1953. 7.20.

⁵⁴ Mech, The Wolf, p. 180. cf. Jordan, P. A., Shelton, P. C., and Allen, D. L., "Numbers, turnover and Social Structure of the Isle Royale Wolf Population", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 248.

competition for food and environmental conditions may be important contributory factors to occurrences of cannibalism amongst wolves.⁵⁵

In summer wolves primarily feed on large ungulates. In any given area they have a favoured prey species, the most common being deer. Others include boar, goats, sheep, moose, caribou, oxen and poultry. Variations occur when the numbers of the main prey species decline. During winter hares and other small mammals become more important to the diet. Wolves also eat rodents, carrion, grass, fruit, garbage and domestic animals. A certain flexibility is in evidence and this would not preclude the consumption of humans, especially during severe winters. However there are several cases of individual wolves surviving in densely populated areas without resorting to predation on humans. One, which escaped from a zoo, was able to live on scraps left by tourists⁵⁶ and another survived on leaves and bracken.⁵⁷ It would have been relatively easy for these animals to attack people if they were predisposed to do so.

It is sometimes assumed that the wolf only eats when hungry. One wolf, in the former Soviet Union, is known to have survived sixteen days without food.⁵⁸ Wolves have the stomach capacity to digest large quantities of food at a single sitting then to survive for a long period before their next meal. It is common for them to go three or four days without eating and then gorge themselves at a single sitting. Peterson felt that wolves ate quickly in order to prevent scavengers, such as the fox and raven, from stealing or sharing the meal.⁵⁹ Greed, to be considered separate from hunger, was a characteristic of wolves often used in humour. There are many folktales featuring the satiated wolf. Most common is the story where overeating causes the wolf to get stuck in a cellar or other tight place.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ballard, W. B., Jackson, S., and Gardener, C. L., Ecology of an Exploited Wolf Population in South Central Alaska, Supplement to the Journal of Wildlife Management, Vol. 5. 3, (July, 1987), 21. Rausch, R. A., "Some Aspects of the Population Ecology of Wolves, Alaska", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 248.

⁵⁶ Greensboro News and Record, 09/11/1997.

⁵⁷ Zimen, The Wolf, p. 113.

⁵⁸ Mech, The Wolf, p. 182.

⁵⁹ Peterson, R. O., The Wolves of Isle Royale: A Broken Balance, Minocqua, Willow Creek Press, 1995, p. 134.

⁶⁰ Thompson, Motif Index, K1022.1. Aelian, On Animals, 4.15.

Wolves do not always kill their prey. Sometimes they appear to give chase for fun, or perhaps practice.⁶¹ Caribou and other prey species seem to know when the wolf is hunting them and when it is not. Thus packs of wolves can wander amongst herds of their prey species without generating any panic. The wolf does not normally attack confident, healthy ungulates; it attacks those disturbed by its presence, the weak, the young, the ill and the inexperienced. Several studies show disproportionate killing of old and young members of the prey population.⁶² However Lee Rue observed that one pack preferred to eat healthy and mature caribou bulls.⁶³ This preference is probably common but feeding is usually restricted to animals which can be successfully hunted and these are rarely healthy and experienced. Humans, particularly young unaccompanied children, would be easy for wolves to catch.

Experiments with rabbits and rodents have demonstrated that wolves refrain from attacking prey until it moves.⁶⁴ The stimulus of a rushing creature is required to provoke a reaction. This is true of many other animals. Flight is a reaction which the predator associates with fear and potential prey species.⁶⁵ Sudden movement is inadvisable when confronted with any potentially dangerous animal.

Given the ability of wolves to read the body language of their prey there may be a case of cause and effect in that fear displayed, consciously or not, by humans provokes the wolf. The natural response for someone taught to fear wolves is to run away from them. Pursuit is the natural response for a wolf, or any other predator, when confronted by something fleeing.

Pullainen reported that if a wolf and a man met in Finland the wolf would step aside.⁶⁶ Perhaps this is due to fear but if the man showed fear first then the reaction could be different. Wolves coming into contact with humans have been known to

⁶¹ Stephenson and Aghook, "The Eskimo Hunters View", p. 291.

⁶² The most significant is Mech, L. D., Meir, T., Burch, J. W., and Adams, L. G., "Patterns of Prey Selection by Wolves in Denali National Park, Alaska", in L. N. Carbyn, S. H. Fritts, and D. R. Seip, eds., Ecology and Conservation of Wolves in a Changing World, Alberta, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 35, pp. 231-243.

⁶³ Lee Rue, L., Wolves: A Portrait of the Natural World, New York, Magna Books, 1993, p. 24.

⁶⁴ Fox, M. W., The Behaviour of Wolves, Dogs and Related Canids, London, Cape, 1971. p. 22 and pp. 155-156.

⁶⁵ Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 59.

⁶⁶ Pullainen, E., "Ecology of the Wolf in the Settled Areas of Finland", in E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland STPM Press, 1979, p. 90.

urinate and defecate.⁶⁷ These are classic symptoms of fear in many species, including humans. The existence of two species which mistrust each other creates a climate for mutual aggression. Teaching people to fear the wolf may therefore place them in danger.

Possible reasons for fearing wolves are the beliefs that they eat people and that they are dangerous to people. Both are based on the assumption that the wolf is a ruthless and effective predator. Leaving aside the man-eating debate it is apparent that wolves are not the efficient hunters of popular belief. Mech noted a ten percent success rate for wolves hunting moose, and Peterson witnessed a couple of hundred confrontations between moose and wolves, resulting in just ten kills.⁶⁸ The general method of hunting involves wolves rushing at a pack of prey with the intention of isolating the vulnerable which can then be despatched. However humans cannot be compared with other prey species of wolves for the simple reason that it is rare for a large group of people to encounter a wolf pack. Stories of wolves attacking people generally involve individuals or small groups of three or four.

The wolf is not to be feared as a successful hunter and nor can it be feared as an indiscriminate killer of prey. Fox felt that wolves did not kill more than they needed to eat.⁶⁹ Zimen and Boitani felt that they did but described such incidents as rare.⁷⁰ Mech noted that the last two wolves in Sweden were shot after they had killed 40 reindeer in two days, far more than they needed for consumption.⁷¹ Since wolves learn to hunt by experience one possible explanation for surplus killing is that young wolves were responsible.⁷² Lopez thought it possible that surplus killing only occurred during the period when wolves were den-bound.⁷³ There may also be psychological, certainly possible in the Swedish case, and environmental reasons which have not yet been detected. If it can be established that wolves normally only kill what they need to eat

⁶⁷Weise, T. F., Robinson, W. L., Hook, R. A., and Mech, L. D., "An Experimental Translocation of the Eastern Timber Wolf", in E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland SPTM Press, 1979, p. 369.

⁶⁸ Mech, The Wolf, p. 301. Peterson, The Wolves of Isle Royale, p. 117.

⁶⁹ Fox, The Behaviour, p. 113.

⁷⁰ Zimen and Boitani, "Status", p. 67.

⁷¹ Mech, "Some Considerations", pp. 447-448.

⁷² Bueller, L. E., Wild Dogs of the World, London, Constable, 1974, p. 62.

⁷³ Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 54.

then attacks on people in areas where there is a high population of other prey species would have to be dismissed or attributed to abnormal wolves.

Hunting methods of the wolf involve caution as the strong legs of ungulates can cause serious injuries. Aelian said that the wolf would not meet the bull in direct combat.⁷⁴ He also said that the wolf examined all sheep in search of an opportunity and that the sheep were alert.⁷⁵ In a similar vein Albert the Great noted that wild pigs herd together and assist those who are separated.⁷⁶ This has been confirmed by recent observations of the wolf's hunting techniques. It has several implications in terms of shaping human prejudices against wolves. Firstly it suggests that the domestication of sheep has, over a period of time, reduced the survival instincts present in wild animals and thus made the sheep more vulnerable to wolf predation. Secondly it implies that livestock owners who invest in proper protection for their animals will reduce the likelihood of wolf attacks. Aelian contrasted the protected sheep and the exposed donkey which was easily overcome by the wolf.⁷⁷ In the ancient world small flocks of sheep would usually be guarded by a shepherd with at least one dog. Being an intelligent animal the wolf will not expose itself to danger and will retreat in search of easier prey, if that can be found. It is for this reason that campaigners who wish to protect the wolf in countries such as Slovakia are funding traditional shepherding practices, even to the point of supplying dogs.⁷⁸

*"If a sheep is unguarded, it is far the most interesting to catch: no risk, no effort. If it is guarded by dogs, it will be necessary to risk a wound (even a minor one can become a fatal handicap for the wolf) and it will be necessary to devote much time, among several wolves, to distract the attention of the sheepdogs."*⁷⁹

Towards the end of the middle ages it became financially expedient to group large numbers of sheep together, often under the less than watchful eye of an

⁷⁴ Aelian, *On Animals*, 5.19.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 5.19.

⁷⁶ Albert the Great, trans. J. J. Scanlan, *Man and the Beasts, de Animalibus, Books 22-26*, New York, Medieval and Renaissance Centre and Studies, 1987, 22.9.

⁷⁷ Aelian, *On Animals*, 8.6.

⁷⁸ Rigg, R., "Vzuzivanie Pastierskych Straznych Psov na Ochranu Oviec a Koz Pred Medvedmi a Vlkmi", in R. Rigg and K. Balekova, eds., *Komplexne Riesenie Problemu Synantropnych Medvedov*, Informacne centrum Spravy NP Poloniny, Nova Sedlica, 2002, pp. 27-40.

⁷⁹ *Proposal of the "Group Loup France" for an active Policy of Wolf Protection in France*, Council of Administration of the Group Loup, France, 01/06/1998, p. 7.

inexperienced shepherd without dogs. Removing predators offered enormous savings to sheep breeders. They would no longer need to enclose their sheep in pens at night and employ people to watch them.

Although wolf predation on sheep had always been a problem it could be tolerated on an infrequent basis but not when farmers were placed under pressure to produce large numbers of sheep at reduced costs in the face of increased competition.

In a tale attributed to Aesop the wolf watched two shepherds eating lamb and said that they would soon complain if he was doing the same.⁸⁰ This took on another meaning when some of the mediaeval peasantry were denied access to meat through poverty but the wolf took what it wanted. Competition for sheep is the oldest source of conflict between men and wolves and should not be understated. However there are many agriculture based communities in countries such as India, China and Iran which may sometimes hunt but do not persecute the wolf.

Question eleven in the questionnaire asked if wolves should be hunted.

Table D Summary of answers to question 11

Answer	Number of Respondents
Yes	15
No	156
Possibly	9
Don't Know	1
Not Answered	5

Six of the fifteen respondents, 40%, who felt that wolves should be hunted also felt that wolves eat people. The overall percentage of those who felt that wolves eat people was 22.

Question 11a in the questionnaire asked the respondents who believed that wolves should be hunted to list four options in order of importance. The options were:
 Because they are dangerous to people.
 Because they are dangerous to domestic animals.

⁸⁰ Perry, B. E., trans. Babrius and Phaedrus, London, Loeb Library, 1965, Appendix, p. 453. Thompson, Motif Index, J19909.5.

Because hunting is a good sport.

Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer.

24 respondents answered this question, nine more than those who felt that wolves should be hunted. Each of their replies was collated on the following scale of points; four points for the first, three for the second, two for the third and one for the fourth. Thus the highest number of points for any option was 92. Not all of the respondents listed all of the options.

Table E: Summary of answers to question 11a.

A	B	C	D
79	52	28	23

A large majority felt that wolves should be hunted because they are man-eaters. If they could be persuaded that wolves are not man-eaters then support for the hunting of wolves would fall.

The vast majority of the respondents were opposed to the hunting of wolves, for any reason. Zimen and Boitani felt that the changing attitudes to wolves in the modern world were caused by a decline in man's economic dependence on livestock grazing.⁸¹ Naturally a reduction in wolf numbers has led to a reduction in sheep predation by wolves. Statistics from the late nineteenth century show that hundreds of wolves were killed in France each year.⁸² Now there are fewer than a hundred wild wolves in France, probably fewer than twenty. According to the Group Loup 59% of the French population have some involvement in sheep breeding yet 78% felt that the return of the wolf would be a positive move.⁸³ It is doubtful that they would feel the same way if wolves were claiming high numbers of sheep.

Some governments now offer compensation for loss of livestock to wolves. This has led to a number of false claims. In relation to one compensation package in Italy Zimen and Boitani estimated, from information supplied by national park superintendents and other authorities, that less than half the reported damages were

⁸¹ Zimen and Boitani, "Status", p. 44.

⁸² Published in *The Times* at various dates in the 1870s, 80s and 90s.

⁸³ *Proposals of the Group Loup*, p. 1.

actually caused by wolves.⁸⁴ Zimen also described a fraud in which sheep were killed by farmers in order to claim the compensation.⁸⁵ One American scientist investigated 100 cases of animals supposedly killed by wolves and discovered that wolves were responsible for just five of the casualties.⁸⁶ There are also recent cases of a similar fraud in Norway.⁸⁷ People sometimes lie about the wolf when they have something to gain.

The problem of wolf predation on livestock can be addressed by a number of preventive measures. These include more efficient usage of guard dogs, maintaining electric fences around pastures, removing carcasses quickly and fitting wolves with electronic collars that activate when the wearer approaches livestock. Research is also being conducted into the use of artificial scents to deter wolves from certain areas and the possibility of placing chemicals in carcasses to give a foul taste and thus dissuade the wolf. These ingenious tactics are being proposed to satisfy wolf opponents who assume that wolf predation on domestic animals is a serious problem. Figures relating to such predation are difficult to calculate precisely and often writers resort to rough estimates.

According to Blaine wolves in Livonia in 1823 killed:

15182 sheep

4190 swine

2544 goats

1867 horned cattle

1841 horses

1243 foals

733 calves

726 lambs

705 dogs

673 geese

312 suckling pigs

⁸⁴ Zimen and Boitani, "Status", p. 61.

⁸⁵ Zimen, *The Wolf*, pp. 276-277.

⁸⁶ Mac Intyre, R., ed., *War Against the Wolf*, Stillwater, Voyageur, 1995, p. 353.

⁸⁷ Mills, S., "Norway's Carnivores, The final Solution", *BBC Wildlife*, June 2002, 64-66.

183 kids.⁸⁸

It is not known how these figures were calculated, or where Blaine obtained them from. The Times quotes an appendix to a report, published in St. Petersburg in 1876, which said that in one province in 1873 40,000 cattle were killed by wolves.⁸⁹ It goes on to state that the estimated 170,000 wolves in Russia killed around 200,000,000 feathered game per annum. Further it was stated that wolf predation accounted for the loss of more cattle than pestilence and fire. A later report in the same newspaper said that 200,000 wolves in European Russia in 1875 killed 108,000 cattle plus poultry and dogs.⁹⁰ These figures contrast sharply with modern estimates. One source said that approximately 110 wolves in the Bieszczady and Niski Beski mountains, South East Poland, killed 69 sheep, one goat, one horse and four dogs in 1999.⁹¹ Wolves in Slovakia in 1997 are known to have killed 191 sheep, 40 cattle and three goats.⁹² In the area around Mercantor National Park where wolves have returned to France from Italy there is an average of one wolf attack on sheep per week. The wolf population in the area is reckoned at 30.⁹³

In the 1990s livestock depredation by wolves accounted for 0.25% of the total sheep population in Minnesota and 0.02% of the total sheep population in Montana. Figures for cattle were even lower.⁹⁴ In Montana it was calculated that sheep were 1750 times more likely to be attacked by a dog than a wolf although there were obviously more dogs than wolves.⁹⁵ Wolves in the Yellowstone reintroduction programme, whose numbers rose from 66 to 260 between 1995 and 2000, were confirmed as being responsible for the loss of 258 sheep and cattle between 1995 and 1999.⁹⁶ This is an average of 64.5 per year, less than the minimum number of wolves in the area.

Therefore when wolf density was at its highest figure every five wolves accounted for

⁸⁸ Blaine, D. P., Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, Longmans, 1852, p. 78.

⁸⁹ The Times, 24/08/1876, 6f.

⁹⁰ The Times, 21/06/1877, 5f.

⁹¹ Private information, January 2002.

⁹² Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, 3, (2001), 1.

⁹³ Ibid. 8.

⁹⁴ "Wolf Reintroduction, The Facts", Pamphlet issued by the Wolf Society of Great Britain, October, 2000. Mc Intrye, War Against the Wolf, p. 376.

⁹⁵ "Wolf Reintroduction, the Facts"

⁹⁶ Ibid.

the loss of one domestic animal each year. Such losses can easily be sustained, especially as compensation is an integral part of reintroduction schemes.

The Group Loup estimated that one wolf eats three kilograms of meat each day and a pack of five wolves would consume a ton of meat each year. This is the equivalent of 35 stags and does, 70 wild boar or 250 roe deer, excluding small mammals.⁹⁷ Recent research indicates that gray wolves can survive on about 2 1/2 pounds of food per day, but they require about 5 pounds per wolf per day to reproduce successfully.⁹⁸ The most a gray wolf can eat in one sitting is about 22.5 pounds.⁹⁹

Blaine's figures only relate to domestic animals and do not include wild prey so one must assume that either his statistics, or the wolf population of Livonia at that time, were unduly high. Since Blaine also advocated hunting one must doubt his motives. Moreover it is evident in another area that Blaine's research was not very thorough. He referred to parish records detailing the destruction of wolves in three locations within England¹⁰⁰ but Harting noted that the records did not exist in one of these places, the second place did not exist and the third was noted by Blaine as being in the wrong parish.¹⁰¹ Pollard copied Blaine in citing the above.¹⁰² As he is known to have read Harting this would appear to be a classic example of someone ignoring evidence in order to convey their own, flawed, views.

Most hunters are vigorous opponents of the wolf. They gain more prestige by killing animals considered dangerous. Zimen notes that sporting communities are quick to say how dangerous the wolf is.¹⁰³ Sportsmen are often hostile to the wolf because its presence is thought to affect their own interests by reducing the numbers of animals that they can hunt. This is especially true when they are not allowed to hunt wolves.

As the questionnaire showed there were some who felt that wolves should be hunted because they competed with human hunters for animals such as deer. By this philosophy the deer is there to be hunted by sportsmen but cannot feed a hungry wolf.

⁹⁷ Proposals of the Group Loup, p. 2.

⁹⁸ <http://www.wolf.org/wolves/learn/basic/faq.asp#16>.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Blaine, Encyclopaedia, p. 105.

¹⁰¹ Harting, J. E., A Short History of the Wolf in Britain, Whitstable, Pryor Publications, 1994, pp. 41-42.

¹⁰² Pollard, J., Wolves and Werewolves, London, Hale, 1964, p.70.

¹⁰³ Zimen, The Wolf, p. 325.

Some deer hunters in America blame the wolf for a decline in deer numbers, even when there is no evidence of a decline.¹⁰⁴ This does appear to be a reasonable assumption as the return of a predator might be expected to reduce the numbers of its prey. In reality wolves tend to remove ill and vulnerable members of the herd, thus ensuring that the overall numbers of prey are not adversely affected. The wolf's most vociferous opponents are hunters rather than farmers, a reversal from the times when hunters required stable wolf populations and farmers opposed them. Some farmers have mellowed and if compensation is paid for wolf predation and such predation is minimal then this softening of attitude may become more widespread. Additionally if it can be proved that wolves are not a general danger to people it is likely that they will win even more support. The validity of motivations for hunting wolves is being challenged.

The Social Organisation of Wolves

Wild wolves are gregarious animals who usually live and hunt in packs. The average pack size is seven although groups of up to 30 are not unknown. Lopez felt that the abundance of nineteenth century references to packs containing 25 to 35 wolves in North East Europe and Russia provided evidence that these packs existed.¹⁰⁵ Since the references are mostly found in fiction or second-hand sources their reliability should be questioned.

Within the wolf pack there exists a clearly defined social hierarchy for both genders which involves a leader, the Alpha, asserting dominance and it must do so constantly to retain control. Zimen noticed that the Alpha was more aggressive than his or her peers and that this aggression was directly linked to his or her position as leader.¹⁰⁶ It is not possible to identify the next Alpha wolf amongst the gentle sub-dominant wolves of the pack. Consequently wolves which are potentially aggressive, and dangerous to people, cannot be detected until they display aggression.

The ritual of domination involves the highest ranking wolf seizing the muzzle of another. The victim remains passive or rolls over. All yearlings approach the dominant animal sideways on, with heads lowered. Licking and pawing movements are

¹⁰⁴ Duluth News Tribune, 16/11/1998. Aberdeen American News, 10/12/1996.

¹⁰⁵ Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ Zimen, E., "Social Dynamics of the Wolf Pack", in Fox, ed., The Wild Canids, p. 353.

directed toward the side of the superior's face. Often this is initiated by the wolf of lower status. Following a fight the victim is offered the neck of his opponent, the most vulnerable area. Significantly it is not seized during the ritual, an offer of submission is sufficient. Schenkel thought that the submission did not apply in fierce contests and that it was usually the inferior wolf who held the jaw of his rival without daring to bite.¹⁰⁷ He believed that the motivation behind submission was a desire to facilitate social integration.¹⁰⁸ Mech observed similarities between the pose of a submissive wolf and that of a pup submitting to its mother.¹⁰⁹

Analysis of this ritual raises an interesting point. What humans regard as dangerous behaviour amongst wolves may be quite normal and harmless for wolves, provided that the correct moves in the ritual are followed by both participants. One possible explanation for some attacks by wolves on other canids is that wolves instigate the dominance ritual with potential friends but become hostile if the correct response is not received. Wolves have accepted some scientists into their packs, as described by Fox, and this could mean that they expect all humans, indeed all non-prey species, to understand and respond to their procedures.¹¹⁰

Dominance rituals are particularly evident amongst young wolves but cease when one asserts superiority. Zimen made a general point that wolves were more aggressive during the mating season.¹¹¹ In this period they become defensive of their chosen partner. Aristotle thought that wolves were fierce at the time of parturition but did not fight with each other.¹¹² Hediger felt that aggression was more common in captive wolves but this is a dubious conclusion since the captive wolf is under constant scrutiny and animals deprived of their liberty are perhaps more likely to become frustrated.¹¹³ Serious fighting amongst wolves seems to be reserved for sexual rivalry and territorial disagreements between packs.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Schenkel, R., "Submission, its features and functions in the wolf and dog", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 320.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 326.

¹⁰⁹ Mech, The Wolf, p. 128.

¹¹⁰ Fox, The Behavior, pp. 146-147. Strabo said that it was dangerous to approach wolves unless familiar with their ways, Geography, 4.4.3

¹¹¹ Zimen, "Social Dynamics", pp. 343-344.

¹¹² Aristotle, Historia Animalium, 6.18. Albert the Great, 22.68.

¹¹³ Hediger, H., trans. H. Sircom, Wild Animals in Captivity, London, Butterworth, 1956, p. 106.

¹¹⁴ Fox, The Behavior, p. 199.

Wolf packs are generally exclusive. Whilst individual members may tolerate lone wolves the leader is usually hostile. Sometimes lone wolves are accepted but more commonly they are chased away. Reasons why strange wolves are accepted into established packs are not known.¹¹⁵ Lone wolves fall into three categories in respect of their relationship to the rest of the pack; trailing subordinates, socially unacceptable scavengers and independent animals.¹¹⁶ A study in Alaska found a 26% dispersal rate from the pack, mostly males who entered other packs.¹¹⁷ Some who leave will return.¹¹⁸ Temporary splitting is common and generally it is subordinate wolves and young adults who depart from the pack. Albert the Great made what he described as a personal observation that injured wolves leave the pack.¹¹⁹ Lopez thought it possible that wolves with contagious diseases would be expelled from the pack.¹²⁰ According to Zimen hunger leads to aggression and a weakening of social bonds, both of which favour emigration from the pack.¹²¹

The lone wolf may not conform to normal wolf standards of behaviour. In particular it is unable to hunt using techniques normally adopted by wolves as these require the cooperation of the pack. Murie noted that even lambs were able to avoid lone wolves.¹²² Given that the lone wolf is less successful at hunting its normal prey and must exist by scavenging it is probably these animals that attack vulnerable humans. This seems even more likely in areas where the wolf is in close contact with unescorted children, as was the case in mediaeval Europe and is now the case in India and other parts of the world. Several ancient and mediaeval commentators agree that single wolves rather than packs were man-eaters. Aristotle said that man-eating was a trait of single wolves and Pausanias claimed that the wolf was more savage than

¹¹⁵ Meir, T. J., Burch, J. W., Mech, L. D., and Adams, L. G., "Pack Structure and Genetic Relationships among Wolf Packs in a Naturally Regulated Population", in L. N. Carbyn, S. H. Fritts, and D. R. Seip, eds., Ecology and Conservation of Wolves in a Changing World, Alberta, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 35, p. 279.

¹¹⁶ Jordan, P. A., Shelton, P. C., and Allen, D. L., "Numbers, turnover and social structure of the Isle Royale wolf population", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 243.

¹¹⁷ Ballard, et. al., Ecology of an Exploited Wolf Population, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 20.

¹¹⁹ Albert the Great, 22.68

¹²⁰ Lopez, Of Wolves and Men, p. 52.

¹²¹ Zimen, The Wolf, p. 242. The same point was made by Adolf Hitler who compared his soldiers to wolves, Hitler, A., trans. R. Markheim, Mein Kampf, London, Hutchinson, 1969, p. 274 and p. 406.

¹²² Murie, The Wolves of Isle Royale, pp. 107-108.

wolves.¹²³ The Duke of Aumarle said that old and weak wolves attacked men.¹²⁴ Similar views have been expressed about other large predators. Of tigers Sleeman wrote: *"It seems to be established that the animals which seek human prey are generally but not invariably those which owing to old wounds or other physical defects are unable to attack with confidence the stronger animals."*¹²⁵

Man-eating is not a habit of ferocious animals, rather it is a tactic adopted by weakened animals as humans are not part of the normal food chain for these predators. For humans who seek control over the natural world it is unsettling to acknowledge that predators find it easier to kill them than other animals. Consequently people would rather believe that they are threatened by a powerful pack than by an individual animal which has been ejected, through age, inability or injury from that pack.

The lone wolf metaphor, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, hails from twentieth-century America. Question ten in the questionnaire asked which was more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack.

The majority of those who answered this question felt that a pack of wolves was more dangerous than a single wolf. This is not supported by the numbers of alleged cases of wolves eating people or by the evidence of zoologists. Again the answers given to this question indicate that the respondents had a limited knowledge of wolves. Most subscribed to the, apparently, false belief that wolf packs are more dangerous to people than single wolves.

Table F: Summary of answers to question 10.

Wolf Pack	Single Wolf	Equally dangerous	Other	Not Answered
100	29	7	3	47

¹²³ Aristotle, Historia Animalium, 7.5., Pausanias, trans. P. Levi, Guide to Greece, 2 Volumes, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979, Vol. 1, p. 257.

¹²⁴ Edward, Duke of York, The Master of Game, p. 60.

¹²⁵ Sleeman, W. H., rev. V. A. Smith, Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, London, Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 128, n.1. cf. Flower, W. H., and Lydecker, R., An Introduction to the Study of Mammals, Living and Dead, London, Adams and Charles Black, 1891. They describe the man-eater as old in respect of lions, p. 510, and tigers, p. 513.

The composition of packs suggests that wolves are highly inbred but, unlike other species, they do not suffer from birth defects as a consequence.¹²⁶ Fox believed that different rates of maturation prohibited incest but Mech thought that sexual relations could occur between members of the same family.¹²⁷ The Alpha wolf may participate less in sexual activity although in a full pack it is only the Alphas who breed.¹²⁸ In captivity it has been observed that the dominant wolf restricts courtship behaviour and mating amongst subordinates.¹²⁹ Wolves are not exclusively monogamous but promiscuity is rare.¹³⁰

Female wolves are usually fertile at 22 months and have a gestation period of 63 days. Aristotle was right to declare that copulation occurs in one definite season and that the young are born in summer.¹³¹ He went on to claim that there were only twelve days in which wolves bore young because the pregnant Leto took that time to travel from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos. During the journey she assumed the appearance of a she-wolf, due to fear of Hera. Aristotle then cautiously added that it had not been definitely established that this was the time of pregnancy.¹³²

Wolves communicate by subtle auditory and visual signs and howling which can be emitted collectively or individually. They also bark, growl, whine, whimper, yelp, yip, yap and utter combinations of these. The howling occurs at all times of the year, and in many circumstances. In particular it is heard in response to human imitations of howling, tape recordings of wolves howling, when observing dominance fights and when wolves are alarmed near their den.¹³³ Depending on circumstances howling can be heard for six miles or more. Larger packs are more likely to respond to howling from other packs. This may be to warn off intruders in their territory. Smaller

¹²⁶ Woolpy, J. H. and Eckstrand, I., "Wolf Pack Genetics, A Computer Stimulation with Theory", in E. Klinghammer, ed., The Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, Proceedings of the Symposium on the Behavior and Ecology of Wolves, London, Garland SPTM Press, 1979, pp. 204-206, p. 216.

¹²⁷ Mech, The Wolf, p. 291.

¹²⁸ Fox, The Behavior, p. 127.

¹²⁹ Peterson, R., Wolf Ecology and Prey Relationships on Isle Royale, Washington, US National Parks Series, 1978, p. 80.

¹³⁰ Fox, The Behavior, p. 121.

¹³¹ Aristotle, Historia Animalium, 6.35. cf. Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck, Generation of Animals, London, Loeb Library, 1943., 4.4, where he claims that wolves produced too many offspring.

¹³² Aristotle, Historia Animalium, 6.35. Aelian, On Animals, 4.27., 10.6. Pliny, Natural History, 8.34.

¹³³ Joslin, P. W. B., "Movements and Home Sites of Timber Wolves in Algonquin Park", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), pp. 282-83.

packs may retreat in the same circumstances. This decision could depend on the importance of the resources they are defending.

Reasons suggested for howling are invariably speculative. They include; as altercations, in defence, to deter other packs, to attract mates and to coordinate social activities.¹³⁴ Howling is most common during periods of isolation.¹³⁵ Mech defined two precise reasons for howling, as a means of reassembling the pack and as a territorial defence mechanism.¹³⁶ He also accepted that there could be a third reason, related to an, as yet, undetermined social function.

Wolves are usually crepuscular and it has been noticed that their activity rate increases slightly in the early evening.¹³⁷ Such habits are shaped by their prey and, in some cases, by the presence of humans who can best be avoided by movements at dusk and during the night. There is evidence of flexibility. Mech detected a day/night routine in summer and a day one in winter.¹³⁸ This is noteworthy since some incidents of wolves attacking people are said to have occurred on dark, winter nights. Several writers believed that wild beasts, in general, were nocturnal right up until the nineteenth century. In 1817 Edward Christian associated wild beasts with humans who slept during the day and prowled at night.¹³⁹ Further he thought that nocturnal ambulation led to crime. It is likely that this belief lost impetus as humanity gradually tamed the night through artificial lighting. For this reason a question about wolves being nocturnal was not included in the questionnaire.

Wolf packs tend to remain in one area. In Mount Mc Kinley national park they were found to be operating in exactly the same territory for over 30 years.¹⁴⁰ Continuously they use the same travel lines and seem to possess cognitive maps of the

¹³⁴ There is an increase in response rates to howling during the breeding season, see Harrington, F. H., and Mech, L. D., "Wolf Vocalization", In R. L. Hall and H. S. Sharp, eds., Wolf and Man: Evolution in Parallel, London, Academy Press, 1978, p. 119.

¹³⁵ Therberge, J. B., and Falls, J. B., "Howling as a Means of Communication in Timber Wolves", American Zoologist, 7, (1967), 36-37.

¹³⁶ Mech, L. D., "What do we know about Wolves and what more do we need to learn?" In L. N. Carbyn, S. H. Fritts, and D. R. Seip, eds., Ecology and Conservation of Wolves in a Changing World, Alberta, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 35, pp. 541.

¹³⁷ Fox, The Behavior, p. 131.

¹³⁸ Mech, The Wolf, p. 19.

¹³⁹ Christian, E., A Treatise on the Game Laws, London, R. Watts, 1817, pp. 333-334.

¹⁴⁰ Fox, The Behavior, p. 141.

territory.¹⁴¹ During winter they may travel in excess of 30 miles per day.¹⁴² The use of radio collars has allowed researchers to identify individual wolves that have travelled more than 800 kilometres.¹⁴³ They generally travel for between eight and ten hours each day.¹⁴⁴ Travelling in summer is less extensive because the pups need to be looked after and heat restricts movement. The urge to travel may be connected to the search for prey, which is scarce in winter and mobile all year round. Hunger drives the wolf out of the woods according to a proverb. It is easy to see how villagers frightened by the onset of winter would react in an unfavourable way to the presence of a carnivore hidden from them during summer in woods which they rarely visited.

Our ancestors may have felt that wolves only lived in woodland. This belief is not widely held in England now. Question seven in the questionnaire asked if wolves only lived in forests. The term forest is a legal distinction that was introduced in the mediaeval era and refers to an area of chase that may or may not be woodland. Only 22 of the respondents felt that wolves did live in forests. Woodland is no longer a familiar scene in England, surviving in isolated patches. Thomas states that the bulk of woodland clearance in England had been achieved by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and Manwood reported that the first settlers had destroyed the woodland near their places of settlement.¹⁴⁵ Yet in 1654 Joshua Poole described the forest as "*dreadful, gloomy, wild, desert, uncouth, melancholy, unpeopled and beast-haunted.*"¹⁴⁶ These connotations provide another reason for hating wolves. They were strongly associated with land which humanity, in pre-industrial times, could not claim as its own. One idea which occurs repeatedly in human history is the perceived necessity of taming, or controlling, the wilderness. When this was impossible the wilderness would be feared along with its real, and imagined, inhabitants. Classical mythology contained numerous unpleasant monsters that were thought to live in wild

¹⁴¹ Peters, R., "Communication, Cognitive Mapping and Strategy in Wolves and Hominids", In R. L. Hall and H. S. Sharp, eds., *Wolf and Man: Evolution in Parallel*, London, Academy Press, 1978, p. 98.

¹⁴² Mech, *The Wolf*, p. 3.

¹⁴³ Fritts, S. H., "Record Dispersal by a Wolf from Minnesota", *Journal of Mammalogy*, 64, (1983), pp. 166-67.

¹⁴⁴ Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas, K., *Man and the Natural World*, London, Allen Lane, 1983, p. 193. Manwood, J., *A Treatise of the Lawes of the Forest*, London, 1615, reprinted Amsterdam, Waller J Johnson, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, 1976, 11-12.

¹⁴⁶ Poole, J., *The English Parnassus*, London, Tho. Johnson, 1657, p. 225.

places. English translations of the bible from the fourteenth century onwards stressed the connotations of the wilderness.¹⁴⁷ Nash counted 245 references to the wilderness in the Old Testament and 13 in the New Testament, not including the usage of terms such as wasteland and desert.¹⁴⁸ Land outside civilisation was feared for its unknown qualities.

The Submissive Wolf

Mech cited several cases of trapped wolves submitting willingly to their captors and scientists have even taken pups from dens without the watching parents retaliating.¹⁴⁹ Such submissiveness is at variance with traditional images of fearless man-eaters and with the natural instinct of any animal to defend its young. Writers such as Blaine and Hornaday described the wolf as cowardly because of this.¹⁵⁰ Meadows also described the single wolf as "*a notorious coward.*"¹⁵¹ Yet all these writers also considered the wolf to be dangerous. The two characteristics are not necessarily incompatible as a frightened animal is often dangerous but one which submits easily is unlikely to pursue and threaten the same captors.

Detailed observation of wild wolves has only become possible in the last fifty years. Studies are still embryonic and concentrate heavily on wolves in North America, Canada and those in captivity. In North America and Canada wolves have minimal interactions with people. Although there are no accurate statistics it is highly likely that wolves in mediaeval Europe would have been in closer contact with humans and such contact would have increased in the early days of industrialisation as the wolf's preferred forest habitat was eroded. It is in this period between the onset of industrialisation and the virtual extirpation of the wolf that most stories of wolves eating people can be found.

Zoological research has produced evidence that wolves are confused with other canids and with hybrids, some of which attack people on a more frequent basis. Furthermore it has demonstrated that ancient and mediaeval authorities made some

¹⁴⁷ Nash, R., *The Wilderness and the American Mind*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1973, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ Mech, *The Wolf*, pp. 5-6, 292.

¹⁵⁰ Blaine, *Encyclopaedia*, p. 85. Hornaday, *The American Natural History*, p. 22.

¹⁵¹ Meadows, L., *Watched by Wolves and Other Anecdotes of Animals*, London, Roxburghe Press, n/d., p. 15.

errors in their descriptions of wolves, although these are mostly due to exaggeration or the postulation of spurious reasons to explain certain traits. None of these authorities detailed examples of wolves eating people and seem to be agreed that it was a rare occurrence which is supported by the recent research of Linnell's team.

Stories of man-eating wolves are more numerous. The next chapter will look at specific instances and their influence in England.

4. The Man-Eating Wolf

“The historical evidence can never be clear enough for us to know what really happened but the evidence as to what people believed to have happened is relatively clear.”¹

The belief in man-eating wolves appears to be disproportionate to the number of known cases in which healthy wild wolves have attacked a person. This section of the study will look firstly at the belief itself, then at historical cases in which wolves are supposed to have eaten people in Europe and finally at modern cases in other parts of the world. For the purpose of the study the dissemination of stories about man-eating wolves in England is of primary importance.

The allegation of man-eating has been made, with varying degrees of evidence, about several animal species including the lion, tiger, leopard, wolf, snake, crocodile, hyena, gorilla and alligator. From the twentieth century onwards it has been possible to collect statistics on man-eating animals. Although incomplete these suggest that the fear of man-eating animals is disproportionate to the number of verified cases for most species. For example the crocodile is frequently portrayed as a man-eater yet, according to a BBC documentary in 2000; there were just 60 recorded attacks by crocodiles on people in Australia during the twentieth century, half of which proved fatal. This is approximately one death every 39 months.²

Animals killing people in order to eat them seems to be a rare occurrence. Certainly it does not happen in England where no wild animals exhibit this trait. In species of large felid predators, such as lions and tigers, the man-eaters tend to be old and unable to hunt their normal prey. This is attested to by zoologists and by people who have lived and worked amongst large predators and witnessed attacks on people.³ These felids may have become accustomed to human flesh by chance, possibly through tasting corpses as a result of scavenging. Corbett, in his account of a hunt for a man-

¹ Russell, J. B., The Devil, Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity, London, Ithaca, 1977, p. 12.

² Broadcast as part of the “Wild” series on BBC1, 22/05/2000.

³ Thornhill M, Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official, London, J Murray, 1899, p. 272.

eating leopard, which may in part be fictitious, states that epidemics of disease increased the possibility of man-eating leopards in the district.⁴ Possibly this is because it reduced the time which humans were able to spend protecting themselves against leopards.

Animal species believed to be man-eaters fall into two categories. The first comprises those such as the leopard, lion and tiger where there is direct evidence of man-eating by individual animals. The second includes those such as the gorilla and Komodo dragon where the accusation of man-eating has been proven false and subsequently these animals are no longer commonly thought to have man-eating tendencies. The wolf falls into the first category.

Linnell's edited study identified three types of attacks by wolves on people; rabid, predatory and defensive.⁵ It is the predatory attacks which could account for instances of man-eating. Linnell described them as featuring an individual, or a wolf pack, attacking individuals around the face and neck.⁶ If undisturbed the wolf or wolves would usually consume the victim. These attacks occurred in clusters, perhaps implying environmental reasons specific to particular places and times, and most were reported in pre twentieth century France, Estonia and Northern Italy.⁷

During the late 1980s environmental and government agencies in the USA began objective classification of attacks by wolves on people. This was an essential criterion for the monitoring of wolf reintroduction schemes. There have been five recorded incidents of a wolf biting a human in Algonquin since 1987.⁸ In addition there have been several other cases of wolves displaying aggression towards people in the USA during the 1990s. It is possible that these incidents occurred as a result of increased contact between wolves and humans, due to increasing numbers of tourists visiting areas where wolves have been reintroduced. In these areas the hunting of wolves is not permitted and consequently the wolves have no reason to fear, and avoid, humanity. Indeed they are often attracted to campsites to scavenge on discarded food.

⁴ Corbett, J., The Man-Eating Leopard of Rudraprayag, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1954, p. 6.

⁵ Linnell, J. D. C., ed., The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on People, Trondheim, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, 2002., p. 4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

⁸ Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, Autumn 2000, 1-3.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that European wolves in previous centuries would have scavenged in, and around, villages and possibly attacked people. Linnell suggested that rabies, habituation, provocation and modifications to the environment were factors.⁹ A reduction in the numbers of wild ungulates in Europe during the 19th century may also have contributed.¹⁰ However it is necessary to distinguish between wolves that are aggressive to people and those that are potential man-eaters.

Incidents of captive wolves attacking people have largely been excluded from this study on the assumption that aggression in captive animals is generally related more to that captivity than to the normal behaviour of the species in the wild. It is likely however that stories of captive wolves attacking people would influence people into believing that all wolves were always dangerous.

Question nine in the questionnaire asked if wolves were dangerous to people.

Table G: Summary of answers to question nine

Yes	No	Don't Know	Possibly	Yes with conditions
60	55	2	1	31

The conditions specified in the last answer included hard winters, provocation, hunger and human aggression. The vast majority of respondents therefore considered wolves to be dangerous to people.

Question nine was perhaps too ambiguous as it permitted individual definitions of the term 'dangerous'. Some respondents may have felt that this term applied only to wolves displaying unprovoked aggression whilst others may have included wolf behaviour that was motivated by self-defence or following extreme provocation. A more precise definition of dangerous may have yielded different results.

The majority of respondents felt strongly enough about the issue to express an opinion. There is no way of determining how many based that opinion on knowledge. In the answers to question eighteen only 21 respondents, listed observation of wolves, in the wild or zoos, as being the source that had most influenced their impressions of

⁹ Linnell, p. 8.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

wolves.¹¹ Fiction received most nominations in the answers to question eighteen as the source that had most influenced the respondents' impressions of wolves. If the respondents to question nine were voicing opinions, rather than knowledge, it can be assumed that some were influenced by fiction. Most of the nominated works of fiction in question fourteen featured the belief that wolves eat people.¹²

If the respondents were influenced by works of fiction which portray wolves as man-eaters then one would expect them to say that the wolf is not only dangerous to people but also a man-eater. Question eight in the questionnaire asked if wolves ate people.

Table H: Summary of answers to question eight.

No	Yes	Yes, with conditions	Possibly	Don't know	Not answered
93	41	26	22	2	2

The conditions specified by individual respondents included hard winters, famine and opportunity. The majority of the respondents felt that wolves did not eat people. The respondents were not just influenced by works of fiction since fiction which describes the wolf as dangerous invariably also portrays it as a man-eater.

The absence of verifiable occurrences indicates that man-eating is not a normal characteristic of wolves. Any attempt to examine the disproportionate belief in man-eating wolves should consider the reasons why individual wolves might deviate from normal patterns of wolf behaviour.

Possible Reasons why Wolves eat People

Several reasons have been suggested to account for man-eating wolves. Some of those which may have influenced English impressions of the wolf will be considered here in chronological order.

The virtual absence of references to man-eating wolves in extant ancient sources does not mean that man-eating wolves were not thought to exist in ancient

¹¹ Above, p. 53.

¹² Discussed in chapter seven.

times. It may be that they were sufficiently common to pass without comment or that no records have survived. Given that the majority of their victims would have been from rural areas and witnesses probably illiterate, this is understandable.

It is possible that the wolf was once thought to be more dangerous to people in winter than in summer. Although there is no contemporary evidence that the Anglo-Saxons associated man-eating wolves with winter some later authorities have suggested that they did and may have obtained this information from contemporary sources. Olaus Magnus, who wrote in 1555, with an English translation in 1658, implied that wolves were more dangerous to people in January.¹³ Blaine cited an unspecified ancient authority who claimed that the Saxons called January wolf-month because they were more likely to be devoured at that time.¹⁴ There is no evidence to support this and, unless it is an elaboration of Magnus's comments, the earliest extant reference to it appears to be in the wonderfully titled Restitution of Decayed Intelligence by the seventeenth century writer Richard Rowland, also known as Verstegan.¹⁵ The Saxon name for January appears to have been *Æftera-Geol-monap* meaning after yuletide month.¹⁶ It is to be expected that wolves would find it more difficult to hunt their normal prey in winter, especially severe winters. This may have led to increased predation on domestic animals and therefore greater interaction with villagers. There is nothing to indicate that wolves were considered to be a serious problem in Anglo-Saxon times.

The extant works of some Anglo-Saxon poets contain the idea that wolves eat corpses, especially those abandoned on battlefields. In the poem called Exodus, we are told that the "*wolves sang the dread evensong in the hope of feasting*" prior to a battle.¹⁷ Other Anglo-Saxon poems also associate the wolf with death and battle.¹⁸ From this, and also the link between the names of warriors and the wolf, we may infer

¹³ Magnus, O., *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes and Vandals and other northern nations*, London, J Streater, 1658.18.10.

¹⁴ Blaine, D. P., Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, Longmans, 1852, p. 104.

¹⁵ Verstegan, R., *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, concerning the most noble and renowned English nation*, Antwerp, Robert Braines, 1605, p. 59.

¹⁶ Bede, Opera de temporibus, ed. C. W. Jones, Cambridge, Mass, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1943, ch. 15.

¹⁷ "Exodus", in Gordon, R. K., ed. and trans. Anglo-Saxon Poetry, London, J M Dent, 1927, p. 115.

¹⁸ "Elene", in Ibid., p. 211. "Gnomic Poetry, IV", in Ibid., p. 314. Whitelock, D., Douglas, D. C. and Tucker, S. I., eds. and trans., The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, Eyre Methuen, 1965, 937

that it was a widespread connotation. It was also a favourable one as warrior cultures admire the perceived hunting qualities of the wolf and this is shown in the wolf-derived Saxon names.¹⁹

In his poem about the battle of Hastings the Anglo-Norman poet Guido describes wolves feeding on the dead in the aftermath of battle.²⁰ There is nothing implausible about the carrion eating wolf consuming corpses which had been abandoned on the battlefield or other places such as the gallows. In general bodies would not be buried deeply and during times of plague would be exposed in numbers. Several unconfirmed stories state that people were no longer buried in churchyards in Scotland during Mary Stuart's reign because of wolves digging up graves.²¹ If wolves were seen eating corpses then it would be reasonable for people to assume that wolves would kill and eat living humans. The hyena, often confused with the wolf, was considered to eat corpses.²² However there is no evidence that eating carrion attracts a predator to living flesh.²³

Some mediaeval texts began to postulate reasons why wolves ate people. The Master of Game describes wolves as strong and evil, noting that they fed on flesh, carrion and vermin. The author felt that a wolf which had eaten a person would become addicted to the taste and then pursue other humans. Apparently it had been known for wolves to leave sheep untouched and eat the shepherd instead.²⁴ The last two points may seem unlikely but if any animal develops a taste for a particular food and that food

¹⁹ Above, Chapter 1, p. 12.

²⁰ "Carmen de Bello Hastingensi", line 571, in Monumenta Historia Britannica, London, H. Petre, 1847.

²¹ Zimen, E., The Wolf, His Place in the Natural World, London, Souvenir Press, 1981 p. 309. Harting, J. E., A Short History of the Wolf in Britain, Whiststable, Pryor Publications, 1994, pp. 68-69. Darling, J. F., and Morton Boyd., J., The Highlands and Islands, London, Collins, 1964, p. 64. Pliny claimed that the hyena was the only mammal to eat dead humans, Pliny the Elder, trans. H. Rackman, Natural History, 10 Volumes, London, Loeb Classical Library, 1960, 8.3. Albert the Great described the jackal as a cross between wolf and fox then said that it would eat dead men in graves, Albert the Great, trans. J. J. Scanlan, Man and the Beasts, de Animalibus, Books 22-26, New York, Medieval and Renaissance Centre and Studies, 1987. 22.86. Timotheus of Gaza also says that the hyena stole bodies and drank blood, Bodenheimer, F. S., and Rabinowitz, A. trans., Timotheus of Gaza on Animals, Paris, Academie Internationale d'histoire des Sciences, 1980, 4.5, and 4.9. Bodleian MS 764. 15 shows a hyena eating a corpse in a graveyard.

²² Turton, W., A General System of nature through the three grand kingdoms of animals, vegetables and minerals, translated from Gamelin's last edition of System Naturae by Sir Charles Linne, 7 Volumes, London, Lackington and Allen, 1820, p. 44.

²³ Linnell, p. 37.

²⁴ Edward, 2nd Duke of York, eds., W. A. Baillie-Graham and F. Baillie-Graham, The Master of Game, London, Hanson and Co, 1909, p. 60.

can easily be obtained, then it will continue to pursue it. Theoretically single wolves would find it easier to abduct a small child than a sheep, assuming that the child was alone.

In 1508 a German preacher, Geiler von Kaysersberg, published a sermon in which he listed seven reasons why wolves eat people.²⁵ Although this may not have been disseminated in England during the sixteenth century many of the reasons have appeared in sources that were so a brief summary is expedient. It may be that von Kaysersberg was quoting from a text that is no longer extant as some of the reasons were in circulation before he wrote.²⁶ The reasons given are: hunger, savageness, age, experience, madness, the Devil and God. Von Kaysersberg expanded on each point in turn. A summary, with some commentary, follows.

1. Hungry wolves had nothing to eat in the woods and came to villages when they were cold.

As noted earlier in this study wolves are more mobile in winter. This would bring them to the attention of villagers and lead to predation on domestic animals, and possibly people.

2. Savageness in wolves was an innate condition.

Von Kaysersberg repeated Pliny's assertion that wolves were smaller in cold places and more savage.²⁷ He then stated that wolves were more savage at Candlemass and illustrated this with a proverb, which, as translated by Baring-Gould, reads: "*He who seeks a wolf at Candlemass, a peasant on Shrove Tuesday and a parson in Lent is a man of pluck.*"²⁸ Wolves were also considered by von Kaysersberg to be savage when defending their young.

It is to be expected that any animal will defend their young. If however 'savageness' was a natural condition of all wolves it must be asked why all wolves do not attack people. This type of attack would be placed in Linnell's "defensive" category.

²⁵ "*Die Emeis. Dis ist das Büch von der Omeissen, und durch Herr der Klünnig ich diene gern. Und sagt von Eigenschafft der Omeissen, und gibt underweisung von der Unholden oder Hexen, und von Gespenst, der Geist, und von dem Wütenden Heer Wunderbarlich*", trans. S. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Werewolves*, London, Smith, Elder and Co, 1865, pp. 261-266.

²⁶ *The Master of Game*, pp. 60-61.

²⁷ Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.60.

²⁸ Baring Gould, *Book of Werewolves*, p. 263.

3. Old Wolves were unable to hunt their normal prey.

Earlier sections of this study have discussed the possibility that wolves which are isolated from the pack are more likely to attack people, and further noted the pattern of old animals in other species attacking people.

4. Man-eating wolves were motivated by experience because human flesh is sweeter than all other and is addictive.

Wolves do tend to favour one prey species in a given area. This is usually the animal they find easiest to catch. This may tie in with the belief that wolves eat corpses as it is a small step from eating a dead creature to consuming a living member of the species. The idea that human flesh is better than all others is simply an example of the preacher's belief in human superiority.

5. Madness in man-eating wolves stemmed from ignorance and the wolf was a wild dog gone mad.

This may explain some of the resentment felt by Christians, and later industrialists, towards the wolf. Here was an animal which resisted all attempts to control it. The perfectly ordered world made by God left no room for the disruptive element. It is also possible that similarities between the tame dog and wild wolf were considered disturbing. Von Kaysersberg makes no mentions of rabies, a disease which provides a plausible explanation for some accounts of wolves attacking people.²⁹ Rabies was not easy to identify and, as it induces thinness, witnesses may have assumed that a hungry wolf was targeting people. At present however it is unclear if there were distinctions between rabid and normal wolves and how rabies in wolves was diagnosed.

6. Von Kaysersberg suggests that the devil was responsible for man-eating wolves and discussed werewolves. He stated that the man-eating wolf and the werewolf are identical.

The French term "*Loup-Garou*" is used to denote both man-eating wolf and werewolf. Cases of abnormal wolf behaviour can easily be explained by the assumption of human possession. However, like many theologians, von Kaysersberg

²⁹ There is an account of a rabid wolf biting 22 people at Camarthen in 1166, Williams, J., ed, *Annales Cambriae*, London, Rolls Series, 1860, 1166.

could not accept that humans were able to transform themselves into wolves, believing instead that it was an illusion caused by the Devil. Werewolves will be looked at in more detail in chapter six. Most of the lycanthropy texts were written after von Kaysersberg's sermon and it is possible that his text was an important, and hitherto, unrecognised influence upon them.

7. Von Kaysersberg quoted Elijah sending bears as an example of God using animals to inflict divine punishment on sinners.³⁰

The idea that God used man-eating wolves to inflict divine punishment on sinners will be considered in chapter five. It was an idea common in the first millennium before the development of ideas about Satan allowed an alternative instigator of destructive acts. In the years before the Reformation perhaps the wrath of an angry God was considered a greater deterrent than Satan.

Three of the reasons; hunger, age and injury are closely related. The pattern of elderly and injured animal predators attacking people is commonly found. In addition variations do exist in the hunting behaviour of wolves. Some experiments have shown that not all wolves hunt in the same way. They adapt according to their environment and develop hunting techniques that suit them as individuals. This pattern of flexibility has also been noticed in other species, such as foxes.³¹ There are also differences in wolf interactions with wolverines and bears in Europe and North America which suggests that their relationship with humans may also have varied.³²

It may be said that the first five reasons put forward by von Kaysersberg are scientific rather than supernatural. This does suggest that, at the time when he was preaching, some people were asking questions about the natural world and searching for non-theological answers.

The most interesting aspect of the entire sermon is the motivation behind it. Wolf attacks on people must have been rare to merit such a lengthy explanation. If it was widely accepted that wolves preyed on people then von Kaysersberg would not

³⁰ 2 Kings, 24-25.

³¹ Sullivan, J. O., "Individual Variation in Hunting Behavior in Wolves", in Klinghammer, The Behavior, p. 286.

³² Mech, L. D., The Wolf, The Ecology and Behavior of an Endangered Species, New York, Doubleday, Natural History Press, 1976, p. 283.

have to speculate on the reasons why individual wolves did so. This only makes his comment about savageness being innate in wolves all the more bizarre.

Olaus Magnus said that some of the northern people would receive arms at church in order to defend themselves against wolves.³³ According to him those wolves preferred big bellied women. In his text he elaborated on Pliny's point about small wolves, explaining that these were in Africa and Egypt and that the northern wolves were fiercer.³⁴ Many of the cases documented by Linnell were in Northern and Eastern Europe, although it is worth noting the rarity of the occurrences.

Possible reasons why wolves might eat people were summarised by Zimen: *"My own guess is that attacks (on humans) might occur if natural prey were lacking, if wolves were too numerous to exist on domestic animals and if human beings were poorly armed, and the wolf had got used to eating corpses."*³⁵

All of the criteria specified by Zimen may well have existed simultaneously in Europe at some point. Russell and Russell felt that the following reasons could explain why wolves ate people in the past but do not do so now.

1. Modern wolves are more cautious, due to firearms.
2. Most wolf attacks on people occurred at times of very severe weather and/or social instability. Human communities are less vulnerable now.
3. Individual wolves may have deviated from normal wolf behaviour.³⁶

It is true that most wolf attacks on people are reported during periods of severe weather or social instability. Such conditions would obviously hamper any attempts to control the wolf population which, if excessive, might have to seek food outside its normal prey. The third reason is less acceptable unless the reasons for the deviation in behaviour were caused by environmental conditions specific to a certain time and place. Otherwise it would be necessary to state why individual wolves do not deviate in a like manner now. It is this third reason that explains most incidents of man-eating in other predators and the current low status of wolf populations, often with adequate numbers of prey species, may explain why man-eating wolves are no longer found.

³³ Magnus, *A Compendious History*, 18.10.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Zimen, *The Wolf*, p. 320.

³⁶ Russell, W. M. S., and Russell, C., "The Social Biology of Werewolves", in J. R. Porter and W. M. Russell, eds., *Animals in Folklore*, London, D S Brewer, 1978, p. 158.

Many of the authorities listed above believed that wolves ate people but none provided specific information. There were sources available in England discussing man-eating wolves from at least Anglo-Saxon times to the present. The next section will look at some incidents of man-eating wolves in Europe and attempt to differentiate between fact, fiction and legend.

Historical Accounts of Man-Eating Wolves

The view of most zoologists who have studied wolves in the wild is that none of the stories of man-eating wolves in Europe and North America can be verified and must be classed as invention. Such conclusions are supported by Linnell's report. Mech writes: "*Such stories often give the full name, address, age and other detailed information about the victim but when tracked down these tales prove to be masterpieces of fabrication.*"³⁷

A good example of this type of story was provided by respondent number 124, a 33 year old male from Bristol. He wrote: "*It is commonly said that wolves do not eat people but my dad recalls a member of his platoon going missing during a particularly severe winter when he was in the Greek army and he is adamant that the poor chap was eaten by wolves but of course we can't prove that...*"

The author of this work has spoken to people who claim to have been chased by wolves in Syria and Turkey. These stories of wolves jumping on jeeps and attacking travellers are told by mature individuals who have not gone out of their way to disseminate the information. They must be taken seriously although the tales cannot be easily verified. In one case I was told that an incident involving a wolf attacking a person was recorded in a Syrian newspaper but no date, or year, was provided. Thus far the report has not been traced.³⁸ In the absence of collaborative evidence a question mark must be placed against modern oral tales of man-eating wolves, especially in

³⁷ Mech, L. D., The Wolves of Isle Royale, Washington, US Government Prints Office, Fauna of the National Parks of the United States, Fauna Series, 7, 1962, p. xi.

³⁸ However there is evidence that the species of wolf found in Syria, *canis lupus palipes*, does eat people. See below, pp 115-119.. Linnell's research did not extend into Syria.

view of the evidence presented earlier which indicates that wolves are frequently confused with other canid species.

In the British Isles there are some extant stories of wolves killing people although these are not widely known at the end of the twentieth century, being mostly recorded in obscure legends and local traditions. Their influence in previous times is hard to assess but it is likely that they were well known in local areas.

The Scottish chronicler, Andrew of Wyntoun, tells how an early British king, Memprys, was killed by a wolf whilst out hunting.³⁹ This king was supposed to be a direct descendant of Brutus, who died in 980BC. The story was not written down until 1480 and cannot be considered reliable. There is no surviving information on the sources used by the chronicler. Presumably it was an oral tradition. Memprys or Mempricius is also mentioned by Verstegan who claims that another early British king, Mada, was also killed by wolves.⁴⁰ Frustratingly he does not cite his sources.

Two typical legends hail from Cumberland. Near Ulpha in Millom parish there is a well called Lady's Dub. Tradition said that a lady was killed by wolves in the vicinity.⁴¹ Another lady, the wife of the Lord of Beckerment, was also supposedly killed by wolves whilst out hunting.⁴² Neither story can be traced back to any particular individual or dated with any precise detail. They don't appear to have been written down before 1860, indicating that the oral traditions survived for at least three centuries unless one is willing to accept a later date than that commonly accepted for the wolf's extinction in England. It is interesting that both ladies and Memprys were killed whilst hunting. This was perhaps the only reason why nobility would venture into the forest and thus their only contact with wolves. If the stories are true then it could be that the wolf was provoked by the hunters, which would make the attack "defensive" as per Linnell.

There are several stories of wolves attacking people in fifteenth-century France. An extant diary of Parisian life at the start of the fifteenth century makes a few

³⁹ Armour, F. J., ed., The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun, 2 Volumes, London, Scottish Text Society, 1903, Vol. 1., p. 54.

⁴⁰ Verstegan, Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, p. 59.

⁴¹ Whelan, W., ed., History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmoreland, London, White and Co, 1860, p. 411.

⁴² Ibid., p. 463.

references to man-eating wolves.⁴³ The author tells us that wolves came into towns, swimming across rivers and digging up corpses.⁴⁴ In March 1420 wolves which had entered the city to eat corpses were attracted to a pregnant woman who had been tied to a tree and devoured her.⁴⁵ In a more specific case a child was eaten by a wolf in the Place aux Chauts in 1438.⁴⁶ In another incident during the last week of September, 1439, wolves apparently killed and ate fourteen people.⁴⁷ They ignored herds and attacked herdsmen. One wolf called Courtaud, a name usually given to a docked horse, was caught on Martimas Eve.⁴⁸ The story of Courtaud was exaggerated into an epic tale by later writers, some of whom wrote for an English speaking audience. In his mixture of fiction and legend Seton tells of the hunter Boisselier and the wolf-king of France, Courtaud.⁴⁹ After a long and vicious battle hunter and prey perished together. The anonymous contemporary diarist does not mention this. He does state that on 16 December 1439, a wolf killed four housewives. The next day sixteen more people were wounded. Eleven died.⁵⁰ This high casualty rate may have resulted from attacks by a rabid wolf as a sane animal would not have reason to attack so many people. Certainly it would not have been able to eat them all. No precise details are given for any of the victims and it is unclear if the writer witnessed the events. However the fact that he gives precise dates indicates a degree of reliability and it is hard to see why someone writing a private document would invent the stories. The journal demonstrates that wolves in Paris at that time were accused of eating people but it is not known if details were disseminated in England.

One man-eating wolf from France did become known in England. A beast, or beast, in the Gevaudan region of Southern France is considered to be responsible for the deaths of up to 113 people between 1764 and 1767 with 95 of the deaths being

⁴³ Anon, Journal d'Un Bourgeois de Paris, trans. J. Shipley as A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, Oxford, Clarendon, 1958.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 162.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 175

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 327.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 332.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 332.

⁴⁹ Seton, E.T, Mainly About Wolves, London, Methuen, pp. 261-90.

⁵⁰ A Parisian Journal, p. 332.

recorded in parish registers.⁵¹ Death certificates and official records also provided information to later researchers.⁵²

The story of the beast of Gevaudan was first reported in April 1765 in the *Gazette de France*, nine months after the ravages of the beast began. Crucial eyewitness accounts, if written down at all, are now distorted and difficult to accept as historical evidence. Thompson, a Canadian, has written a full book in English detailing the story, with a full chronology.

The deaths were reported between July 1764 and June 1767 when they ceased, following the shooting of a wolf. In September 1765 another oversize wolf had been killed and proclaimed as "*the beast*." Thompson did not doubt that the animal responsible for the deaths was a wolf, albeit one acting abnormally. This is not always interpreted as being the view of contemporaries. Duhamel, the first hunter sent from the court of King Louis XV to exterminate the beast, supposedly described his quarry as the: "*size of a yearling calf with a big head and a pointed nose, a long body, more strongly built in the chest than in the hindquarters, the fur is reddish brown, with a black strip four fingers wide down the back, from head to tail, the latter being long and bushy, whilst the fur of the chest is greyish white.*"⁵³ Allowing for exaggeration this could have been a wolf. The hunter who followed Duhamel, a man named Denneval said that the beast was russet with a long tail. It killed by going for the neck and attacked from behind or the flank.⁵⁴ Again this does not preclude a wolf.

Witnesses and surviving victims apparently could not agree on the identity of the beast. It is important to realise however that their original views have not survived, being transmitted to us in the form of newspaper reports and secondary texts. According to these sources the beast of Gevaudan was described alternately as a wolf, a werewolf, a lynx, a bear, a punishment sent by God and a representative of an unknown species. More recent research suggests that hybridization could have been a factor.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Thompson, R. H., *Wolf Hunting in France in the Reign of Louis XV, The Beast of the Gevaudan*, Lewiston, Edwin Meller, 1991, p. 252.

⁵² Linnell, p. 19.

⁵³ Thompson pp. 97-98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 101, n. 3.

⁵⁵ Linnell, p. 19.

None of the eyewitness testimony can be considered wholly reliable. Yet statistics relating to fatalities and attack patterns are important evidence when compared with the observed behaviour of wolves today. There is no obvious pattern to the attacks on people in the Gevaudan, indeed there are several anomalies. Sometimes there would be months without an attack then several in the space of a few days. Often two people would be killed in quick succession and then weeks would pass without any more deaths. Generally wolves only eat when hungry. They don't consume one meal then immediately seek another, especially if they have to travel to obtain it. The figures from the Gevaudan contain a number of gaps between attacks. Any animal feeding so irregularly could not survive, unless it supplemented its diet with domestic animals, rodents, rabbits and other small mammals. Given that wolves tend to have one preferred prey species it is hard to see why a wolf which preyed on people would not adhere to a regular pattern.

The range covered by the beast was around 120 square miles. Wolves do not normally cover such a large area, although they may do so in certain circumstances such as a dearth of food. This was not a problem in the Gevaudan and consequently there is no reasonable explanation for the unusual mobility of the beast. Furthermore it was supposed to have appeared in villagers some miles apart on the same day. This, and the eventual killing of two supposed beasts, suggests that there was more than one animal involved or a lot of exaggeration. Even if man-eating wolves do exist the presence of two in the same area at the same time is unlikely, unless man-eating is hereditary or caused by environmental conditions. As far as it is known the environmental conditions in the Gevaudan in the 1760s were comparable with the same area earlier in the century and with similar areas around Europe. Despite this the ravages of the beast of Gevaudan were not replicated by wolves elsewhere.

The beast's behaviour did not conform to any of the abnormalities that may induce man-eating in wolves. As explained earlier it seems to be a pattern in predators that those who eat humans do so because their normal prey is unavailable or because they are too old or too weak to hunt it. The beast of Gevaudan was demonstrably agile and fit. Further one would expect an animal preying on humans to target single victims as they are easiest to catch. Many of the victims were shepherds or cowherds slain in

front of their flocks or herds. No sane wolf will risk attacking a human, which it cannot guarantee to kill, when it could easily steal an animal and escape without detection. Nor will it attack groups of people. As the beast was cunning enough to hide from searchers it clearly did not suffer from insanity. The length of time that it was active rules out the possibility of rabies.

The method of attack differed from that usually adopted by wolves. In general they catch prey by giving chase not by preparing an ambush although hunting techniques can vary. Whatever the beast was it seemed to be waiting for humans. Many of the survivors said that it was not a normal wolf. As noted in previous chapters the identification of wolves by people is not always accurate and serious errors have been made. Since the people in the Gevaudan were gripped by hysteria due to the antics of the beast it is easy to understand possible distortions.

The matter is further obscured by later exaggeration, incomplete sources and the folly of researchers who claim either a paranormal dimension to the events or speculate that an animal or animals unknown to science were involved. Rothovius, writing in *Fate*, (1961), believed that a human maniac was responsible.⁵⁶ This is not as unbelievable as it sounds. It is possible that some of the werewolves executed in France during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were criminals clad in wolf-skins.⁵⁷ The belief that such disguise afforded supernatural qualities, still prevalent in many cultures today, may well have been present in mid eighteenth century France and the deception was presumably highly effective when stealing sheep. A human beast would also explain the curious pattern of attacks. However Rothovius proposes a controversial theory without adducing any firm, or even persuasive, evidence and he is guilty of serious factual errors. For example he states that the third hunter sent by Louis, he does not mention the second, went directly to Central Auvergne where he killed a wolf and proclaimed this to be the beast. In fact Antionne de Beauterne was in the Gevaudan region for three months. He was sent by the king on 8th June 1765 and killed a wolf, which he and many others believed to be the beast on 21 September. This supposedly was 1.81 metres long, 97 centimetres high and weighed 64.51 kg. A normal

⁵⁶ Rothovius, A. E., "Who or What was the Beast of Gevaudan?", *Fate*, (September, 1961), pp. 32-37.

⁵⁷ This idea will be discussed in chapter six of this study.

wolf weights less than this amount. After the killing Antoine stayed in the region for about a month. There was then a brief gap before the beast of Gevaudan began claiming more lives. Two years later a second oversized wolf was shot, on 19 June 1767, and the ravages stopped for good.

Rothovius's second mistake was to state that the man who shot this second wolf, Jean Chastel, used a silver bullet. This is pure fantasy, erroneously linking the beast with twentieth century werewolf mythology. Chastel has two roles in the affair. Prior to the killing of the first wolf he and two members of his family were imprisoned by Antoine, on 9th August 1765, for insulting some guards.⁵⁸ This would be insignificant except that Thompson tells us the family were rumoured to be sorcerers.⁵⁹ Had Rothovius's research uncovered this rumour he would have been able to put a name to his imaginary lunatic.

There are two good reasons why the beast of Gevaudan could not possibly have been a man dressed in a wolf's skin. Firstly the earlier French werewolves which he was supposedly imitating had no tails and the beast definitely had one. The tail has several connotations in respect of fertility and sexuality.⁶⁰ Secondly a man could not bite deep into another person's neck, in front of witnesses. It is impossible to accept that survivors of attacks, and the witnesses, were unable to distinguish between a wolf and a man in disguise.

All this may imply that hybrids were responsible. If a cross between two different canid species occurred in France and several lethal beasts were spawned then there would be a connection between other incidents of man-eating wolves reported in France around that time and the beast of Gevaudan. Any hybrid offspring would not function as a pack but as individuals. This explanation might explain how the beast was able to appear in different places on the same day. There are later suggestions that unusual wolves, possibly hybrids, could be found in France. In 1868 The Times, reported one such beast, describing it as a cross between a large male wolf and a powerful dog bitch.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Thompson, Wolf Hunting, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 167.

⁶⁰ Frazer, J. G., The Golden Bough, Ware, Wordsworth, 1993, pp. 448-449.

⁶¹ The Times, 28/10/1869, p. 7d, referring to an incident the previous summer.

Ultimately the absence of a body prevents a precise identification of the beast. Yet whatever it was there is no logical reason why it should be considered a one-off aberration. Contemporaries certainly seemed to recognise its uniqueness. This does not mean that they were unfamiliar with man-eating wolves, merely with the number of deaths attributed to a single wolf. Historical records detail 683 deaths caused by non-rabid wolves in France.⁶² However a British sportsman who lived in Brittany for two years in the 1850 found no local belief in man-eating wolves.⁶³ Certainly none of the other cases were on the same scale as the beast of Gevaudan and, unlike the story of the beast, few details were disseminated in England.

Horace Walpole viewed the body of the beast in Versailles in October 1765 and referred to it in three letters. In the first he stated that it was definitely a wolf and that it left behind "*a dowager and four young princes.*"⁶⁴ In view of the possible existence of a second beast this is an interesting comment. In a second letter on the same day Walpole noted the extraordinary size of the beast, something he seems to deny in the first letter.⁶⁵ Three days later he noted it was "*exceedingly large*", and continues, "*The critics deny it to be the real beast; most people think the beast's name is legion for there are many.*"⁶⁶ Although Walpole was aware of the beast there is no evidence that he disseminated this knowledge outside of his private correspondence. The extent of his oral communications cannot be measured.

Beckford, writing a hunting treatise in 1798, commented on the "*furious beast of Gevaudan whom 20,000 French chaffeurs (sic) tried in vain to kill.*"⁶⁷ He received this information from an unspecified French authority. Three decades after it killed, and was killed, the beast of Gevaudan was clearly known on the other side of the channel. The story had been exaggerated by this time.

⁶² de Beaufort, F. G., Historical Ecology of Wolves, *Canis Lupus l.* 1758 in France, Paris, University of Paris PhD Thesis, 1988, Summarised by Linnell, p. 20.

⁶³ Davies, E. W. L., Wolf Hunting in Brittany, London, Chapman Hall, 1875, p. 25.

⁶⁴ Letter to Lady Hervey, 3 October, 1765, Correspondence of Horace Walpole, London, Rodwell and Martin, 1820, Vol. 3, p. 75.

⁶⁵ Letter to John Cute, 3 October, 1765, Ibid. p. 79.

⁶⁶ Letter to Hon. S. Conway, 6 October, 1765, Ibid. p. 83.

⁶⁷ Beckford, P., Thoughts on Hunting, London, D. Bremmer, 1798, p. 318.

Robert Louis Stevenson, who travelled through the Gevaudan in 1878, called the beast Napoleon.⁶⁸ He said that it was active for ten months, chased armed horsemen and when shot was found to be an ordinary, small wolf.⁶⁹ He further claimed that it ate a hundred children.⁷⁰ The idea of the beast chasing horsemen does not appear to have been in circulation during the eighteenth century, and while it may have killed a hundred people, many were adults. Perhaps more relevant to this study are the two separate incidents in which people living in the Gevaudan warned Stevenson that wolves were dangerous to people.⁷¹ Certainly this was their belief, even if they had no evidence to support it. The fact that Stevenson knew about the beast prior to travelling to the region indicates that the case was fairly well-known in England.

More recently the story may have influenced readers of the Sunday Telegraph magazine on October 8 1995 where a picture of the Gevaudan beast carrying a woman adorned the cover in order to advertise an article on urban myth. In 2001 a French film called "*Brotherhood of the Wolf*", was released in England. This was loosely based on events in the Gevaudan, with fictitious characters. The beast was portrayed as a werewolf. It was shown in England too late to have influenced most of the respondents to the questionnaire and none of them mentioned it. It is probably their only source of information on the case as Thompson's book is not well-known.

Advances in the publication and dissemination of overseas information offer more information on man-eating wolves to the modern English public.

Modern Accounts of Wolves eating people

This section will briefly consider cases of wolves attacking people during the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. During this time the mechanism for reporting wolf attacks on people, and for disseminating such reports, have greatly been improved. The number of cases is still relatively low. Woodward found twelve

⁶⁸ Stevenson, R. L., Travels with a Donkey, London, Blackie, 1965, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 41

⁷⁰ Ibid. pp. 49-50.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 20 and p. 158.

incidents of wolf aggression against people between 1967 and 1976.⁷² Two were in Italy, three in Spain, one in Yugoslavia, one in Bosnia, one in Finland, two in Iran, one in India and one in Syria. In the majority of these nobody was killed. Twelve attacks, not all of them successful, in eleven years does not justify the man-eating reputation afforded to the wolf. Although Linnell adds to these statistics his researchers found very few cases of non-rabid wolves killing people.⁷³

Linnell identified eight people killed by non-rabid wolves during the last forty years, four in Europe and four in Russia.⁷⁴ 104 people were killed in France by non-rabid wolves during the 19th century and 273 in India during the present century.⁷⁵ There were five children killed in three incidents in Spain between 1959 and 1974, thirty six children in three incidents around Kirov, Russia between 1947 and 1953 and around 259 children in three incidents in Indian between 1980 and 1996. Incident here refers to attacks by one wolf or pack of wolves.⁷⁶ Before looking at the Indian incidents it is worth considering one unconfirmed story of a wolf attack in Iran.

An Iranian newspaper report from May 1997 was summarised in Fortean Times, a year later, presumably taken from a website which listed other unusual events in Iran such as a cow eating a boy.⁷⁷ The gist of the story is as follows. In the countryside around Leig a hungry wolf entered a house and tried to eat a 25 year old man. His mother Setareh Safari, aged 65, witnessed the incident and strangled the wolf. Mother and son were treated in Behbahan hospital. Linnell noted that this report was unconfirmed.⁷⁸

The Iranian wolf, *canis lupus palipes*, is a subspecies of wolf distinct from *canis lupus lupus*, and studies of its behaviour cannot be used to explain the behaviour of *canis lupus lupus*. There are several differences between the two. For example *canis lupus palipes* preys by surprise attack whilst *canis lupus lupus* preys by giving chase. *Canis*

⁷² Woodward, I., The Werewolf Delusion, London, Paddington Press, 1979, p. 35.

⁷³ Linnell, pp. 21-28.

⁷⁴ Linnell, p. 38.

⁷⁵ Linnell, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Linnell, pp. 22-3, 25, 26/

⁷⁷ Fortean Times, May 1998, p. 21. Note by H. Ghadyani, citing Johmori Islami, 14 May 1997.

www.insanetree.com/klipkop/pp.htm

⁷⁸ Linnell, p. 57.

lupus pallipes lives in pairs or family packs and does not howl but *canis lupus lupus* lives, for the most part, in packs and does howl.

Canis lupus pallipes is indigenous to India and other parts of Asia. This Indian wolf differs in appearance from the European wolf. It was described by Mac Lean as “smaller of slighter build and with a thinner shorter coat suited to its tropical habitat the Indian wolf (*canis lupus pallipes*) differs in outward appearance from its northern relatives but not enough to be classed as a separate species. Superficially the Indian wolf has more the look of a jackal or dog.”⁷⁹

Blaine wrote of it: “The Indian wolf bears the same wolfish character which belongs to his European congeners. He is a sly lurking assassin, ready to murder children at all times and sometimes if he can get a little help, he will attack a man. A woman is by no means safe in the sight of a single hungry wolf.”⁸⁰

Stories of the Indian wolf eating children have been circulating in the West for approximately 150 years. Ireland believed that wolves killed more people per year than other predators in India, stating that five to six thousand children per annum were killed, with three to four hundred of them in Oude.⁸¹ Apparently there were annual statistics collated in some Indian provinces of fatalities caused by wild beasts. Such lists do not appear to still be extant. They supposedly included fatalities caused by snake bite and no attempt was made to compile separate lists for separate predators. Yet Corbett notes that the procedures for establishing deaths caused by predators in India were reasonably accurate in the early twentieth century.⁸² No evidence has been located to support Ireland’s statistics and it is unlikely that the deaths of six thousand children per year would go unnoticed in other records.

Several Englishmen resident in India during the nineteenth century supported the belief that wolves ate people.⁸³ Later authorities follow suit. An Indian zoologist interviewed by Ogburn and Bose in the 1950s positively affirmed that wolves ate

⁷⁹ Mac Lean, C., *The Wolf Children*, London, Allen Lane, 1977, pp. 37-38.

⁸⁰ Blaine, *Encyclopaedia*, 1. 11.102, p. 33.

⁸¹ Ireland, W. W., *The Mental Affections of Children*, London, J A Churchill, 1900, p. 437. Lydekker, R., *The Game Animals of India*, London, Rowland, 1903, p: 359.

⁸² Corbett, J., *The Man-Eating Leopard of Rudraprayag*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 7-8.

⁸³ One was Thornhill, M., *Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official*, London, J Murray, 1899, p. 279.

children but didn't provide details of specific cases.⁸⁴ In a guide to Indian wildlife published in 1979 we are told that in Bihar's Hazaribagh district and in Karnataka wolves had occasionally taken to man-eating, lifting small children, aged up to twelve from their homes.⁸⁵ At least two hundred children were taken by wolves in Hazaribagh between 1980 and 1995 but there are no confirmed reports before.⁸⁶

There are two other confirmed recent cases of wolves eating children in India. In Antantpur between 1980 and 1981 nine children were taken. Secondly in Utar Pradesh 50 children were victims in 1996.⁸⁷ The story was reported in the west, most famously, in *The New York Times*, which named one of the victims as four year old Anand Kumar from Banbirpur.⁸⁸ This report stated that 33 children had been killed and 20 injured in five months, according to police figures. It also said that British officials in 1878 catalogued 624 deaths caused by wolves in India. At least one Indian source reported further deaths and attacks in the area around Rae Bareilly between 2000 and 2001.⁸⁹

Biologists Jhala and Sharma investigated the 1996 incident and identified one wolf responsible for two deaths.⁹⁰ Later research suggested that a pack was involved and further that 50 children died.⁹¹ On average the attacks occurred every third day between March and October, with an average reported death every five days. Victims were aged between four months and nine years, with death resulting from fatal bites to the throat. The total area covered was 450 square miles. Features of this area included a high density of livestock, a low population of the wolf's natural prey and large numbers of unescorted children.

In 1996 the Indian government paid 5000 rupees as compensation for children killed by wolves so there were probably false claims, and perhaps deliberate neglect. In

⁸⁴ Ogburn, W. F., and Bose, N. K., "On the Trail of the Wolf Children", *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 59, (1960), p. 162.

⁸⁵ Israel, R., and Sinclair, I., eds., *Indian Wildlife*, Singapore, APA Publications, 1987, p. 110.

⁸⁶ Linnell, p. 26.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27. Bishop, N. A., "Child Lifting by a Wolf in India", *International Wolf*, (Winter 1998), pp. 17-18.

⁸⁸ *New York Times*, 01/09/1996.

⁸⁹ <http://www.ndtv.com>, Appendix C.

⁹⁰ Bishop, "Child Lifting"

⁹¹ Anon, "The Return of the Big Bad Wolf", *Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter*, Autumn 2000, p. 1. Linnell, p. 26

total over seventy cases were reported yet just two fatalities confirmed as victims of a wolf or wolves. After analysis of hair samples and teeth marks all other possible predators were eliminated.

Following an investigation into the 1996 incident new guidelines were issued by the Indian authorities. Children were not to be left unsupervised and greater diligence was advised. It was also concluded that the behaviour of the wolf or wolves was abnormal and that there was little to fear from healthy wild wolves. This distinction had been made in Europe by some ancient and mediaeval authorities. It was the cause of the aberrations that were not understood.

In North America and Canada, where modern wolf research has predominantly been focused, children do not wander alone in wolf territory. In India they do and in mediaeval Europe they almost certainly did. The differences in environment raise questions about the usefulness of zoological research in relation to historical cases of man-eating wolves.

Leaving aside the behavioural differences between the Indian and the European wolf a comparison may be made between stories of man-eating wolves in India and Europe. In India there have been several reports of man-eating wolves with a very small percentage being verified. In Europe there are also many reports with even fewer verified. The methods of verification used in India in 1996 were not available in Europe in earlier times. Even if they had been it is unlikely that they would have been used since there would have existed no need to prove conclusively that a wolf was eating people. Modern governments face pressure from wildlife groups and are therefore encouraged to investigate alleged incidents thoroughly. In the course of this they also identify which wolves are rabid.

Conclusions

A parallel may be drawn between stories of man-eating wolves and another belief about wolves, namely their adoption of the "hamstringing" method of killing prey. This involves their cutting the Achilles tendon that connects the heel with the ham muscles.

Zoologists deny that this occurs yet historical accounts collected from explorers, trappers and woodsmen suggest otherwise. Mech writes: *"It is tempting to give some measure of belief to such reports when they are made by so many observers. However these records are directly contradicted by every modern study of the wolf's killing tactics. Either wolves have changed their ways or the old reports are in error."*⁹²

Both of these possibilities could also explain reports of man-eating wolves in Europe. There are many reasons why wolves might have changed their ways; a greater fear of humanity following a growth in the human population and their increased encroachment on wolf territory is one. A decline in wolf numbers is another as this would reduce the number of encounters between man and wolf. Provided that their main prey species did not decline at the same rate the remaining wolves would be less likely to seek food beyond that species.

There are also reasons why the early reports might be mistaken. These include the possibility of confusion between different canid species, prejudice and preconceived ideas, and deliberate distortion by those with a vested interest in removing the wolf. Yet it is true that environmental conditions in Europe in the pre-industrial period were more favourable for potential wolf attacks on people than those that currently exist in North America.

A letter from the Polish ministry of agriculture, dated 03/11/200, stated that there were approximately 1070 wild wolves in Poland and no incident in which a wild wolf had attacked a person.⁹³ Linnell's researchers found no evidence of recent attacks by healthy wild wolves on people in many countries.

Having established that there are insufficient reported cases to justify a widespread belief in man-eating wolves, it is necessary to explore the origins of this belief. The next chapter will look at the impact of Christian symbolism, which played a large role in shaping negative connotations of the wolf.

⁹² Mech, *The Wolf*, pp. 204-205.

⁹³ Personal correspondence. The wolf population in Poland, in 2000, was estimated at 500, *Wolves, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter*, 3, (2001), p. 7.



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5. The Devil Wolf.

“The Christian church was historically embattled from the beginning. Without an enemy to fight it had no identity.”¹

A large number of references to a belief in man-eating wolves are found in ecclesiastical texts and in sources heavily influenced by Christian ideology. This chapter will examine the role of the wolf within Christian thought. The first part of the study does not focus primarily on the behaviour of the wolf but instead attempts to place beliefs about wolves in a wider context.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Firstly the period prior to the mid-ninth century will be considered, then, specific sources in the period circa 835 to circa 900 will be analysed followed by an overview of developments until the fifteenth century. Connotations of the wolf in English art during the seventeenth century will then be examined and, to conclude, the answers to question five in the questionnaire will be looked at in an attempt to ascertain if religious beliefs, and in particular Christianity, influenced any of the respondents' views about wolves.

This chapter is not just about the development of beliefs about the wolf in Christian thought but is also concerned with the development of Christian thought in its entirety. It further examines the development of written Christian sources as Christianity developed from a minority cult into the dominant ideological force in Western Europe. For the first section the sources are patchy. They include the Bible, a few histories and some commentaries by influential theologians. Annals and other purportedly historical records provide evidence for the second section. There is a greater variety of extant material for the third section, in the form of literary chronicles, bestiaries and other texts. For the art section images have been chosen from covers and woodcuts to demonstrate the usage of the wolf in propaganda. In combination such sources do not necessarily reveal popular images of the wolf but they do illustrate the changing image of the wolf within Christian ideology over a period of time.

The Wolf in Early Christian Thought

¹Lopez, B. H., Of Wolves and Men, Toronto, J M Dent, 1978, p. 238.

Since ancient times the comparison between bellicose wolf and passive lamb has been used in literature as a metaphor of good and evil, or strength and weakness. Herodotus wrote: "*Theras's son refused to accompany the expedition and Theras said he would be leaving him behind like a sheep amongst wolves; the remark caught on.*"² In this quotation the connotation of the wolf is positive and the sheep is associated with cowardice. Cultures which valued the warrior also respected the perceived strength of the wolf.

Several variants of the wolf and lamb metaphor appear in the Old Testament. Sirach asks: "*What fellowship has a wolf with a lamb? Nor more has a sinner with a godly man.*"³ He is not suggesting that the wolf is evil; merely making a comparison with an example from the natural world that would have been familiar to his audience. The wolf's ferocity and cruelty are noted in Genesis and Ezekiel whilst Zephaniah associates the wolf with the night.⁴ Evil connotations of the wolf are found in the New Testament, expanding on the ferocity and cruelty examples.⁵ John recites the tale of a shepherd who abandoned his flock to flee from a wolf.⁶ This wolf is symbolic of evil or danger coming from outside. Conceivably the parable could have been intended to foreshadow Jesus' trial and subsequent dispersal of his disciples.

In Matthew's gospel Jesus refers to wolves twice. He calls false prophets ferocious wolves and tells his disciples that he is sending them out as sheep amongst wolves.⁷ The idea presented is that the world around is full of evil just as the woods are full of wolves. Here the wolf is associated with treachery, a connotation more commonly afforded to the fox.

In the Acts of the Apostles Paul warns that savage wolves, alias false prophets, would come amongst the Ephesians.⁸ Again Christ's followers are compared to sheep and the rest of the hostile world to wolves. The analogy is included to make a point

² Herodotus, trans. G. Rawlinson, *The Histories*. Ware, Wordsworth, 1996, 4.19.

³ Sirach, 13.17.

⁴ Genesis, 49.25. Ezekiel 22.27. Zephaniah 3.3.

⁵ Matt 7.15 and 10.16. Luke 10.3.

⁶ John, 10. 12-13.

⁷ Matthew, 7.15 and 10.16

⁸ Acts, 20.29.

about the vulnerability of the new believers. It is not developed further but does firmly denote the wolf as an external threat.

In the New Testament the wolf was occasionally used as a symbol of the evil that faced, or was expected to face, the followers of Christ. It was not portrayed as evil of itself. Early Christianity did not credit animals with free will, regarding them as being created by God for specific purposes. Yet the place of the wolf in the divine plan was not always obvious and the activities of the wolf, in terms of livestock depredation, were detrimental to human interests. An animal that people were unable to control appeared incongruous, especially as God had given humans control over their environment.⁹

As Christianity developed it proposed two explanations for the wolf, and other wild beasts. Firstly there was the idea that these animals were instruments of divine punishment to be used by God as he saw fit. Secondly there was the idea that the fall of man was responsible for the creation of such pests. Both ideas are connected in the sense that they see wild beasts as punishment for sins. The first sees this punishment as being controlled by God in response to specific individual or group sins and the second considers it to be a more arbitrary process for which Adam and Eve were originally responsible. The first idea will be considered here as it had more relevance in terms of shaping Christian perceptions of the wolf.

The idea of wolves punishing people who had offended deities appears in classical literature. Herodotus tells how Evenus fell asleep whilst guarding sheep and the flock was then destroyed by wolves.¹⁰ In another ancient story, related by Pausanias, Gelanor resigned the leadership of Argos in favour of Danaus after a wolf attacked and killed a bull.¹¹ The wolf was thought to have been Apollo in disguise, or at least to have been sent by Apollo. Danaus therefore dedicated a shrine to the God. This is similar to a tale of Aelian's.¹² The wolf has no individual characteristics in

⁹ Genesis, 1.26.

¹⁰ Herodotus, *Histories*, 9.93.

¹¹ Pausanias, trans. P. Levi, *Guide to Greece*, 2 Volumes, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979, Vol. 1. p. 175.

¹² Aelian, 13.1

Pausanias's story and is presented as a servant of the divine power. This role could presumably have been filled by any large predator.

Early Christian writers had to explain why their benevolent deity allowed wolves to steal the sheep of his followers and permitted the occurrence of natural disasters. Later Satan and his servants would take the blame for these occurrences but in early Christianity there was no clear concept of the Devil. Attempts were made to solve this problem by referring back to the Old Testament where God was often described as using his power to punish as well as reward. According to the first book of Kings: "*The Lord brings evil on them for forsaking the God.*"¹³ Several other biblical stories describe God punishing sinners.¹⁴ The message was clear. Those who broke the religious code, which also served as a political and social code, would be punished by God. The threat of such punishment was intended to be a deterrent.

For a deterrent to influence people it needs to be visible. The successes of human enemies and destructive behaviour of wild animals were effective literary representations of divine wrath. Thus Isaiah states that the Assyrians were sent as punishment for sinners, Deuteronomy uses the threat of wild beasts and Jeremiah specifies the wolf, along with the lion and the leopard.¹⁵ The wolf is not singled out for individual attention. God was thought to control all animals and could therefore employ them as he saw fit, without distinguishing between species.

Divine punishment was also described as the cause of natural disasters. The second book of Maccabees reads: "*Now I urge those who read this book not to be despaired by such calamities but to recognise that these punishments were designed not to destroy but to discipline our people.*"¹⁶ The earliest biblical story in which a natural disaster is attributed to God is the flood of Noah.¹⁷ Another famous example is the ten plagues of Egypt.¹⁸

¹³ I Kings, 9. 9.10.

¹⁴ Amos, 3.6. Exodus, 21.9. 2 Chronicles 2. 18. Deuteronomy 18.10 and 11.12.2.

¹⁵ Isaiah, 10.5. Deuteronomy, 32.24. Jeremiah, 5.6.

¹⁶ 2 Maccabees, 6.12.

¹⁷ Genesis, 6-8.

¹⁸ Exodus, 7-12.

Natural disasters were described in Matthew's gospel as omens preceding the end of the world.¹⁹ In Revelation death is described as having the power to kill by sword, famine, plague and wild beasts.²⁰ This concept would inspire many later Christian writers who sought to explain events around them by referring to incidents and speeches in their holy book.

The influence and longevity of this concept is evinced by the comments of the Bishop of Metz on New Year's Eve in 1764. Referring to the beast of Gevaudan he quoted Leviticus: "*I will let loose the wild beasts among you, which will rob you of your children, and destroy your cattle and make you few in number so that your ways become desolate.*"²¹

Events such as meteorite showers, strong winds, storms and fires were often viewed as examples of divine wrath. These were unpredictable and damaging occurrences that might make people think that God was failing them. Sometimes they would be described as omens of forthcoming evil; a prelude to worse disasters. The intention was that worried sinners would be prompted to repent.

It is not difficult to understand why wolves came to be placed in this category of natural disasters. The loss of livestock in wolf raids could be substantial and the timing of such raids could not be accurately predicted.

As discussed earlier there are examples of benevolent wolves in early Christian literature but evil connotations are also found. Orosius, whose Histories Against the Pagans was held in high regard throughout mediaeval Christendom and was translated into Anglo-Saxon at King Alfred's behest as one of the six books that were most necessary for all men to know, saw an omen when three wolves brought a body into Rome and tore it to pieces.²² From this early time the wolf was associated with death and destruction.

¹⁹ Matt: 24, 7-8.

²⁰ Revelation, 7.8.

²¹ Leviticus, 26, 22. Thompson, R. H., Wolf Hunting in France in the Reign of Louis XV, The Beast of the Gevaudan, Lewiston, Edwin Meller, 1991, pp. 69-76.

²² Thorpe, B., The Life of Alfred the Great translated from the German of Dr. R. Pauli, to which is appended Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Histories of Paulus Orosius, London, H. G. Bohn, 1857, pp. 385-387, Orosius, 4.2.

Other Christian writers incorporated the idea of the wolf as an omen into their anecdotes and morality tales. Gregory of Tours, writing toward the end of the sixth century AD, told how a city was threatened by portents which included earthquakes and stags and wolves entering the city. On the night of the Easter Vigil the royal palace started to burn. Bishop Mamentus prayed for mercy and afterwards extinguished the flames with his tears. Thereafter he was able to supervise repentance.²³ Gregory also tells how a wolf came into Poitiers through one of the gates and was killed within the city walls.²⁴ From this we may infer that wolves were thought to belong outside the city, just as evil belonged outside Christianity. This idea persisted for some time. Serious trouble lay ahead when the sanctuary was breached. Yet, even then, there remained enough time to slay the intruder. This is in keeping with the Christian message that it is never too late to repent.

Gregory's third story featuring wolves tells how a group of them entered Bordeaux and devoured some dogs.²⁵ This is symbolic of the unknown wilderness conquering the known and again indicates a lack of safety in places previously regarded as secure. It is a warning against complacency.

Numerous references to Gregory and Orosius in later texts indicate the influence that they had on their successors. Neither portrays the wolf as consciously evil but in their stories it is a symbol of danger without being directly dangerous in itself. Always it is an external threat, entering and causing problems in previously safe environments.

As Christianity developed enemies of the faith were described as wolves in line with the wolf/lamb and Christ as lamb metaphors. Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria, behaved like a wolf according to Bede.²⁶ By this time there existed a series of characteristics associated with the wolf and humans displaying these characteristics could be called wolves. There are no extant sources detailing what the characteristics

²³ Gregory of Tours, trans. O. M. Dalton, The History of the Franks, Oxford, Clarendon, 1927, 11.25.

²⁴ Ibid. 5.30.

²⁵ Ibid. 6.14.

²⁶ Bede, trans. L. Sherley-Price, rev. D. Latham, Ecclesiastical History of the English Church and People, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1.34.

were but greed and rapacity must have been amongst them. They were mentioned in the bestiaries so presumably had earlier prototypes.

Prior to the mid-ninth century there do not appear to have been any roles specifically designed for, or filled exclusively by, wolves within Christian ideology. Wolves were used in parables and metaphors, as omens and symbols of divine punishment, but they were not the only animal to occupy these positions. The wolf seemed incongruous in God's plan as did natural disasters. Punishment for sin was the most convenient explanation for tragedy, following biblical precedents. This explanation also encouraged future compliance with divine law and was therefore utilised by Christian writers.

Associating wolves with groups, usually warriors, arguably influenced more people, as they were likely to be aware of such groups and of the physical danger that they posed. The Vikings are the most noteworthy example. From the end of the eighth century onwards their raids on Francia, England and Ireland increased in frequency and some of the raiders settled on western shores. Christian annalists commonly portrayed the presence and activities of the Vikings as God's judgment on sinners.

Vikings. The Wolves from the North

In 793 a group of Scandinavians attacked a monastery at Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumbria. Although it was by no means the first Viking raid on Western Europe it is generally considered by historians to mark the start of the first Viking period. The incident was recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, versions D and E, as follows: "*In this year dire portents appeared over Northumbria and sorely frightened the people. They consisted of immense whirlwinds²⁷, and flashes of lightning and fiery dragons were seen flying through the air. A great famine immediately followed these signs; and a little after that in the same year, on 8 January, ²⁸the ravages of heathen men miserably destroyed God's church on Lindisfarne with plunder and slaughter.*"²⁹

²⁷ Not in the E version.

²⁸ The raid actually occurred in June.

²⁹ Whitelock, D., Douglas, D. C. and Tucker, S. I., eds. and trans., The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, Eyre Methuen, 1965, 793.

The portents, presumably invented or exaggerated, were used by the annalist to foreshadow the raid. The idea of savage Vikings attacking Christians for religious, rather than economic reasons was challenged in Peter Sawyer's The Age of the Vikings, in 1962.³⁰ Sawyer considered the activities of the Vikings to be an extension of Dark Age activity rather than atrocities motivated by a hatred of Christianity. The traditional view is based on an acceptance of the extant sources as more or less accurate records of events whilst the revisionist theory, championed by Sawyer, claims that the sources were not objective and therefore inaccurate.

The debate about the extent to which the Vikings consciously threatened Christianity is ongoing. A balanced view would be that the Vikings were plunderers with little or no respect for the Christian religion but that they were not deliberately hostile to Christians because of their own beliefs. This view was not shared by the contemporary chroniclers who recorded the raids. It is therefore necessary to evaluate the reliability of their records.

The principal sources under consideration are the Frankish Annals of St. Bertin, and Annals of Fulda. Of lesser significance are The Annals of Xanten, and The Annals of St. Vaast. Although none of these are known to have been disseminated in England there is evidence of considerable communication between the English and Frankish courts and Alfred recruited Frankish scholars who would have brought books and information with them.³¹ The main English sources for this topic are The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Asser's Life of King Alfred.³² All of these texts are more or less contemporary and are the basic starting points for a study of events during the late ninth century in the identified locations. A brief introductory note on each is required.

The Annals of St. Bertin are monastic annals which until the 830s were written in the palace of Louis the Pious and thereafter were continued away from the court by Prudentius of Troyes and later by Hincmar of Rheims. The Annals of Fulda are the

³⁰ Sawyer, P. H., The Age of the Vikings, London, Edward Arnold, 1962.

³¹ Letter from Fulco to King Alfred, c. 866, Alfred the Great, Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1983, pp. 182-188.

³² Nelson, Annals of St. Bertin, Reuter, T., ed. and trans. The Annals of Fulda, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1992. Coupland, S., trans. The Annals of Xanten, unpublished. Coupland, S., trans. The Annals of St. Vaast. Whitelock, et. al. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Keynes and Lapidge, op. cit.

counterpart of The Annals of St. Bertin, for the kingdom of the East Franks. The Annals of Xanten and The Annals of St. Vaast are localised annals which occasionally provide additional information to that contained in The Annals of St. Bertin and The Annals of Fulda. All were written by clergymen and give the views of influential church figures. The church was to play a leading role in promoting hostility towards wolves.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle differs from the Frankish annals in being more a record of events than an expression of opinion. Thought to have been written at the request of Alfred the Great (840-900) it was certainly in circulation from 892 onwards. Asser's Life of King Alfred was probably written by the Bishop of Sherborne towards the end of the eponymous King's reign.³³ This is a short and confusing text that may not have been completed. Along with The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, it might have been commissioned by Alfred as part of his drive to increase learning. The king believed that Christianity was in decline and blamed this on ignorance as explicitly stated in the preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care.³⁴ Alfred was so concerned by the lack of learning that he encouraged translations of several important theological works into the vernacular. This constitutes important evidence that there was, at least a perceived, decline in Christianity in England prior to the arrival of the Vikings. Alfred believed that the Vikings were sent by God as punishment for the sins of the Christians and the Frankish annalists shared this opinion. The records of the Viking raids were written by people who were concerned about spiritual decline and wished to arrest it.

In several entries The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, makes it clear that the battle against the Vikings is not merely selected groups of the English fighting selected parties of Scandinavians but the Christians battling against the Pagans. At this time there was no real sense of national identity and one of Alfred's triumphs lay in unifying some of the country. A belief in Christianity and the impact of the Viking raids were factors that the different regions of England had in common. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is a continuous record of the Viking army in England, culminating in

³³ Asser refers to the King as 45 years old which would mean that he was writing that section in 894 or 895. Keynes and Lapidge, Alfred the Great, Asser ch. 72, p.90.

³⁴ Preface to Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, trans. Keynes and Lapidge, Alfred the Great, pp. 124-127.

Alfred's victory over them. But it is not just a story of the English king beating the foreigners. It is the story of Christianity defeating Paganism and overcoming evil. The very public baptism of the Danish leader Gunthrum is the ultimate spiritual triumph.³⁵ The influence of this display on the watching populace must have been, and was surely intended to be, hugely significant.

Asser copies The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 851-887, the period of the most intense Viking pressure. Earlier he tells how King Ethelred delayed a battle to hear mass.³⁶ He further relates how the Christians were divinely inspired to win a particular battle against the odds.³⁷ In another anecdote he speaks of divine providence in telling how villains were thwarted in their plans to attack a priest.³⁸ Asser's text may not have the literary sophistication of the Frankish annals but it is designed to portray the Christian God as supreme and those who follow him as successful.

There were real military reasons to oppose the Vikings and assumed spiritual reasons to do so. By combining the two the Frankish annalists hoped to strengthen that opposition and the faith of the laity. In England during the ninth century Christianity was also viewed as a means of uniting different groups, a role it once fulfilled in the Roman Empire. The annals are not necessarily accurate records of events; they were written for a specific purpose and their writers made extensive use of symbolism to make specific points. The wolf was one of the metaphors adopted.

Asser only once refers to the Vikings as wolves.³⁹ Elsewhere he describes them as crafty foxes when they broke a treaty.⁴⁰ The two roles would appear to be interchangeable, suggesting that wolves had no specific role of their own within Christian thought at that time. Nonetheless some ninth century church leaders specifically linked wolves to evil. In 886 Fulco, bishop of Rheims wrote a letter to Alfred in which he described the Vikings as visible wolves. Unhappy with some priests sent by the English king he wrote: "*For you have sent to me some dogs, which though*

³⁵ Keynes and Lapidge, Alfred the Great, Asser, ch. 56, p. 82.

³⁶ Ibid. ch. 37, p. 79.

³⁷ Ibid. ch. 54, p. 84.

³⁸ Ibid. ch. 96-97, pp. 104-105.

³⁹ Ibid. ch. 78, p. 36.

⁴⁰ Ibid. ch. 37, p. 79.

well-bred and excellent, yet corporeal and mortal are intended for driving away the fury of visible wolves, with which among other scourges sent to us through God's just judgment for our country greatly abounds."⁴¹ This letter indicates that, in line with earlier precedents, wolves were firmly associated with external threats.

Ninth century Frankish annals make several references to wolves. The entry for the year 846 in The Annals of St-Bertin states that wolves devoured the inhabitants of Western Gaul and marched in army formations of 300.⁴² If there had been a massacre at this time one would expect to find it recorded in other sources. It is highly improbable that such a large number of wolves would have gathered together. The annalist may have been referring to people behaving as wolves were assumed to behave but usually it is quite clear when a metaphor is being used. This is one of the earliest extant references to man-eating wolves in a Christian source.

Another story is told in The Annals of Fulda, for the year 850. It relates how a man from the Grabfeld set out for Thuringia with his wife and small child in search of food.⁴³ On the journey he suggested that they eat the boy. His wife refused to allow this but he seized the boy and would have slain him if he had not seen two wolves killing a deer. He promptly drove away the wolves and stole their meal. This indicates that he was not scared of the wolves. The annalist notes that he did violate the law prohibiting the consumption of carrion. The role of the wolves in this story is as divine guides; just it was in the St. Edmund story.

The Frankish sources are generally more sophisticated. The entry for the year 858 in The Annals of St. Bertin, demonstrates thematically the process of natural order being overthrown.⁴⁴ In sequence it describes an earthquake, a great pestilence, a tree being thrown up by the sea, a wolf running around the church of St. Porcaria in the Sens district, the death of the Saxon king Æthelwulf (the noble wolf), the ransoming of material from churches, the defection of the king's court, the handing over of the kingdom to the king's brother Lothar, a flood, a Viking attack, Lothar's imprisoning

⁴¹ Letter from Fulco to King Alfred, trans. Keynes and Lapidge, Alfred the Great, p. 184.

⁴² Annals of St-Bertin, 846, p. 62.

⁴³ Annals of Fulda, 850, p. 31. Compare with Exodus, 22.31.

⁴⁴ Annals of St. Bertin, 858, pp. 85-89.

his wife, the desertion of the king's men and the return of a monk with relics. This is no random sequence of events. Every paragraph pertains to the selected theme, including some presumably invented for the purpose such as the washed-up tree and the wolf. With this story the annalist probably intended to warn sinners that they were not safe, even in church. The wolf came from outside, penetrating the perceived sanctuary. There is an entry in The Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, involving a wolf inside a church.⁴⁵ The presence of a wolf inside a church had also been noted in The Annals of St-Bertin the previous year: "*At Trier in August whilst Bishop Theutgaud was celebrating mass with the clergy and people, a black, black cloud came down over the church, terrifying everyone with thunderclaps and lightning flashes, threatening the bell-tower and filling the church with such gloom that people could hardly see each other. A dog of huge size was seen to run around the altar; then it suddenly disappeared in a gaping hole in the ground.*"⁴⁶

This is similar to a much later story concerning the supposed appearance of a black dog at St. Mary's church, Bungay in Suffolk in August 1577.⁴⁷ That incident was described in a contemporary pamphlet by Alexander Flemming and is supported by scorch marks still visible on the church door. However Flemming's story is suspicious. As a puritan writing at a time of religious unrest he had good reason to exaggerate the effects of divine punishment. There is no mention of a dog in any other near contemporary account of the incident, not even in the churchwarden's books for St. Mary's.⁴⁸ Flemming was responsible for translating a pamphlet on English dogs the previous year and was thus very familiar with folklore motifs featuring dogs as

⁴⁵ Thompson, S., Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 Volumes, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966. Q454.4, a mysterious wolf enters a church and kills a priest.

⁴⁶ Annals of St. Bertin, 857, p. 84.

⁴⁷ Flemming, A. A Strange and terrible Wunder wrought very late in the Parish Church of Bungay, a town of no great distance from the cite of Norwich, namely the fourth of this August, in the yeere of our lord 1577, in a great tempest of violent raine, lightning, and thunder, the like whereof hath been seldom seene. With the appearance of a horrible shaped thing, sensibly perceived of the people then and there assembled. London, Francis Goudley, 1577.

⁴⁸ Painting, C. E., Black Dog, One Explanation of the Strange and Terrible Wonder of 1577, Canterbury, University of Kent, Unpublished Dissertation, 2001.

instruments of divine punishment.⁴⁹ His work shows that in the sixteenth century it remained common for natural disasters to be viewed as God's punishment on sinners.⁵⁰

The similarities between the incidents in Trier and Bungay are important for three reasons. The fact that The Annals of St. Bertin, describe a wolf in a church as an omen and nearly six years later Flemming tells a similar story about a dog instead of a wolf indicates that canids are interchangeable in tales of this kind. It also demonstrates that some historical sources are merely repeats of much earlier accounts, which in themselves may not be accurate versions of events. Thirdly it suggests that The Annals of St. Bertin or other versions of the motif were known in sixteenth century England.

Perhaps the most sensational use of the evil wolf metaphor in ninth-century Frankish annals is found in The Annals of Xanten for the year 869. It says of one woman: "*And her children too were being devoured in various places all around by ravening wolves since they had no father.*"⁵¹ This is perhaps the most explicit usage of the wolf as an instrument of divine justice.

Elsewhere in the Frankish annals there are punishments described for those who failed to credit their victory to God, and for a woman who baked a cake on a feast day instead of going to church.⁵² In their accounts of such incidents the annals deny their classification as a record of chronological events. They appear more as a blend of real and imaginary occurrences, twisted to satisfy a preconceived theme. They stress the merits of living as a good Christian should and describe the punishments that fall on those who fail.

Whether the Vikings threatened the church or not it was expedient for church leaders to claim that they did. Fear became the driving force as the church sought to assert itself. Clerics were faced with the dilemma of persuading the laity that God was the powerful deity when natural disasters and the Vikings were disrupting normal life. One method was to suggest that these events were punishments for sins and that reformed behaviour would remove them.

⁴⁹ Caius J., trans. A. Flemming, Of Englishe Dogges, London, Richard Johnes, 1576, reprinted Amsterdam, Da Capo Press, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969.

⁵⁰ Thomas, K., Religion and the Decline of Magic, London, Weindenfield and Nicholson, 1971. p. 96.

⁵¹ Annals of Xanten, 869.

⁵² Annals of St. Vaast, 811, p. 7. Annals of Fulda, 870, p. 63.

The theory outlined above is that Christian writers deliberately exaggerated the spiritual threat posed by the Vikings and attempted to portray the raiders as instruments of divine punishment. By doing this they hoped to raise the profile of Christianity amongst an indolent laity and ensure their future obedience. This is the same principle of describing divine punishment as a deterrent which occurred in the Old Testament. The wolf was a valuable symbol in the propaganda exercise undertaken by the annalists.

The association made between wolves and Vikings may seem insignificant. There is no evidence that the metaphor was widely disseminated or that it inspired Christian aggression against either the wolf or the Scandinavians. Yet it is important as the first time that the wolf was consistently associated with a specific, visible evil and portrayed as an enemy of Christianity by several sources. From this point forward the benevolent connotations of the wolf are less often found and the malevolent ones become more common. For example in 1014 archbishop Wulfstan preached the sermon of the wolf to the English, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, using the pseudonym *Lupus*.⁵³ In this he talks about divine retribution.

Whilst natural disasters were presented by clergymen as divine punishment there was very little that the populace could do, except repent. The ideology of the church underwent a gradual change. Instead of persuading people to reform through fear of divine punishment the clerical authorities began punishing the spiritually deficient. The visual deterrent of this punishment was intended to ensure future compliance in both social and religious terms. A crucial development was the emergence of the Devil in Christian thought. As wolves were now associated with evil they also became linked to Satan.

Christian Representations of the Wolf in the Later Middle Ages

"Lest for the lack of a shepherd a rapacious wolf attack the Lord's flock and a bereaved church suffer grave injury to the good and wishing in this matter to

⁵³ Seymour, M. C. "The Sermon of the Wolf to the English" In *The Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. K. Crossley-Holland, Ipswich, Boydell, 1982, pp. 262-269.

counteract the damage to souls and provide protection for churches we decree that a cathedral or monastery may not be without a prelate for more than three months."⁵⁴

It was not until the middle ages that the idea of a powerful force of evil that could seriously damage Christianity developed. This was related to the growth in the church's political and social power. Previously with a precarious official position that often depended on royal patronage and a laity who were not committed the Church could not afford to acknowledge the existence of a powerful rival to God. Then it seemed more appropriate to portray natural disasters as divine punishment to emphasise the power of God.

As literature, and theology, became more sophisticated Christian writers would increasingly portray the wolf as evil rather than merely as a symbol of evil or an instrument of God. The wolf would further be associated with Satan as he became recognised, and feared, by church leaders as the controlling intelligence behind all evil. This had not always been the case. The Motif-Index of Folk-Literature lists a couple of motifs in which the wolf is the enemy of the Devil.⁵⁵ Nevertheless by the tenth century Christian writers most commonly depicted the wolf as evil. In an Anglo-Saxon poem about Christ the wolf is described as "*the accursed beast of darkness.*"⁵⁶ It is not possible to date this work precisely although it was definitely composed prior to the mid-eleventh century when the book, in which it is recorded, was donated to Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric.

In the eleventh century life of St. Maieul of Cluny (d. 951), also known as Majolus, wolves were described as being extremely ferocious in areas which the Saracens would later attack.⁵⁷ One wolf was described as being more dangerous than the others, probably representing Satan amongst his disciples. A man named Folcher, father of Maieul, ordered fences to be erected and pens to be created for the goats,

⁵⁴ Cannons of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, 23, in Douglas, D. C. and Greenway, G. W., eds. and trans. English Historical Documents, Vol. 2, London, Eyre Methuen, 1961, p. 655.

⁵⁵ Thompson, Motif-Index, G303.25.1, the wolf is the Devil's craftiest enemy and G303.17.3.3, the wolf eats the Devil.

⁵⁶ Gollancz, I., ed. and trans. The Exeter Book: An Anthology of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, London, Kegan Paul, 1895.

⁵⁷ Vita Sancti Maioli abbatis Cluniacensis, trans. D. Herlihy, History of Feudalism, London, Macmillan, 1971, pp. 17-18.

sheep and lambs. Because of the ferocity of the wolves nobody had dared to do this before. Then Folcher began to spend the night close to the sheepfold. Soon the wolves attacked. The cruellest one was unable to pierce Folcher's armour. The knight seized him by the feet, took him to his comrades and imprisoned him for a day prior to destroying him. In his bowels they found whole limbs of human beings. After his death all other wolves fled the land. The writer believed that the aggressive wolves foretold the coming of the Saracens and that the actions of Folcher adumbrated the achievements of his saintly son. It is interesting that the wolves are portrayed as being of exceptional ferocity, further indication that man-eating was viewed as an abnormal trait. Another feature of this tale is the individualisation of the chief wolves. Wolves were no longer portrayed as being the same.

The evil image of the wolf was widely disseminated through the various bestiaries. These were derived from The Physiologus, a Greek text written around 200AD but probably based on earlier sources.⁵⁸ Mediaeval bestiaries included descriptions and illustrations of a variety of real and mythical animals. There were around 40 animals in the original but later versions included anything from twelve to 100. A typical entry begins with an etymological explanation of the animal's name then proceeds to describe its physical characteristics and behavioral traits. A moral concludes the description.

Evidence detailed in the present study, most notably derived from the questionnaire, indicates that visual and oral sources are much more influential in shaping people's perceptions of the wolf than written ones. Bestiaries were accompanied by illustrations and were able to influence many more people than exclusively written sources.

The Bestiary of Bishop Theobald (c.1022-1045), included twelve creatures; lion, eagle, snake, ant, fox, stag, spider, whale, siren, elephant, turtle-dove and panther.⁵⁹ One use of this bestiary, as explained by the writer, was to teach Christians

⁵⁸ Carlill, J., trans. The Physiologus, London, G. Routledge, n.d.

⁵⁹ Physiologus

to avoid vices listed, as pride, avarice, gluttony and luxury and rouse them to the virtues of prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude.⁶⁰

The author notes that Christ was indicated by the nature of the lion and the devil by the nature of the fox.⁶¹ In other bestiaries the fox is also shown as deceitful, feigning death to catch prey.⁶² It is worth noting here that the behaviour of Reynard the Fox is often worse than that of the wolf Isengrim, being treacherous, cunning and malevolent. Possibly the later evil image of the wolf is derived, in part, from the image of the fox. Certainly there are similarities as the fox was also a threat to farmers and a much more potent one in England.

Richard de Fournival's French bestiary of the mid-thirteenth century seeks metaphors of animals and love.⁶³ He refers to Pliny's statement that the man or wolf makes the other dumb, believing that this happens when lovers meet. Further he compared the wolf being unable to bend its neck with the female habit of giving themselves completely. The fact that the wolf hunted prey away from its den was similar to women loving from a distance and the wolf's willingness to bite its own foot was compared to women protecting themselves.⁶⁴

Not all the carnivorous animals in the Bestiary are depicted as evil. The lion destroying other animals is compared by Theobald to Christ destroying sinners.⁶⁵ Again we see the theme of divine retribution. Christ is also represented as the panther. Other writers depict the lion and leopard, or panther, as evil. Dante (1265-1321) describes these two beasts and a she-wolf obstructing a path.⁶⁶ There was no consensus of opinion. Perhaps the bestiary writers felt able to bestow positive connotations on the lion and panther because these were animals that would not be familiar to their audiences. The wolf and the fox threatened livestock and therefore had no place in the world which God had created for humans.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 3-4. Harleian MS, 3093, leaf 36, col. 2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁶² Luke, 13.32, refers to Herod as a fox.

⁶³ Beer, J., trans., Master Richard's Bestiary of Love and Response, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1986

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 4-5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6.

⁶⁶ Dante, trans. N. Muss, Divine Comedy, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984, 1. 49-50. cf. Jeremiah, 5.6. John, 2.16. See also the notes below, pp. 27-28, and n. 83-88.

The account of the wolf, *De Lupo*, was a tenth century addition to The Physiologus which does not appear in all bestiary manuscripts. By the twelfth century however some bestiaries disseminated in England did contain a description of the wolf. White translated a typical example.⁶⁷ The writer of this bestiary is extremely hostile towards the wolf, right from the very first paragraph. The wolf was said to have derived its name from the Greek, *likos*, which came from the word for “biting” as hungry wolves killed everything that they found. Alternatively it was claimed that the word came from the Greek, *leopos*, meaning lion-footed because their strength was in their feet.

The relevant points are summarised below, with some commentary.

1. Wolves massacre anyone who passes by.

It is difficult to ascertain where this belief comes from. Few other sources consider the wolf to be habitually dangerous to people.

2. Prostitutes are called wolves.

The author notes that whores were called she-wolves because they destroyed the wealth of their lover. This may explain the Romulus and Remus story, if it originally described a prostitute discovering the boys.⁶⁸ Prostitutes were frowned on by the mediaeval church but continued to thrive. Again the wolf is compared to groups that were considered to be outside of normal society.

3. The wolf's eyes shine at night.

Our mediaeval ancestors lived in a world without electricity and were frequently unable to find illumination at night. Nocturnal creatures had an advantage over them. The bestiary explains that the wolf's eyes shine at night because the works of the devil are considered beautiful by dark humans.

4. If seen by man before it sees him the wolf loses its ferocity and cannot run.

⁶⁷ White, T. H., *The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, London, Cape, 1954, pp. 56-61.

⁶⁸ Chapter nine of this study considers stories of children being raised by wolves.

This would seem to contradict the first point. Of Pliny's story about the man being struck dumb by the sight of a wolf the bestiary writer says that the man should scare away the wolf by beating two stones together. He interpreted this as a sinner using Christ, or the saints, to scare away Satan.

5. The Devil is a wolf patrolling sheep.

The idea of a dark force patrolling around the Christian sheepfold comes, as discussed earlier, from the bible.⁶⁹ The fact that the wolf was thought to be unable to turn its neck backward was taken to mean that the Devil never retreats from sin. The strength in the wolf's forequarters and weakness in its hindquarters reminded the writer how Satan had fallen from heaven. Here we see how beliefs about the Devil are linked with wolves. The idea that Lucifer was God's servant before he left heaven is a logical development from the earlier assumption that God utilised natural forces to indicate his displeasure. Once it became accepted that God was only a force for good then a being of almost equal power had to be created to explain the existence of evil. For this Christian writers could use the bible for inspiration. Isaiah and Ezekiel describe Lucifer falling from heaven, and Jesus is sometimes interpreted as saying that he witnessed the fall.⁷⁰

6. Wolves only copulate for twelve days.

This copies Aristotle.⁷¹

Bestiaries are worthless as records of natural history. They have value as a record of what people believed at the time, or rather what those who produced and distributed them wanted the laity to believe. It is not known if people really accepted the bestiary accounts as true descriptions of animals or not. For many it would have been their only source of information. However the bestiaries do not say much on the subject of man-eating wolves.

⁶⁹ Above, pp. 123-124.

⁷⁰ Isaiah, 14.12. Ezekiel, 28. 12-19. Luke. 10.18.

⁷¹ Aristotle, trans. A. I. Peck and D. M. Balme, *Historia Animalium*, 3 Vols. London, Loeb Library, 1965-1991, 6.25.

Representations of the Wolf in English Art.

Bearing in mind the low levels of literacy in Mediaeval England, and indeed Europe, visual material was often used to convey information. Cooper writes "*there was a large, totally illiterate population which depended on these visual symbols for its religious instruction. The symbols are also valuable records of the beliefs and imaginations of their ages...*"⁷²

It may not be possible to judge the impact of art on cultural impression of the wolf in previous times but it is evident that visual material had the potential to reach mass audiences in a way that written sources could not. As the results of the questionnaire indicate, contemporary visual sources are more influential than purely written ones.⁷³

Visual images of the wolf do not appear to have been common in England. One of the earliest extant examples is on the Bayeux tapestry where wolves are depicted with long tongues licking their front paws. This may suggest that Guido was right to say that wolves devoured people after the battle of Hastings.⁷⁴ Snarling wolves are depicted on label stops on the door and church arches of the church at Deerhunt, Gloucestershire. The symbolism here is unknown although those on the door may indicate that they belonged outside.

Apart from illustrations in the bestiaries there is then a lack of known visual images of the wolf in England until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cover to a 1665 edition of Aesop's Fables, drawn by Francis Barlow, shows the wolf between the fox and the boar.⁷⁵ It looks more timid than either of them. Woodcuts accompanied many editions of Aesop and in general were a widely disseminated visual source. They appeared as illustrations in their own right and to commemorate occasions such as executions. Often they had religious significance. The German Reformation saw an increase in anti-Catholic woodcuts and other visual material. Some Lutheran illustrations show Catholic hierarchy as wolves, including an amusing image of papal

⁷² Cooper, J. C., Symbolic and Mythological Animals, London, Aquarian Press, 1992, p. 12.

⁷³ The results are summarised in Appendix A.

⁷⁴ Guido, "Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi", line 571, in Monumenta Historia Britannica, London, H Petre, 1847.

⁷⁵ Aesop, Fables, London, Francis Barlow, 1665.

wolves being devoured by sheep.⁷⁶ A woodcut, circa 1480, depicts a Dominican in the form of Isengrim the wolf, symbolising avarice.⁷⁷ Further images of Christian sheep and the wolf appear in German broadsheets during 1520.⁷⁸

An edition of William Turner's The Huntynge of the romyshe vuolfe, (c.1555), was published in 1565 with an image of a wolf-bishop biting a lamb as the title woodcut. Jones suggested that the inspiration for the woodcut may have come from an image used as the title page of a sermon by the German, Urbanus Rhegius in 1539.⁷⁹

This imagery is less commonly found in England although there is an early print of a fox as a bishop.⁸⁰ Possibly the rarity of the wolf in the country made it less of an obvious subject for artists. Many of the later prints featuring wolves as clerical figures were either clearly based on continental works or done by foreign artists. Some of the prints will be discussed here, in rough chronological order.

The Martyrdom of Reformers in 1555 shows Catholic priests with wolf heads.⁸¹ The wolf's head metaphor was commonly applied to outlaws. By this time the clergy were seen in some quarters as being separated from reality. The image appears nearly a century later in a secular concept. The Patentee of 1641 shows a figure with a wolf's head representing parliament stealing.⁸² This was probably done by Wenceslaus Hollar, one of several continental engravers working in England. Prince Rupert, 1646, was depicted with a wolf's head and described as England's Wolfe.⁸³

Heraclitus Dream of 1642 shows a wolf close to a shepherd with a verse questioning why wild beasts attack a shepherd's flock.⁸⁴ It also includes a lion emerging from a wood with a quote from Jeremiah, "A Lion of the wood shall slay you."⁸⁵ The Devil is on a hillock with text: "The Divell is come downe among you."⁸⁶

⁷⁶ Scribner, R., For the Sake of Simple Folk, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994, p. 166 and illustration 135.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 119.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 49-56.

⁷⁹ Jones, M., "The Lambe Speaketh...An Addendum", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 63, (2002), 290

⁸⁰ Anon, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, London, B Chiswick, 1870, No. 1.

⁸¹ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 10.

⁸² Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 264.

⁸³ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 308.

⁸⁴ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 315.

⁸⁵ Jeremiah, 5.6,

A leopard is shown threatening a city with a quote from Jeremiah; a leopard shall watch your cities.⁸⁷ There is also an owl with a quote from Isaiah, “The Owle and the Stayres shall be there.”⁸⁸ The wolf was not the only animal given negative connotations in satire.

In England and Ireland’s Sad Theatre, Jan 10 1645, a wolf is shown trying to raise money at the foot of Archbishop Laud’s head.⁸⁹ A braver wolf, some five years later, is shown as holding a sword in front of a knife-carrying Pope.⁹⁰ Another image shows a wolf and fox in a sheep’s’ clothing being hanged from a tree.⁹¹ It is interesting that the two are shown together, different yet connected.

“Converte Angliam”c.1685 shows a woman, thought to be the Catholic wife of James II, kneeling down before a wolf confessor.⁹² This image of the Catholic Wolf appears again in “The flight of popery from England” which depicts the dauphin riding a wolf.⁹³ The wolf preaching appears again in 1689.⁹⁴ These reflect the anti-catholic sentiments, not helped by what many felt were the pro-catholic policies of James II which eventually led to his departure to Catholic France and the accession of the protestant William of Orange.

There is a late sixteenth/early seventh century print showing a lawyer with a wolf’s head.⁹⁵ Several groups could be given this connotation of evil which had expanded from its original association with the genuine outlaw.

Images of the wolf portray it as either a grotesque caricature or as a normal animal engaged in unpleasant or hostile activities, like attacking sheep. Many of these were from continental exemplars, probably because the wolf no longer existed in England.

⁸⁶ Revelation, 12.22.

⁸⁷ Jeremiah, 5.6.

⁸⁸ Isaih, 13.21.

⁸⁹ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 416.

⁹⁰ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 791.

⁹¹ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 1047.

⁹² Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 1146.

⁹³ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 1208.

⁹⁴ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 1227

⁹⁵ Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, No 1284.

The image of the wolf underwent certain changes as Christianity grew stronger in a political sense and clearer in an ideological sense. Traditionally the wolves, and other wild animals, were portents of doom or instruments of divine punishment employed by God. Subsequently they became viewed as evil in themselves and either servants of the Devil or Satan himself. The process by which this occurred is intrinsically connected to the dissemination of the bestiaries and a greater theological distinction between good and evil forces. Man was no longer afraid of God's vengeance but he was able to despise agents of evil and take action against them. The late middle ages saw an increased tendency within Christian sources to represent evil as an individual force rather than an ideological concept. This was particularly evident in the bestiaries which imposed Christian morality on the amoral animal kingdom.

Religion and Modern Beliefs About the Wolf

Question five in the questionnaire asked the respondents what their religion was. The aim of this question was to see if religion helped shape perceptions of the wolf and, in particular, to see if Christians were more likely to be hostile to the wolf than any other group. Given the historical attitude of the Christianity towards wolves it was expected that the Christian respondents would be more hostile to the wolf than those of other, or no, religion. However modern Christianity does not oppose the wolf in terms of organising anti-wolf campaigns and nor does it exercise the same degree of ideological control that it enjoyed in previous eras. The answers are summarised in table I.

Christian respondents, of all denominations, comprised 43% of the total nominations. The answers of these 79 respondents to the question which asked if wolves were dangerous to people were:

Yes	22
No	28
Sometimes	30

28% of the Christian respondents felt that the wolf was dangerous to people. Overall 32% answered yes to this question. Christians were slightly less likely than others to believe that the wolf is dangerous to people.

Table I: Summary of answers to question five

Religion	Number of Respondents
Catholic	19
Other Christian	61
Not answered	17
None	52
Islam	5
Agnostic	5
Hare Krishna	3
Buddhist	4
Pagan	13
Atheist	2
Other	8

None of the respondents nominated religious sources as influencing their impressions of wolves, although one mentioned St. Francis in their answer to the final question.⁹⁶ It is possible that the hostility of earlier clergymen towards the wolf was not shared by the laity. There are no extant records which directly attribute religious motivations to wolf hunting. Christians may have chosen to only hunt the wolf for sport, financial gain and when it threatened their own economic interests. Certainly there was no apparent escalation in wolf-hunting during the Middle Ages. There was however an escalation in witch-hunting. Wolves were connected to this by the belief that witches were able to change themselves into animals, including the wolf. In the next chapter beliefs about the werewolf will be traced from ancient to modern times.

⁹⁶ Respondent number 59.

6. The Human Wolf

A belief in werewolves, and other were-animals, is found in many sources at many times. Montague Summers gives a detailed survey of sources relevant to werewolves in his comprehensive study.¹ Most of the texts he cites simply repeated and modified information provided by earlier works. Locating the sources of original beliefs is sometimes difficult but if this can be achieved then it becomes possible to examine ways in which later writers altered the ideas to suit their own agendas.

This chapter will begin with a brief overview of early sources concerning werewolves, with particular reference to those works known to have been disseminated in England. It is divided into sections on fiction and non-fiction although the boundaries between the two are not always clear. This will show how the belief in the man-eating werewolf developed and altered over a period of time.

Non-Fiction

As with real wolves early extant stories and legends are often sympathetic towards the werewolf and rarely portray it as a witting agent of evil. Herodotus was aware of: "*a story current amongst the Scythians and Greeks in Scythia that once a year every Neurian turns into a wolf for a few days and then turns back into a man again. I do not believe this tale but all the same they tell it, and even swear to the truth of it.*"² The story derives from Greek ignorance of Neurian culture and was perhaps deliberately intended to generate a sense of difference by portraying the Neurians as abnormal.

Like Herodotus Pliny was sceptical about werewolves. He described an Arcadian tradition in which someone was said to become a wolf for nine years and if he refrained from touching a person was changed back into a man.³ Neither Pliny nor Herodotus listed the causes of the transformation but other writers attributed it to a deity. In his Metamorphoses Ovid describes how Lycaon dared to put human meat before Jupiter and was punished by being turned into a wolf.⁴ Earlier Plato knew of a

¹ Summers, M., The Werewolf, London, Kegan Paul, 1933.

² Herodotus, trans. G. Rawlinson, The Histories, Ware, Wordsworth, 1996. 4, 105.

³ Pliny the Elder, trans. H. Rackman, Natural History, 10 Volumes, London, Loeb Classical Library, 1960, 8.81.

⁴ Ovid, Metamorphoses, trans. A. D. Melville, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986, 1. 23.

legend associated with the shrine of Lycaon Zeus (Jupiter) in Arcadia where anyone who ate human flesh mingled with the flesh of sacrificial victims would become a wolf.⁵ Plato felt that those who seized absolute power would either be destroyed or become wolves. Greed was a characteristic often symbolised by the wolf in mediaeval times.

Another example of lycanthropy can be found in a Sumerian tale where the goddess Ishtar turned one of her former lovers, a shepherd, into a wolf.⁶ In the ancient world most extant sources indicate that individuals, unless they belonged to a specific, often cursed, group, were unable to turn themselves into wolves. The act was usually performed by a higher being as a punishment. Werewolves were depicted as victims of magic and not as instigators of evil.

This concept of the werewolf as victim may have a factual origin since some ancient writers regarded lycanthropy as a genuine medical condition. Marcellus Sidetes, c.117-161AD, described an illness which caused men to behave like wolves.⁷ In the surviving extracts of his poetry he says that cases of lycanthropy were prevalent at the start of the year, especially February, and that the afflicted went to graveyards. Grief would seem to be a reasonable explanation for the cemetery visits.⁸

No other surviving source contemporaneous with Sidetes describes lycanthropy as an illness. However the idea was still known some five centuries or so later when Paulus Aegineta was writing. He said that people afflicted by lycanthropy imitated wolves and wandered about at night, especially in graveyards.⁹ Symptoms were pale skin, feeble vision, dry eyes and tongue, no saliva and extreme thirst. Their legs had incurable ulcers from frequent falls. The disease could be cured by bloodletting

⁵ Plato, Republic, trans. F. Mac Donald Cornford, Oxford, Clarendon, 1957, p. 285.

⁶ Sandars, N. K., The Epic of Gilgamesh, An English Version, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1996, p. 84.

⁷ cited and translated in part in C. F. Otten, ed., A Lycanthropy Reader, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1986, p. 10.

⁸ Much later Sir Walter Scott describes a madwoman repeatedly going to her husband's grave, Scott, W., Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, reprinted Ware, Wordsworth, 2001, pp. 224-225. There is a later German belief that a bone taken from a graveyard cured ague, Thorpe, B., Northern Mythology, reprinted Ware, Wordsworth, 2001, p. 547.

⁹ Adams, F., trans. The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta, London, Sydenham Society, 1854, vol. 1. 3.6, p. 359.

followed by a three day diet of milk or whey and purging with hiera.¹⁰ After this, theriac from vipers could be used.¹¹ If lycanthropy was well established in the patient soporific embrocating could be tried and the nostrils rubbed with opium. Aegineta's translator suggested that one of the individuals cured by Jesus suffered from this disease.¹² There is no known case of anyone being afflicted like this. Yet Aegineta was a serious chronicler of medical and other matters, and it is difficult to see why he would have invented the story although he may have been quoting from a fuller version of Sidetes. The idea that lycanthropy was some form of illness survived for some time. Several cases were cited in Grimeston's seventeenth century translation of Goulart's Admirable and Memorable Histories.¹³

Early Christian writers debated stories of lycanthropy. What concerned them most was the source of the instigating power. Clearly it was divine, but they asked if their, usually benevolent God, would inflict such a punishment although they were seemingly happy for the deity to send forth pestilences and floods. Their successors overcame this dilemma by blaming lycanthropy on Satan but in the early Christian world the existence of a powerful rival for God could not be accepted.

In his influential City Of God, Augustine discussed various cases of lycanthropy and believed: "that a person has a phantom which in his imagination or dreams takes on various forms through the influence of circumstances of innumerable kind."¹⁴ Another respected authority, Boethius whose work was considered by King Alfred the Great to be one of those necessary for all men to know, felt that only the wicked were transformed.¹⁵ Those who later persecuted werewolves would echo these

¹⁰ It is not clear what is being referred to here. Hiera, apart from being a Greek word meaning sacred, was an antidote against a poison, possible hawk-weed, Lewis, L. T., and Shaw, C., A Latin Dictionary, Oxford, Clarendon, 1933, p. 834.

¹¹ A picture of Andromachus giving a medication containing viper's flesh to the Emperor Nero can be seen on the side of a jar made by Annibale Fontana in the late sixteenth century and now in the Getty museum.

¹² Adams, The Seven Books, p. 360. Luke, 8.31.

¹³ Goulart, I., trans. E. Grimeston, Admirable and Memorable Histories, London, George Elder, 1607, pp. 370, 386-387.

¹⁴ Augustine, trans. H. Bettenson, City of God, and Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984, 18.17.

¹⁵ Boethius, trans. S. J. Tester, The Consolation of Philosophy, London, Loeb Library, 1973, 4.4. Alfred in Keynes and Lapidge

sentiments. Prior to the persecutions however the werewolf was rarely seen as evil. Most commonly it was a victim.

One example of the werewolf as victim motif is found in the Topographia Hibernia of Giraldus Cambrensis. This tells of a werewolf who persuaded a priest to give his lover, also a werewolf, the last rites.¹⁶ Both these werewolves were innocent victims of sorcery. The male was also credited with the ability to predict the future. He said that the English would invade Ireland as a punishment for the sins of the Irish people. Cambrensis wrote after the invasion had occurred. In this story it is a human army, just like the Vikings, who administer divine punishment.

In the twelfth century Gervasius of Tilbury stated that werewolves were well known in England but did not give local examples.¹⁷ Given the apparent rarity of the wolf and the lack of known werewolf stories in England he may have been mistaken but we cannot be certain.

Fiction

The entry for "Werewolf" in The Motif-Index of Folk Literature, lists six types of tale featuring the werewolf. One of these, the werewolf saving a boy, indicates a benevolent creature.¹⁸ Another motif has the werewolves holding mass.¹⁹ The other types are concerned with methods used to identify werewolves and how to deter them.

One of the first designated fictitious stories about werewolves appears in the Satyricon of Petronius, an epic novel from the first century AD which has not survived in its entirety. In the relevant section a character called Niceros tells a story at a friend's dinner party.²⁰ The essence of the tale is thus: A man goes to visit his girlfriend, taking with him a soldier for company. When they reach a graveyard the soldier strips, urinates on his clothes and becomes a wolf. Terrified the man runs to his girlfriend's house. She reproaches him for not having been there earlier to defend their

¹⁶ Cambrensis, G., trans. J. F. Dimock, Opera, 5, London, Rolls Series, 1867, xix.

¹⁷ Gervasius of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia, in G. W. Leibnitz, ed., Scriptores Rerum Brunvicensium, Vol. 1, Hannover, Nicolai Sumtis, 1710, CXX.

¹⁸ Thompson, S., Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 Volumes, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, H64.1.

¹⁹ Ibid., V49.1.

²⁰ Petronius, trans. W. Arrowsmith, Satyricon, Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1959, pp. 59-61.

flocks against a wolf. The animal was however injured. On his return home the man finds the soldier being treated for those injuries.

The symbolism of this story can be found in many later, supposedly genuine, stories of werewolves. The graveyard, the discovery of wounds on a human identical to those inflicted on the wolf, the night transformation and the removal of clothes are common motifs. Repeated use of such symbolism strongly suggests that the later stories are invented. Coincidental repetition of fiction must be considered unlikely, especially when the promulgators of the stories were almost certainly familiar with the prototype.

Few werewolf stories are known to have been disseminated in mediaeval England. One is the Arthurian romance, "Arthur and Gorlagon."²¹ In this Arthur is told a tale in which a king, later identified as the narrator, had a sapling which could change people into wolves. His treacherous wife used it to transform him but, by mistake, allowed him to keep the understanding of a man. Then she ruled the kingdom with her lover. The king met a female wolf and had cubs, both of which were hanged by the queen.²² Eventually the werewolf went to a neighbouring province where he alerted the King to another treacherous queen. The grateful ruler returned the favour by taking the werewolf back to his own kingdom and restoring his form.

It is interesting that the werewolf, in wolf form, attacks and kills a number of people, including innocent civilians from his own land. This was despite retaining his human reasoning and is not in keeping with his portrayal as a just ruler. Such a contradiction might indicate that there were two original stories, one in which the wolf retained human consciousness and one in which it did not.

There is another mention of a werewolf in the collection of Arthurian tales. Malory refers briefly to Sir Marok who was turned into a wolf by his wife, for a period

²¹ Milne, F. A., trans. "Arthur and Gorlagon", Folklore, 15, (1904), pp. 40-67. cf. Thompson, Motif-Index, S332.

²² Several animals were actually executed in Mediaeval Europe for a number of offences, including murder; see Evans, A., The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals, London, Heinemann, 1906. No wolves appear to have been punished in this way although Sidky tells of a wolf that killed people in Ansbach in 1685 and was thought to be a reincarnation of the detested burgomaster. When caught it was dressed in his clothes and hanged, Sidky, H., Witchcraft, Lycanthropy, Drugs and Disease, New York, Peter Lang, 1997, p. 223.

of seven years.²³ Both the Arthurian werewolf stories feature a belief in the treachery of women, a common theme in Christian thought, and one linked indirectly to several aspects of this study.

Some of the motifs in the “Arthur and Gorlagon” story are found in a poem by Marie de France.²⁴ Here the werewolf, Bislaveret, could not return from wolf to human form without his clothes which had been stolen by his wife and her lover. In wolf form he became the servant of the King and was finally able to obtain his revenge. In many ways this is a more coherent version of “Arthur and Gorlagon”. There is not the confusion of two separate adulterous wives and the werewolf does not harm any innocent people.

The story of William and the Werewolf has much in common with the tales mentioned above. Here again a woman, the stepmother, is responsible for the transformation. In the text a werewolf steals a child to save him from treachery.²⁵ The oldest surviving version is dated to the fourteenth century although it is known to be an expansion of an older, French, poem. The werewolf takes on the role of servant, tricking people to assist his master. Despite this helpful image a woodcut accompanying a 1522 edition showed the werewolf eating a baby whilst the king and queen watched, apparently unconcerned. This may be intended to show how the ruling classes regarded the poorer classes with contempt.

As werewolf stories developed the werewolf became closer to man, in terms of intelligence. The werewolves of Pliny, Herodotus and Petronius lacked human reasoning, being beasts in mind and body. Those in mediaeval fiction were able to retain, and control, their minds whilst in wolf form. In an interesting reversal the later mediaeval werewolves would be described as behaving like beasts.

The stories cited above feature human villains who were not werewolves. Ancient stories which preceded them did not mark the werewolf as evil either. It was noted by Pliny and Herodotus as an object of curiosity and by Petronius as an

²³ Malory, T., *La Morte D'Arthur*, reprinted, Ware, Wordsworth, 1996, 19.11.

²⁴ Burgess, G. S., and Busby, K., trans., *The Lais of Marie de France*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1986, pp. 68-72.

²⁵ Skeat, W. K., ed., *The Romance of William of Palerne*, London, Early English Text Society, 1867.

entertaining interlude. Nevertheless there is progression as the ancient stories rarely refer to the causes of the transformation and the mediaeval works indicate that women were responsible. During the witchcraft persecutions women would be more commonly accused than men.

By the time of the persecutions women were increasingly being associated with Satan. The witch-hunters' bible the Malleus Maleficarum described females as a necessary evil.²⁶ Like the wolf the woman was a scapegoat.

As the belief in Satan developed so beliefs about the werewolf altered and it became viewed as being, at least in part, responsible for its own transformation. Thus the boundary between victim and aggressor was crossed.

The Werewolf in Later Traditions

*"These stories were told to us not by inconsiderable informants whom we should think it beneath us to believe but by persons we could not imagine telling lies to us."*²⁷

In early legends and stories the werewolf was not depicted as malevolent. Yet in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several alleged werewolves were tried and some executed for crimes associated with witchcraft, principally the eating of children. This section of the study will look firstly at the association between the werewolf and the man-eating wolf, then at selected cases of lycanthropy and will seek explanations of those cases. Finally the answers to question sixteen in the questionnaire, which asked the respondents to identify the most plausible explanation for lycanthropy, will be considered.

Some extant mediaeval sources confuse werewolf and wolf. For example Piers Ploughman paraphrases Matthew's gospel about the wolf threatening the flocks,

²⁶ Kramer, H., and Sprenger, J., trans. E. Allen-Ashwin, ed. M. Summers, Malleus Maleficarum, London, Arrow, 1971, p. 141.

²⁷ Augustine, City of God, 18.17.

substituting werewolf for wolf.²⁸ This may be significant as the idea of a man wolf as a man behaving like a wolf is closely related to the idea of a man turning into a wolf.

The Master of Game says of wolves: "*There are some that eat children and men and eat no flesh from the time that they are blooded by men's flesh for they would rather be dead. They are called werewolves for men should beware of them.*"²⁹ The author makes a clear distinction between man-eating wolves, or werewolves, and ordinary wolves.

In an earlier chapter von Kaysersberg's opinions on the man-eating werewolf were considered.³⁰ Sources such as his sermon and The Master of Game indicate that man-eating was considered to be an abnormal trait in wolves which merited an explanation. Lycanthropy was one of the possible explanations. There is perhaps a parallel with beliefs about another predator. Tylor felt that the Indian notion of a were-tiger was coined to explain the tigers that were hostile to man.³¹ No large predators are habitually hostile to people and none of them routinely eat people. People living near these predators have to account for individual animals which deviate from the normal pattern of behaviour. This can be done by assuming that the animal is possessed, or controlled by another force. In Brittany in the 1850s there was not a belief in man-eating wolves but the man-eating werewolf the *loup-garou* was feared.³²

Once man-eating was accepted as an abnormal trait of wolves that could be explained by werewolves it was incorporated into existing witchcraft beliefs. In 1605 Verstegan, wrote: "*The were wolves are certain sorcerers who having anointed their body with an ointment which they make by the influence of the devil and putting on a certain girdle do not only unto the view of others seem as wolves but to their own thinking have both the shape and nature of wolves as they wear the said girdle. And they do dispose themselves as were-wolves in worrying and killing.*"³³ This typifies the

²⁸ Skeat, W. W., ed. Pierce The Ploughman's Crede, London, Early English Text Society, 1867, line 459.

²⁹ Edward, 2nd Duke of York, eds., W. A. Baillie-Groham and F. Baillie-Groham, The Master of Game, London, Hanson and Co, 1909, p. 59.

³⁰ Above, pp. 99-102.

³¹ Tylor, E. B., Primitive Culture, New York, Harper 1958, Vol. 1. p. 280.

³² Davies, E. W. L., Wolf Hunting in Brittany, London, Chapman and Hall, 1875, p. 76

³³ Verstegan, R., Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities, concerning the most noble and renowned English nation, Antwerp, Robert Braines, 1605, p. 264.

concept of the werewolf at a time approaching the end of the witchcraft persecutions. It is an image which changed considerably during the course of those persecutions, incorporating the ideas that ointment, girdles and Satan were responsible for the transformation or for creating an illusion of transformation. To understand how this developed from the image of the werewolf in earlier works it is first necessary to examine the general link between witchcraft and the transformation of men into beasts.

This link was firmly established in the ancient world. For example Diodorus tells the story of Lamia, a witch who turned people into beasts.³⁴ The idea that witches caused this type of transformation is also found in Apulieus.³⁵ In the "Arthur and Gorlagon story" and the tale of Cambrensis third party sorcery is to blame. Witches were then generally credited with this power. According to later mediaeval thought witches were controlled by Satan. This idea, when it became accepted that the witches could transform themselves, gave rise to the idea that werewolves were consciously evil.

The connection between werewolves and the Devil is however older, appearing in the Ecclesiastical laws of Cnut: "*There is none so evil a spoiler as the Devil himself, he is ever busy about that alone, how he can most injure the souls of men. Therefore must the shepherds be very watchful, who have to shield the people against the spoiler, such as bishops and mass-priests, who are to preserve and defend their spiritual flock with wise instructions, that the madly audacious were-wolf does not widely devastate too many of their spiritual flock.*"³⁶

Later witches, as perceived agents of the Devil, were persecuted. The church developed and implemented harsh laws against heretics and unbelievers. This was intended to be a deterrent. The principle of using fear as a motivating power was used when the Vikings were associated with wolves in order to make people oppose them, in the bestiaries to make people afraid of Satan and in the execution of witches to make

³⁴ Oldfather, C. H., trans., *Diodorus of Sicily*, 10 Volumes, London, Loeb Library, 1933, 1.10, c. 41.

³⁵ Apulieus, trans. R. Graves, rev. M. Grant, *The Golden Ass*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1990. The story of Circe is another good example, Homer, trans. R. Fitzgerald, *The Odyssey*, New York, Noonday Press, 1998. In book ten Homer talks of lions and wolves charmed by Circe.

³⁶ Cnut, 26, in Thorpe, B., ed., *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, Comprising Laws Enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings from Ethelbert to Cnut with an English Translation of the Saxon*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1840, pp. 160-161.

people afraid of deviating from Christian ideology. Often the confessions of witches, usually, but not always, obtained via torture, were read immediately before the pyres were lit. Thus the watching crowds were taught the elite view of demonology. This educational principle of public executions was not new and would continue long after the persecutions ceased. The Malleus Maleficarum states: "*Common justice demands that a witch should not be condemned to death unless she is convicted of her own confession.*"³⁷ Whilst this was a necessary requirement for the secular court, as hard evidence did not exist in cases of witchcraft, there existed a perceived need to demonstrate power to the people and to deter them from heresy.

Witches became convenient scapegoats for natural disasters. Previously these had been attributed to God's punishment but increasingly Satan or his disciples were viewed as being responsible. The escalation of natural disasters in the middle Ages was one of the reasons for this change. The Black Death which swept across Europe during the fourteenth century tested human endurance to the limit. It was no longer plausible to blame severe disasters on God and to do so would only increase the numbers of heretics and non-believers who were questioning orthodox beliefs. Blaming Satan was an alternative but the Devil was not visible and the church needed to show the detection, and eradication, of evil. Thus the burning or, in England, hanging of witches was a visible sign of the Christian triumph over evil, similar to the ceremonial conversion of the Vikings.

The first papal bull directly launched against witchcraft was that of Alexander IV on 13 December, 1258.³⁸ Other papal bulls touched on witchcraft at intermittent periods prior to the publication of the Malleus Maleficarum. Lea gives a list, with commentary, of these bulls until 1540.³⁹

In England the werewolf was not generally part of witchcraft beliefs, probably because the wolf was rare, or extinct, in the country at the time when the witchcraft persecutions were most intense. There are a few exceptions. In 1673 an anonymous

³⁷ Kramer and Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, p. 22.

³⁸ Summers, M., The History of Witchcraft and Demonology, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973, p. 13.

³⁹ Lea, H. C., ed. H. C. Howland, Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft, 3 Vols. New York, T. Yoseloff, 1957, pp. 230-260.

writer described a vision in which the demon Agrippa said he taught witches to assume the shape of wolves and eat children.⁴⁰

The idea that witches could transform themselves was however common. In his Guide to Grand Jurymen, published in 1627, Barnard listed the following forms that could be taken by the devil; man, woman, boy, brown and white dog, foal, spotted bitch, hare, cat, kittling, rat, chicken, owl, toad and crab.⁴¹

On the continent however the belief in werewolves, and the accusation of lycanthropy was closely linked to the witchcraft trials. This was probably because the wolf was considered the most dangerous predator and therefore a suitable shape for the witches to assume.

Selected Cases of Lycanthropy During the Witchcraft Persecutions

Accounts of continental witch trials and texts had some influence in England. Verstegan's account of werewolves is heavily based on European examples.⁴² It is expedient then to consider some cases of these alleged werewolves. One of the principal sources for lycanthropy in France is Henri Boguet's manual of 1590, revised in 1602 and 1603.⁴³ Boguet was the chief justice of St. Claude from 1596-1611. He cites the following historical cases of lycanthropy then describes a more recent event.

1. A wolf came amongst the Roman army that was trying to stop Hannibal from crossing the Alps. It killed some of the soldiers and escaped.
2. In 1042 more than fifteen wolves appeared in Constantinople at the same time.
3. In 1148 a wolf in Geneva killed 30 people.
4. On July 18th 1603 three wolves were seen in the district of Douvres and Jeurre, about half an hour after a hailstorm had destroyed all the fruit. They had no tails and ran amongst the goats and cows without touching them, except for one kid which was

⁴⁰ "A Magic Version or A Perfect Discovery of the Fallacies of Witchcraft", reprinted in P. Haining, ed., The Witchcraft Papers, London, Hale, 1974.

⁴¹ Bernard, R., A Guide to Grand Jurymen, London, Ed. Blackmore, 1627, p. 106.

⁴² Verstegan. Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, pp. 263-264.

⁴³ Boguet, H., trans. E. Allen-Ashwin, ed. M. Summers, An Examen of Witches, London, John Rodker, 1929.

carried a short ways and abandoned unharmed. One large wolf preceded the others and Boguet felt that this had to be Satan.

All of these cases describe wolves behaving abnormally. Even if the incidents occurred there is no suggestion of lycanthropy. Boguet links the appearance of the wolves in Douvres and Jeurre to a natural disaster.

According to Boguet three men Michael Udon, Phililent Montot and Gros Pierre confessed, in 1521, that they had changed themselves into wolves. In that form they had killed and eaten several people. Pictures of this trio were to be found in the Church of the Jacobins at Poligny, another deterrent for potential wrong doers and an example of visual sources being used to influence people.⁴⁴ Udon was apparently wounded whilst in wolf form by a man who followed him and discovered his wife tending the wound. Boguet tells of a similar case in 1588 in Apchon, Auvergne, which he was told by "*one who could be believed*", who visited the area fifteen days after the incident. In the story a gentleman asked a hunter to bring back a trophy for him. The obliging hunter cut the paw from a wolf. It contained a ring belonging to the nobleman's wife. According to Gervase of Tilbury the severance of a werewolf's paw turns him back into a person. He tells of a nobleman in Avernia who, in wolf form, devoured children and tore old people into pieces. The creature had his paw removed by a woodcutter, that familiar protector who crops up frequently in fairy stories of which this is surely one, although Gervase seems to be implying that he knew the individual.⁴⁵ In such stories Petronius's fairly harmless fiction was being extended with fatal consequences for men such as Michael Udon.⁴⁶

Boguet's work is most interesting when describing his own experiences of dealing with witches, who were also werewolves. He describes some cases in detail.⁴⁷ Jacques Boquet, Clauda Jamprose, Thievenne Paget, and Clauda Jumquillaume

⁴⁴ Prior to Boguet it was claimed that a description was on the door of the church, Oates, C. F., *Trials of Werewolves in the Franche-Comte in the Early Modern Period*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1993, p. 136. Moreover other sources state that only two men were executed in this case. Boguet seems to be confusing the third, Montot, with Pierre Tornier who was executed in 1551.

⁴⁵ Gervasius of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, in G. W. Leibnitz, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Brunvicensium*, Vol. 1, Hannover, Nicolai Sumtis, 1710, 51.

⁴⁶ Oates briefly discussed prosecuted cases of lycanthropy becoming legend, *Trials of Werewolves*, p. 166.

⁴⁷ Boguet, *An Examen*, pp. 136-155.

confessed that they killed five children, a child of Anatholie Locket of Orciers, four or five years old, another of Claude Goddard and one of Claude, the son of Antoine Gindre. In 1597 they met two children of Claude Boulton and killed them. According to Boguet this was verified by villagers from Longchamois and Orciers and by the parents who confirmed that the children had been taken by wolves at that time.⁴⁸ Another of the accused, Jeanne Perrin, said that Gaillard had turned into a wolf and attacked her in a wood called Fridecombe. She saw Claude go behind a bush and a wolf without a tail emerge standing on its hind feet. Afterwards Claude told Jeanne that the wolf would not have harmed her. This second-hand report is the closest we have to a factual account of someone witnessing a person change into a wolf.

Two other alleged werewolves would have been tried with the motley crew but had already been rushed to execution. Pierre Gandillon and his son George confessed that they turned themselves into wolves. The son however insisted that he had never meddled with any children but had, in the company of his aunt Perenette, killed some goats.

Boguet relates this tale: *“About three years ago Benoist Bidet of Nazian, a lad of 15 or 16 climbed a tree leaving his younger sister at the bottom. She was attacked by a wolf without a tail; the wolf took the brother’s knife and wounded him in the neck with it. He died a few days later but said the wolf had its two forefeet like a man’s hands covered on the top with hair. They knew then that it was Perenette Gandillon who had killed him for she tried to make her escape after striking the blow and was killed by the peasants.”*⁴⁹

As a narrator of fact Boguet is credulous and did not actually witness any of the crimes supposedly committed by his prisoners. He was not the only witch hunter to record his experiences but he is one of the few to do so after dealing directly with suspected werewolves. Other notable witch hunters to discuss the topic of lycanthropy include Nicholas Remy whose *Demonolatrie* was first published in 1595.⁵⁰ He blamed witches for all manner of natural disasters, stating that there were several precedents in

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 137

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 149.

⁵⁰ Remy, N., trans. E. Allan Ashwin, ed. M. Summers, *Demonolatrie*, London, John Rodker, 1930, 1.2.

pagan histories.⁵¹ He then goes on to claim that the wolf was the most fitting agent for the devil as it was endowed for depredation more than other animals.⁵² However Remy was just as credulous as Boguet. He gives three examples of people being wounded in animal form, as wolf, dog and cat respectively, then being identified.⁵³ One of these stories is virtually identical to that given by Boguet and another was told to him by the wife of his patron.

The impact of witch-hunting manuals in England was minimal for a number of reasons. Most notably they were Catholic documents and England had become a Protestant country. Boguet's manual and others were however considered important enough to be translated at a later date.

An intention to demonstrate good triumphing over evil can be seen in the translation and widespread dissemination of a manuscript detailing the trial of a werewolf named Stubbe Peter, executed in Cologne in October 1589 for a variety of crimes which included the eating of children and incest.⁵⁴ Within six months this illustrated execution broadsheet was available in England and was perhaps the most influential source available on European werewolves. Like most pamphlets of its kind it was intended to deter. According to the text the Devil gave Peter a girdle that allowed him to change into a wolf. In this shape he supposedly murdered thirteen children and two pregnant women. Often he would eat raw lambs and kids. Other offences included incest with his daughter, Stubbe Bell, who had a child by him and killing his son by a mistress. He was active in these crimes for 25 years before confessing, without torture. Stubbe Peter was broken on a wheel which had the likeness of a wolf above it. Bits of wood were placed around the wheel to represent the sixteen confirmed victims. A strong visual image was used to reinforce negative impressions of the wolf.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 1.2.

⁵² *Ibid.* 1.23.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 2.5.

⁵⁴ Anon., A True Discourse, declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peter, a most wicked sorcerer, who in the likeness of a wolfe, committed many murders, continuing this devilish practice 25 years, killing and devouring men, women and children, who for the same fact was broken and executed the 31 of October last past in the town of Bedbur near the city of Cologne, Truly translated out of the High Dutch according to the copie printed in Cologne, brought into England by George Bore, London, Edward Venge, 1590.

Details of other alleged werewolves at the time of the witchcraft persecutions are scarce. When compiling his study of witchcraft at grass roots level during the persecutions Briggs went through several archives which contained some stories of werewolves.⁵⁵ Most of the cases he cites were mere rumours. However such reports show that accusations of lycanthropy were fairly common but not many resulted in prosecutions.

The names of the same few werewolves are repeatedly cited in the extant texts, implying that not many others were tried. Farson, one of the more sensational writers on the topic, felt that there were 30,000 cases of lycanthropy in Germany alone between 1520 and 1630.⁵⁶ Russell and Russell analysed 21 cases that were mentioned by Montague Summers. Two of these were in Germany, two in Switzerland, and seventeen in France. Eight of the cases occurred in the 1590s and seven of the accused were female.⁵⁷

Oates made a detailed study of werewolf trials in the Franche-Comte region between 1521 and 1664. There were 39 accusations which reached the courts with thirteen werewolves being executed. Although trial records and archives have not all survived it is likely that executions would have been recorded in other sources, granting notoriety to more individuals. However minor sentences could have been imposed.

Quaife felt that at most 200,000 people were executed as witches in Europe.⁵⁸ Cohn estimated that between 200,000 and 1,000,000 died for witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁹ Briggs estimated 100,000 witch trials between 1450 and 1750 resulting in 40,000 to 50,000 executions.⁶⁰ Since there is no agreement on the number of executed witches there is little chance of establishing how many people

⁵⁵ Briggs, R., Witches and Neighbours, London, HarperCollins, 1996.

⁵⁶ Farson, D., Vampires, Zombies and Monster Men, London, Aldus Books, 1976, p. 54. Woodward, Woodward, I., The Werewolf Delusion, London, Paddington Press, 1979, pp. 12-13 gives this same figure in the same period for France.

⁵⁷ Russell, W. M. S., and Russell, C., "The Social Biology of Werewolves", in J. R. Porter and W. M. S. Russell, eds., Animals in Folklore, London, D S Brewer, 1978, pp. 143-181, p. 153.

⁵⁸ Quaife, G. R., Godly Zeal and Furious Rage, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1987, p. 79.

⁵⁹ Cohn, N., "The Myth of Satan and his Human Servants", in M. R. Douglas, ed., Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations, London, Tavistock Publications, 1970, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Briggs, R., Witches and Neighbours, London, Fontana Press, 1996, p. 8.

were executed for lycanthropy or, more crucially, how widespread and influential the belief in lycanthropy was. All we can say is that the names of few alleged werewolves have survived. From this lycanthropy would appear to be a crime that was rarely prosecuted.

Explanations of Lycanthropy

Accounts of werewolves on the continent and news of trials were disseminated in England. Most sixteenth century English writers were sceptical. Scot and Burton for example viewed lycanthropy as a mental illness or a hallucination.⁶¹ Scot's text inspired James I to write his Demonologie, protesting that witches did exist. James would later retract his belief in spirits and always doubted the reality of werewolves, describing men who pretended to devour women and children.⁶² The idea that lycanthropy was a mental illness, present as we have seen in Roman times, soon spread to the stage. In Webster's The Duchess of Malfi, first performed in 1613 a physician diagnoses the disease of Lycanthropia in which patients, believing themselves to be wolves, went to graveyards and dug up corpses.⁶³

The seventeenth century English physician Robert Bayfield claimed to have treated a patient for lycanthropy.⁶⁴ Modern physicians and writers with no medical qualifications, have since considered the possibility that lycanthropy could be a genuine medical ailment. Illis described a condition called congenital porphyria. The symptoms of this are sensitivity to light, red teeth and a distortion of hands and face.⁶⁵ However this condition is rare and there is no reason why so many cases would appear at relatively the same time. Although it can be hereditary one would still need to explain why there were no further, or indeed previous, occurrences.

⁶¹ Scot, R., The Discoverie of Witchcraft, London, Elliot Stott., 1866. Burton, R., The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. F. Dell and P. Jordan-Smith, New York, Tudor Publishing, 1948, p. 122.

⁶² King James I, Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue, Edinburgh, Robert Walgrave, 1597, p. 60.

⁶³ Webster, J., ed. J. R. Brown, The Duchess of Malfi, London, Beem 1967, 5.2, lines 4.21. This quotation came from Goulart, Admirable and Memorable Histories, p. 386. Wolves were assumed to dig up corpses as noted earlier in this study.

⁶⁴ Bayfield, R., De Moroborum Capitis Essentiis & Prognostics, London, 1664, 51, trans. Otten., A Lycanthropy Reader, p. 47.

⁶⁵ Illis, L., "On Porphyria and the Aetiology of Werewolves", in Otten, A Lycanthropy Reader, pp. 195-199.

Woodward thought that the genetic malfunction hypertrichosis was responsible for cases of lycanthropy as this causes the growth of very long body hair.⁶⁶ Bayfield and others described the werewolves as having hollow eyes, scabbed legs and thighs and being very dry and pale. These fit well with the descriptions given by Paulus Aegineta.⁶⁷ Quaife felt that they were symptoms of atropine poisoning.⁶⁸ Yet it is difficult to believe that all the werewolves were affected by the same, rare, illness. Stubbe Peter surely could not have been active for twenty five years with such a noticeable ailment. Despite this the skin condition erysipelas was known in France by at least the fourteenth century as “le loup” (the wolf).⁶⁹ The origin of this is unknown.

The idea that people used salves to transform themselves into werewolves is commonly found. According to Baring-Gould the salves contained solanum somiferum, aconite, hyoscycarmus, belladonna, opium, acrous vulgaris sicum, oil or the fat of a child and the blood of a bat.⁷⁰ In his appendix to Murray’s The Witch-Cult in Western Europe, Clark identified three concoctions thought to have been used. The expected symptoms, if these were applied, include an irregular heart beat and a sense of excitement possibly leading to delusions and mental confusion.⁷¹ Drugs such as henbane and belladonna can cause delusions and would have been widely available in some rural areas. Again though there is no evidence that drugs were used in the documented cases of lycanthropy. If the drugs regularly had this effect then one would expect to find more cases of lycanthropy.

Some of the witch hunters sought their own explanations for lycanthropy. The Malleus Maleficarum proposed two. Either Satan created an illusion or he entered real wolves and controlled them.⁷² The idea of an illusion found much support. Boguet followed Augustine in believing that lycanthropy was an illusion since man could not keep his soul in the body of a beast. But if he surrendered his soul to enter the beast

⁶⁶ Woodward, The Werewolf Delusion, p. 52.

⁶⁷ Adams, F., trans. The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta, London, Sydenham Society, 1854, vol. 1. 3.6, p. 359.

⁶⁸ Quaife, Godly Zeal, p. 202.

⁶⁹ Rawcliffe, C., Medicine and Society in Later Mediaeval England, Stroud, Sutton, 1997, p. 138.

⁷⁰ Baring-Gould, S., The Book of Werewolves, London, Smith and Elder, 1865, p. 149.

⁷¹ Murray, M., The Witch Cult in Western Europe, Oxford, Clarendon, 1921, Appendix V, pp. 279-280.

⁷² Kramer and Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, pp. 159-160.

then Satan had to perform miracles to restore it which only God could do. However Boguet accepted the biblical story of Nebuchadnezzar as proof of metamorphosis. His conclusion from this mass of contradictions was that Satan committed a crime whilst the person was asleep then made him think that he was responsible.⁷³

The crimes allegedly committed by the werewolves whom Boguet examined included the eating of children. Boguet noticed that these werewolves were all scratched on their hands and legs. He also observed that the clothes of the devoured children were found without a single tear, suggesting that they had been removed by human hands. Boguet believed that the witches used knives and swords, dragging the victims over rocks and strangling them. He concluded that it was the witches themselves who went round killing people.⁷⁴

In two of the cases cited by Boguet there is the suggestion of people wearing wolf-skins, notably in the story of Perennette Gandillon and Clauda Gaillard. The idea that the werewolves were criminals in a conventional sense is worth exploring. Gerstein argued, mainly from linguistic evidence, that werewolves were identified with outlaws.⁷⁵ She dealt mainly with Germanic and Norse examples but the connection is explicitly stated in a yearbook of Edward I.⁷⁶ It may also be significant that the Anglo-Saxon Heliand, a bible, described Judas as a warg.⁷⁷ Outlaws like wolves lived beyond the boundaries of human society.

Baring-Gould declared it probable that the Norse werewolves were originally criminals who wore skins. *Vargr* in Norse signified wolf and godless man.⁷⁸ It is not improbable that criminals would wear wolf skins as a disguise. Harsh punishments applied for those convicted of even minor crimes. For sheep stealers the donning of a wolf skin would be an ingenious way of avoiding detection. Parallels are found elsewhere. Lindskog studied several documents which revealed that certain groups of

⁷³ Boguet, An Examen, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 151.

⁷⁵ Gerstein, M., "Germanic Warg, the Outlaw as Werewolf", In G. Larson, ed. Myth in Indo-European Antiquity, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1974, pp. 31-56.

⁷⁶ Horwood, A. J., trans., Yearbook of the Reign of Edward I 1292, 20 and 21, London, Rolls Series, 1886, p. 237.

⁷⁷ Scot, M, trans., The Heliand, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1960, 157.2.

⁷⁸ Baring-Gould, Book of Werewolves, p. 147.

criminals wore animal skins in Africa to commit crimes from the 1860s onwards.⁷⁹ Wearing skins would account for injuries received by the person whilst supposedly in wolf form and also it should be noted that Grenier was supposedly given a wolf skin by his demon master.

In accepting that criminals might wear wolf-skins there is nothing to suggest that they were cannibals. The allegation of man-eating must be looked at again. Eating was sometimes used in literature as a metaphor for sex. This raises the possibility that some kind of sexual crime, against children, had been committed. In this context we should remember that Grenier's farmer and neighbour admitted taking little girls to play with but not eat.

Boguet distinguished werewolves from ordinary wolves by the absence of a tail. Wolves without tails were considered unlucky and malign. In folklore the wolf which represented the corn spirit was believed to carry the fertilising power in its tail.⁸⁰ Boguet's werewolves were therefore given negative sexual connotations.

There is some circumstantial evidence that the "eating of children", referred to in trials were not normal murders. Garnier, who admitted killing and eating children, was sentenced for lycanthropy and witchcraft. None of the werewolves were tried for murder and Stubbe Peter was specifically accused of sexual crimes. It is hard to accept that the alleged werewolves murdered children and evaded detection for such a long period of time. Many were known in the community as recluses, exactly the sort of people who would be suspected of abnormal crimes. If the crimes were sexual then this might explain why it took so long to bring them to justice.

Crimes against children, especially sexual crimes, were perhaps considered so contrary to accepted social values that the prosecutors had to postulate a special form of insanity or demonic possession for the abuser. In the cases described by Boguet a sexual crime would explain the removal of the clothes, the apparently motiveless murder of children, and the fact that they were tried for witchcraft rather than murder and the absence of any confirmed murder victims. Some modern authorities believe

⁷⁹ Lindskog, B., *African Leopard Men*, Uppsala, Studia Ethnographica Upsalliensia VII, 1954, p. 25.

⁸⁰ Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, abridged, Ware, Wordsworth, 1993, p. 448.

that werewolves, vampires and ghouls were names used by our predecessors to explain serial killers and predatory sexual killers.⁸¹

However the werewolf as sex offender theory does not stand up to close scrutiny. Some people were executed during this time for sexual offences recorded as such. Moreover child eating was an accusation made against witches and wolves, with little factual foundation. Murray said that child eating is an accusation made by a dominant religion against one it wishes to suppress.⁸² It is not necessary to agree with her that an alternative religion existed, merely that some were willing to believe that it did and that they then used this belief as a justification to assert their superiority. Cohn notes that the Jews were accused of murdering children from around the twelfth century onwards.⁸³ Summers believed that the sacrifices of children by witches, and Jews, were real.⁸⁴ Yet one of the reasons behind his book was a desire to attack the then, new religion of spiritualism which he felt to be evil, just as Boguet and others felt the witches to be evil.

If the charges of eating children were fictitious then it may also be true that the charges of lycanthropy were the produce of the accusers' imaginations. It has been argued that most of the accusations related to witchcraft in this period were entirely spurious. Cohn writes: *"To accuse people of being Satan's servants was a very effective way of releasing huge potentials of hatred and of enabling people to support and engage in one sided killing without qualms of conscience."*⁸⁵

The truth is that nobody has yet confirmed the death of a child at the hands of someone considered to be a werewolf. Therefore the evidence which condemned werewolves as child murderers must be considered doubtful.

Oates felt that real wolves were responsible for the deaths of the children and that the incidents would have been properly investigated by the authorities.⁸⁶ Further she notes that many of the werewolves were arrested during wolf hunts. It is not

⁸¹ Britton, P., Picking Up the Pieces, London, Corgi, 2001, p. 493

⁸² Murray, M., The God of the Witches, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 122.

⁸³ Cohn, "The Myth", p. 13.

⁸⁴ Summers, History of Witchcraft, p. 162.

⁸⁵ Cohn, "The Myth", p. 16.

⁸⁶ Oates, Werewolf Trials, p. 126.

unreasonable to suppose that hunters looking for an abnormal wolf would be interested in vagrants and hermits acting suspiciously. Oates comments that the period when the werewolves were active was also one which saw a number of wolf attacks on people.⁸⁷ This returns to the point that lycanthropy was one explanation put forward to account for abnormal wolf behaviour. Although the records are not always reliable Linnell indicates that 664 people were attacked by wolves in France prior to 1750, with 477 of those incidents involving non-rabid wolves.⁸⁸ It is therefore possible that the number of werewolf prosecutions is linked to the number of wolf attacks on people.

The notion of the evil werewolf came to prominence during the witchcraft persecutions, notably in France. Some explanations have been proposed to account for the behaviour of the mediaeval werewolves, in terms of genuine medical conditions. However it is now impossible to perform an accurate diagnosis on the subjects and such theories would need to explain what nature of events conspired to cause the outbreak of disease in specific individuals at specific locations and specific times.

The legitimacy of the charges against the werewolves must be questioned but since the accusation was rarely made, unlike the more general accusation of witchcraft, it may not be the case that innocent civilians were randomly accused without foundation. The number executed for lycanthropy would appear to be small.

The crucial difference between the prosecuted werewolves and the werewolves of earlier fiction is that the latter are described as behaving like men in wolf form and the former behaved, mostly, like wolves. They were not humans transformed but humans who had lost or abandoned their humanity to behave in the way that wolves were assumed to behave.

In all the surviving sources there are no first-hand reliable accounts of werewolves eating people, only hearsay and gossip. The evil connotation of the werewolf is Christian in origin and France was home not only to the bulk of the werewolf trials but also a large number of reports featuring man-eating wolves.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 126.

⁸⁸ Linnell, J. D. C., ed., *The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on People*, Trondheim, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, 2002, p. 20.

The werewolves of the later middle ages remained victims, not of literary sorcery, but of a society keen to retain order through the visual deterrent of scapegoats being punished for what were, in all probability, imaginary crimes.

Question sixteen in the questionnaire asked the respondents which of four possible replies was the best explanation for cases of lycanthropy. The choices were insanity, invention, disease and a physical transformation.

Answers classed as other include a combination of choices and comments such as “religious”, “paranormal” and “ambition.” It is not clear what sources influenced the answers to this question. Details of the werewolf trials and some theories appear on several websites. It is unlikely that many of the respondents would have read Boguet’s manual although they might have perused books on lycanthropy by modern writers. Films, novels and television shows should also be considered as likely influences.

Fifteen of the respondents apparently believed that it is physically possible for a person to turn into a wolf. Most felt that insanity or invention best explained cases of lycanthropy and a combination of these factors is probably true.

Table J, Summary of answers to question sixteen

Answer	Respondents
Invention	62
Insanity	60
Disease	30
Transformation	16
Not answered	8
None	2
Other	7
Don't Know	1

Modern Lycanthropy

Werewolves may have been forgotten in England as a purely continental superstition but the stories were kept alive by innumerable secondary studies dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day, along with isolated cases of modern lycanthropes being reported in the media plus works of fiction and films. This section of the study will consider some of these sources relating to lycanthropy from the late nineteenth century onwards, being divided into fiction and non-fiction categories. It will also look at the answers to question 15 in the questionnaire which asked the respondents to state which country they most associated with werewolves.

Non-Fiction

The first important non-fiction book on werewolves was written by Baring Gould.⁸⁹ This makes little distinction between apocryphal tales and those that may possess some truth. The author believed that werewolves were men with an insatiable lust for blood. He failed to prove this hypothesis and to annotate his sources, citing quotations of dubious authenticity. There may be some truth in the stories he relates but without references it is impossible to analyse the original sources and confirm their veracity. Nonetheless he succeeded in placing lycanthropy in an historical context and many later authors relied on his work.

The next major English writer, another clergyman, on the subject of werewolves was the Reverend Montague Summers who believed in the physical existence of werewolves and found similarities with beliefs about the vampire.⁹⁰ These two creatures would frequently be confused by Hollywood and by a large number of respondents to the questionnaire who associated werewolves with Transylvania and other parts of Eastern Europe.⁹¹ Despite the fact that his books are still being reprinted today Summers has attracted a number of critics. Thompson wrote: "*Summers did not do his homework with much care and recounted many inaccuracies.*"⁹² This is borne out by the outrageous claim, made by Summers, that the Christian middle ages were

⁸⁹ Baring Gould, Book of Werewolves

⁹⁰ Summers, M., The Werewolf. Also his The Vampire, His Kith and Kin, London, Kegan Paul, 1928.

⁹¹ Below, p. 188.

⁹² Thompson, R. H., Wolf Hunting in France in the Reign of Louis XV, The Beast of the Gevaudan, Lewiston, Edwin Meller, 1991, p.338.

free from suicide.⁹³ Where the information given by Summers can be checked it is rarely verified. As records of fact his books contain little of interest. For students of the macabre they demand reading and they helped bring old werewolf stories to a new and more literate audience.

Brewer, writing a dictionary of phrase and fable towards the end of the nineteenth century described the werewolf as: "*A bogie who roams about, devouring infants, sometimes under the form of a man, sometimes as a wolf followed by dogs, sometimes as a white goat, sometimes as a black goat and occasionally invisible. The skin is bullet proof unless blessed in a chapel dedicated to St. Hubert.*"⁹⁴

It is not clear where this information comes from but the contents of the rest of the dictionary, which is inaccurate in several respects, were gleaned from cultures all round the world. Hubert who died in 727 was the bishop of Maastricht and Liege and is the patron saint of huntsmen.

Several supposedly factual books on the topic of werewolves were published during the twentieth century. Few have any scholarly value. In 1991 Woodward attempted to discuss all the theories without a line of argument.⁹⁵ His study is not properly referenced and contributes little of interest to serious researchers. Most of the secondary works on werewolves repeat the stories of Baring-Gould and Summers, which were already of dubious providence. They reinforce popular images and deliver them to fresh readers. A story repeated often enough will gain credibility along the way.

More useful for the student of lycanthropy is Otten's A Lycanthropy Reader, which selects and translates extracts from several primary sources, arranged in various categories.⁹⁶ Further valuable research on the topic is often recorded in shorter, more specialised writings. In a little known article Stewart suggested that the origin of the belief lay in primitive people wearing the skins of animals for a variety of reasons.

⁹³ Summers, The Vampire, p. 144.

⁹⁴ Brewer, J., Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, reprinted Ware, Wordsworth, 1993, pp. 1291-1292.

⁹⁵ Woodward, The Werewolf Delusion,

⁹⁶ Otten, A Lycanthropy Reader

These ranged from the pursuit of food to dance, revenge and intimidation.⁹⁷ There is also a book, following a lecture, by Robert Eisler which suggests that humanity evolved from peaceful vegetarians to aggressive carnivores and describes the werewolf as a symbol of this transformation.⁹⁸

Plenty of explanations for lycanthropy were proposed but virtually all commentators felt that werewolves were mythical beings. Yet there are modern cases in which individuals have claimed to be werewolves or behaved in the manner that werewolves were assumed to behave. Cases of twentieth century werewolves have been reported in France, Portugal and Argentina amongst other places.⁹⁹ In one case of lycanthropy two psychologists identified the following aspects:

1. Delusion of transformation under stress.
2. Preoccupation with religious phenomenology.
3. An obsessive need to visit graveyards and woods.
4. Aggressive and sexual bestial urges.
5. Physiological concomitants of acute anxiety.¹⁰⁰

It is not clear how many of these were influenced by popular images of the werewolf. The modern lycanthropes may consciously imitate the behaviour of their supposed mediaeval predecessors. It is difficult to make a precise parallel. The delusion of transformation under stress may well have applied to earlier cases along with the aggressive and sexual urges. Lycanthropy was associated with graveyards from at least Roman times.

Rosenstock and Vincent listed possible causes of lycanthropy as: schizophrenia, organic brain syndrome with psychotic depressive reaction, hysterical neurosis of the

⁹⁷ Stewart, C. T., "The Origin of the Werewolf Superstition", In M. G. Brown, ed., University of Missouri Studies, Volume 2, Social Sciences, Missouri, University of Missouri Press, 1909, pp. 263-289.

⁹⁸ Eisler, R., Man Into Wolf, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.

⁹⁹ Van Passen, P., Days of Our Years, New York, Hilman-Curl, 1939, p. 246. Alford, V., "A Portuguese Werewolf", Folklore, 53, (1962), 163-64. Fortean Times, 138, Sept 2000, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Rosenstock, H. A., and Vincent, K. R., "A Case of Lycanthropy" in Otten, ed., A Lycanthropy Reader, pp. 31-33.

dissociate type, manic-depressive psychosis and psychomotor epilepsy.¹⁰¹ None of these ailments was recognised in mediaeval times.

More recently a British forensic pathologist, Paul Britton, described an interview with a lycanthrope, during which the patient imitated a wolf and howled.¹⁰² This occurred daily at 16:00, a time when the man was normally on a train and able to lock himself in a toilet. Britton had also encountered a man who believed that he changed into a panther and a woman who felt that she could become a cat.¹⁰³

The idea of the werewolf is still alive. Yet the above cases and the articles by Eisler, Stewart, Rosenstock and Vincent are not well-known. For many people fiction and especially film have played a major role in shaping their perceptions of the werewolf.

The Werewolf in Modern Fiction

In one of the earliest novels to feature lycanthropy a character tells how his stepmother was a werewolf.¹⁰⁴ The first werewolf novel published in England was Wagner the Wehr-Wolf, by George Reynolds.¹⁰⁵ This originally appeared in Reynolds Miscellany, 1846-47. Reynolds was a prolific author who enjoyed much popularity amongst the working class of his day. By modern standards the story is long and contrived.

Writers of fiction used the werewolf in the emerging genres of science fiction and horror. One of the earliest and best known examples, nominated by two respondents as the work of fiction that most influenced their impressions of wolves, is The Werewolf of Paris, written by Guy Endores and first published in 1934.¹⁰⁶ This drew upon the genuine case of Sergeant Bartrand, described by Baring-Gould amongst others, who allegedly stole corpses from French graveyards and was court-martialled in 1849.¹⁰⁷ Endores' novel, set in 1870s France, tells how a man named Bertrand commits various crimes in the shape of a wolf. For a brief while he finds love but cannot control

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Britton, Picking Up the Pieces, pp. 482-524.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 492.

¹⁰⁴ Marryatt, J. K., The Phantom Ship, London, Henry Colburn, 1839, pp. 164-207.

¹⁰⁵ Reynolds, G. M., ed. E. F. Bleiler, Wagner the Wehr-Wolf, London, Constable, 1973.

¹⁰⁶ Endores, G., The Werewolf of Paris, London, Panther, 1963.

¹⁰⁷ Baring Gould, Book of Werewolves, Chapter XV.

his urges and is eventually imprisoned in an asylum where he dies fighting an orderly. There are strong sexual connotations in the novel.

Countless other novels about werewolves have followed. A search for the keyword 'werewolf' on the British Library catalogue reveals five times more entries in the period from 1975 to the present than in the years prior to 1975. For many however it is the film image of the werewolf which dominates. This was made famous by the acting of Lou Chaney, Jnr., in The Wolf Man, 1941. The story, in brief, is as follows: A young man returns to his father's ancestral home. When trying to save a girl from a werewolf he is bitten and becomes a werewolf himself. Eventually he dies at the hands of his father.

The Wolf Man was a sixty five minute low-budget film with a rather predictable plot. Yet it succeeded in entering film legend although it was not the first werewolf film. The silent picture The Werewolf, 1913, later expanded as The Werewolf of London; in 1935 has that particular honour. Films that followed include Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man, 1943, The Werewolf, (1956), I Was a Teenage Werewolf, (1957), Curse of the Teenage Werewolf, (1960) which like The Werewolf was based on The Werewolf of Paris, The Howling (1981), An American Werewolf in London, (1981), and Brotherhood of the Wolf, (2001) which was a French film based on the beast of Gevaudan.

Later werewolf films are more sophisticated. Few portray the werewolf as a totally evil being, preferring to focus on the battle for control of the victim's mind. Some are humorous, at least in part.

The impact of films on public perceptions of the wolf is demonstrated by the fact that The Howling, The Wolf Man and An American Werewolf in London, were nominated in the questionnaire as sources that had influenced impressions of wolves by four respondents.¹⁰⁸

Question fifteen in the questionnaire asked the respondents to name the country with which they most associated werewolves. There was, and is, a belief in werewolves

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 7.

in parts of Eastern Europe but precise details of that have not been widely disseminated in the west. The literary werewolf tradition that should be best known in England is that of Boguet, Summers and Endores. One might expect the respondents to nominate France more readily than other countries. The results have been divided into areas.

Nearly half of the respondents who answered this question associated the werewolf with Eastern Europe. Rumania was the individual area nominated most frequently with 34 nominations. A further 32 respondents nominated Transylvania which is now part of Rumania. Transylvania is the home of the vampire, immortalised in countless films. These results suggest that many of the respondents confused werewolf and vampire.

It is also interesting that North America received several nominations when there are not many werewolf tales from that part of the world which are widely known in England. Two respondents specified Hollywood and it is possible that the other respondents who cited America were thinking along similar lines.

The results suggest that impressions of werewolves are more likely to be shaped by films than history or literature. Modern visual sources appear more influential than any other. The modern belief in werewolves bears little relation to the mediaeval trials, the story of Petronius or even isolated modern cases of lycanthropy. Connotations of werewolves are forged mainly by films based loosely on accounts of werewolves in fiction and supposed fact.

The next chapter will look at the sources of fiction which influenced the respondents' impressions of the wolf.

Table K, Summary of answers to question fifteen

Eastern Europe	88
Western Europe apart from UK	21
North America	26
No answer	24
None	12
Don't Know	1
UK	8
Other	6

7. The Big Bad Wolf

Question fourteen in the questionnaire asked the respondents to name a work of fiction featuring a wolf. The aim of this question was to discover how influential fiction was in shaping impressions of wolves and if any particular works of fiction, or representations of the wolf, were more influential than others. Where a source was nominated by more than one respondent the answers of those respondents to other questions can be looked at in order to try and ascertain the influence of fiction on perceptions of the wolf.

Fifteen of the first 175 respondents did not answer this question and one reply was illegible. Reasons for not answering are unknown. One possibility is that the respondents were unable to think of any works of fiction featuring a wolf, although two gave 'none' as their answer. Another possibility is that they considered certain sources to be inappropriate. One respondent privately commented that he felt stupid nominating Little Red Riding Hood. Other adults may also have felt embarrassed selecting a work of fiction predominantly aimed at children, although this would imply that they were unfamiliar with works aimed at adults. There was no obvious relationship between the age and gender of the respondents who did not answer the question.

The works of fiction receiving more than one nomination are listed in table L. A full breakdown can be viewed in Appendix A. Where a respondent nominated more than one work of fiction only the first has been counted. A total of 41 different works of fiction were nominated. Some of these were very obscure, such as Naughty Sophia, a radio play broadcast in an unspecified year. A few such as Conan Doyle's The Hound of the Baskervilles did not feature a wolf. Two, The Howling and The Werewolf of Paris were about werewolves rather than wolves. Many of the works of fiction have been

Table L: Summary of answers to question fourteen

Work of Fiction	Respondents
Little Red Riding Hood	52

White Fang	19
Not answered	19
The Jungle Book	13
Call of the Wild	10
Company of Wolves	8
Peter and the Wolf	7
The Wolves of Willoughby Chase	6
The Wolf and the Three Little Pigs	5
The Hound of the Baskervilles	5
Never Cry Wolf	4
The Loop	3
Gelert and the Wolf	2
The Howling	2
Romulus and Remus	2
The Werewolf of Paris	2
Other	27

filmed, in some cases more than once, and it is unclear which version was nominated. For the purpose of comparing with other results to the questionnaire the twenty seven works nominated just once can be excluded.

Five of the fifteen works of fiction nominated twice or more can be classed as full length novels. These are, The Wolves of Willoughby Chase, The Hound of the Baskervilles, The Werewolf of Paris, Never Cry Wolf and The Loop. Jack London's Call of the Wild and White Fang are novellas, which are often published together. The Jungle Book, as well as being an animated film, is a collection of short stories and Company of Wolves is a short story which gave its name to Carter's collection. Beth

Gelert is a poem by Richard Hengist Hone.¹ One assumes that the nominations for The Howling refer to the film about werewolves based on Gary Brander's little known novel.² Red Riding Hood, Peter and the Wolf and Romulus and Remus are very short tales.

Of these works of fiction nominated twice or more, Red Riding Hood, White Fang, The Wolves of Willoughby Chase, Company of Wolves, Gelert and the Wolf, The Howling and The Werewolf of Paris portray the wolf as dangerous or as a man-eater. Table M compares the nominations with the answers given by the same respondents to question eight, which asked if wolves ate people.

None of the works of fiction had more than fifty percent of their nominations from people who believed that wolves eat people. Of the two that attracted fifty percent, Never Cry Wolf mocks the belief and as The Howling only attracted two nominations in total just one person who nominated it also believed that wolves eat people.

Table M, Comparison of Answers to questions eight and fourteen.

Work of fiction	Nominations	Yes answer to question eight	Percentage
Red Riding Hood	52	12	23
White Fang	19	1	5
Jungle Book	13	4	31
Call of the Wild	10	3	30
Company of Wolves	8	2	25
Peter and the Wolf	7	0	-
Wolves of Willoughby Chase	6	0	-

¹ Hone, R. H., "Beth Gelert" in R. M. Leonard, ed., The Dóg in British Poetry, London, D Nutt 1863, pp. 59-67.

² Brander, G., The Howling, London, Severn House, 1986.

Wolf and three pigs	5	1	20
Hound of the Baskervilles	5	1	20
Never Cry Wolf	4	2	50
The Loop	3	0	-
Gelert and the Wolf	2	0	-
The Howling	2	1	50
Romulus and Remus	2	0	-
Werewolf of Paris	2	0	-
Total	168	40	24

It is necessary to evaluate the wording of question fourteen which was one of the few questions to solicit open-ended answers. The effectiveness of this is debatable. It might have been preferable to identify a specific number of sources which represented different characteristics of the wolf; i.e. stupid, friendly, evil and amoral. This would have made it easier to detect common trends. However the free choice resulted in nominations for unexpected works of fiction such as The Hobbit and The Hound of the Baskervilles. Providing choices may have led the respondents to nominate a source that was not their first choice. Not providing choices ensured that the analysis of results remained free from preconceived ideas. It may also have proved impractical to categorise works of fiction into specific groups.

The use of the plural in the question may have produced different answers, for example increasing the nominations for The Wolves of Willoughby Chase. Yet, despite the usage of the singular, works featuring more than one wolf such as The Hobbit, and Never Cry Wolf were nominated. Some werewolf sources were nominated and there would probably have been more if the term 'werewolf' had been mentioned in the question. There were also some nominations for works of non-fiction. It is possible that

other respondents were more influenced by non-fiction sources than fictitious ones. On balance however the wording of the question can be considered effective.

The results do not show a correlation between the belief that wolves eat people and nominations for works of fiction which featured man-eating wolves. Clearly works of fiction were not the most influential source. However this contradicts the answers to question eighteen where half the citations for the most influential type of source come under the category of fiction.

The answers to question fourteen did however show that one particular work of fiction was more popular than the others. The next section will look at the story of Little Red Riding Hood.

The Big Bad Wolf: Red Riding Hood and its impact

The most famous, and probably the most widely disseminated, tale of a man-eating wolf is the story of Little Red Riding Hood. Versions of this are found in most European countries and in many other parts of the world. The basic elements are consistently found and can be summarised as follows:

A young girl leaves home to take food to her grandmother. En route she meets a wolf and tells him where she is going. He takes a quicker path, eats the grandmother and disguises himself as her. When the girl arrives she is deceived and usually devoured. Sometimes she is saved, or freed from the wolf's belly, by a woodcutter, who may also be her father.

Aarne and Thompson connected the story to the following folktale motifs.

K2011. Wolf poses as grandmother and kills child.

Z18.1. What makes your ears so big?

F911.3. Animal swallowing man, (non-fatal).

F913. Victims rescued from a swallows' belly.

W426. Wolf cut open and filled with stones as punishment.³

³ Aarne, A. trans. S. Thompson, The Types of the Folktale, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia academia Scientiarum fennica, 1963, 33, p. 125.

This chapter will look at the development of the tale over time in the editions published or sold in England and the various interpretations by later commentators. The original oral version of Little Red Riding Hood, in so far as it can now be reconstructed, told the story of a little peasant girl who went to visit her grandmother carrying a basket of bread and butter. A werewolf had eaten Granny, placing her blood in a bottle and her flesh in the bin. When the girl arrives he is dressed as the grandmother and orders her to throw her clothes in the fire. The girl realises that she is about to be eaten and says that she needs to relieve herself. The werewolf allows her to go outside but ties a rope around her legs. She quickly ties this to a tree and scampers off.⁴

There may however be an earlier written version, compiled by Egbert of Liege. He tells briefly how a five year old girl is taken to a wolf's den where the wolves refused to devour her because of her red tunic.⁵ Certainly some elements are the same but there are differences, not least the absence of the grandmother and the apparent age of the girl. Red Riding Hood in the oral version could be less than ten but an age of five or below is unlikely. Moreover she is able to outwit the wolf unaided. In Egbert's tale she is saved by the holy status of the cloak. In later versions only a man is able to save her.

The original oral version features a werewolf rather than a wolf and, if it is an extension of an earlier tale, will fit the pattern outlined earlier in which man-eating was seen as so abnormal in wolves that explanations such as lycanthropy had to be sought to account for it. In a way it is more straightforward than the later stories, explicitly indicating that the man-wolf wanted to have sex with the girl. It is hard to imagine prudish Victorian parents explaining this to their offspring, or stating how the girl escaped.

⁴ Zipes, J., ed., The Trials and Tribulations of Little Red Riding Hood, London, Routledge, 1993.. p. 75.

⁵ Ziolkowski, J. M., "A Fairy Tale from before Fairy Tales: Egbert of Liège's "De puella a lupellis servata" and the Medieval Background of "Little Red Riding Hood" Speculum 67, 1992, 549-575. It is possible that this is connected to stories of wolves raised children in their dens which will be the subject of chapter nine.

The independence and ingenuity of the first Red Riding Hood is absent in later versions, perhaps due to the rigid social structure of succeeding generations. The original oral version reflects a sexual frankness and coarse humour, which was evidently appreciated more among the peasantry than the bourgeois authors who rewrote the tale. Prominent amongst these was Charles Perrault whose version first appeared in print in 1697 and was translated into English in 1725.⁶ Perrault's Red Riding Hood was naïve rather than quick-witted. She does not escape from the wolf and the focus of the story is on her disobedience. She is guilty of speaking to the wolf and accordingly is punished. Perrault is implying that girls should obey their parents and learn to curb such impulses. His moral describes wolves that ogle and leer and leaves us in no doubt that he is referring to a man.⁷

A slightly altered version of Perrault's tale appears in a book for English children in 1799.⁸ The book begins with simple exercises aimed at teaching children the alphabet, vowels and consonants. It then relates the story of Cinderella, followed by Red Riding Hood. Again there is no reprieve for the girl. Presumably this was not intended for children to read themselves, since a child who is only just learning letters would be unable to cope with a story. Rather it must have been designed for adults to read aloud. No illustrations accompany the text so the influence would depend on the way in which it was delivered orally by the parent or guardian.

In another version of the story printed in London in 1808 the girl is good, merely careless in talking to strangers.⁹ Here the tale is used to educate and instruct. Again the girl is killed, a harsh warning, but this was an era when parents would keep copies of The Newgate Calendar, to discipline and deter their children. Warner made the point that the wolf knows better than to behave like this and so should the girl.¹⁰

⁶ Perrault, C., trans. J. Pote, Histories or Tales of Past Times, London, R. Samber, 1725, pp. 1-8.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 6-8.

⁸ Anon, The Child's New Spelling Primer, Dublin, J. Wilkinson, 1799, pp. 28-32.

⁹ Anon, The History of Little Red Riding Hood in Verse, London, B. Tabart, 1808

¹⁰ Warner, M., From the Beast to the Blonde, London, Chatto and Windus, 1994, p. 243.

Marshall's edition of 1823 also sticks to Perrault's tale.¹¹ In the illustrations here the wolf is depicted upright and dressed as a man, although he has no shoes.

After Perrault the most popular version of the Red Riding Hood Story is that of the Brothers Grimm, first published in England in 1823.¹² It has been commented that the Grimms received the tale from ladies with connections to Perrault.¹³ The most significant difference is the alteration of the ending, to show the woodcutter saving the girl. This permits the Christian idea of redemption and also shows that evil can be defeated. Zipes claimed that the Grimms collection was the second most widely read book in Europe after the Bible.¹⁴ Certainly it was influential but it did not become the only version of Red Riding Hood available in England.

In the edition of Red Riding Hood published by William Weeks in 1834 the wolf is depicted back on all fours and devoid of clothes.¹⁵ Again this follows Perrault's tale but adds a description of the wolf being killed by angry villagers. It had become expedient to depict the wolf as evil and to show that evil being punished.

In the 1870s the Little Red Riding Hood Picture Book told the story of Little Red Riding Hood and the Wicked Wolf. In the first illustration here the wolf, on all fours, is nearly as tall as the girl. Red Riding Hood undressed and climbed into bed on the wolf's request.

In the Blue Beard Picture Book of 1875 the wolf is back dressed as a man, although the shawl he wears when accosting Red Riding Hood in the woods could be that of an old woman. He is shot by a sportsman before consuming the girl. In an 1893 edition Perrault's ending was restored. This text had black and white illustrations.¹⁶

¹¹ Marshall J, Marshall's Edition of the Popular Story of Little Red Riding Hood, London, John Marshall, 1823.

¹² Grimm, J., and Grimm, W., trans. E. Taylor, Fairy Tales, 2 Volumes, London, C Baldwin 1924, reprinted London, Scholar Press, 1977, v.1, 26.

¹³ Ziolkowski, "A Fairy Tale", p. 505

¹⁴ Zipes, Trials and Tribulations, p.36.

¹⁵ Anon, Little Red Riding Hood, London, William W Weeks, 1834.

¹⁶ Anon, Little Red Riding Hood & the History of Tom Thumb, London, n.s, 1893.

There were further editions of Red Riding Hood published in England during the twentieth century. The most significant is Angela Carter's version of the tale.¹⁷ The sexual connotations were explicitly stated here and the independence of the girl fully restored. It begins by describing several werewolf myths and suggests that Red Riding Hood was a sexual predator. Carter's heroine promises the wolf a kiss if he reaches the grandmother's house before her. Once there she willingly accedes to his sexual demands and manages to tame him. This was made into a film in 1984 and was nominated by several respondents to the questionnaire as the work of fiction that had most influenced their impressions of wolves.

Meanings and Interpretations

If the wolf in the Red Riding Hood story is symbolic of a man then it becomes easier to view the story as a parable of rape as some modern commentators have done.¹⁸ By this interpretation frightening males linger in the woods to prey on hapless females. The girls are better advised to stick to the path and not stray into forbidden territory. In other words the victims, in their naivety, are indirectly responsible for the crime. Red Riding Hood ignored the warning of her mother and abandoned the single direct route for a more pleasurable one. The implication is that she was to blame for consciously straying from the straight path towards stability and convention or for allowing herself to be tempted; a disobedient teenager ignoring maternal warnings and sampling the sensual, forbidden, delights of the forest. If she intended a tryst with the wolf then the presence of the woodcutter prevented a union in the wood. Such an interpretation would depend on the age of the girl. Most versions since the seventeenth century place her back at the lower scale of the age range. This succeeds in making the character of the wolf more menacing and evil because children are commonly perceived as innocent.

Red Riding Hood's character may also have been intended to be innocent and the tale might reflect the loss of that innocence by describing a first sexual encounter. In these circumstances one is nervous and unsure precisely what to expect. The

¹⁷ Carter, A., "Company of Wolves" in Carter, A., Burning Your Boats, Collected Short Stories, London, Chatto and Windus, 1995, pp. 212-220.

¹⁸ Brownmiller, S., Against Our Will, London, Secker and Warburg, 1975, p. 10.

experience has been described as pleasurable and desirable but there remains a sense of danger and experimentation. Are these the conditions parodied by the girl's comments on the hirsute body of her companion? The ritual undressing and the chosen vocabulary support this idea as do many of the engravings which accompany the early texts. Then, as now, many teenagers must have been tempted to sample the forbidden world of intimacy.

There is much to commend the theory that Red Riding Hood is a story about sex. The sexual overtones, the wolf's invitation for the girl to join him in bed, the possible menstrual connotations of the red cap and ultimately the act of consumption all support this. It might be seen as a parable to discourage adultery or promiscuity or merely discourse with strangers. The instilling of fear into the minds of the readers or listeners is the intention. In this sense the story acts as a deterrent.

In the days before the widespread availability, acceptance and promotion of contraceptives a promiscuous girl was likely to become pregnant and could be ostracised. Men were interested in restricting, or controlling, the sexual freedom of women. In Perrault's tale and the early English adaptations it was thus necessary for the girl's punishment to be harsh and final. The Grimms did not see this necessity but there are, perhaps, unpleasant connotations in their version. Zipes pointed out that the collection of tales collected by the Grimms contains 25 in which the main focus is on children being abused, exclusive of kidnappings, abandonments and pacts with the Devil.¹⁹ In the light of this it no longer seems quite so outlandish to consider the idea that werewolves were sex offenders.

Perrault cast Red Riding Hood as a victim. Rape was the punishment that awaited all girls who strayed from the right path. Several English books and stories published in the nineteenth century contained a moral message and warned against the pursuit of illegal or illicit entertainment. Thomas Hardy's Tess of the D'Urbervilles

¹⁹ Zipes, J., The Brothers Grimm, From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World, New York, Routledge, 1988, p. 120.

and George Elliot's Adam Bede are examples.²⁰ In both of these examples and in Red Riding Hood the vulnerable and naïve female paid the ultimate price.²¹

Perrault had to alter the conclusion in which the girl escaped, in order to show that the forces of evil were stronger than a mere peasant girl. Her death symbolised not only the loss of innocence but also of childhood and conventional life, through her own naivety. She forgot, or ignored parental warnings and went to explore an environment which she was ill-prepared for. The erosion of innocence by experience should have been delayed until maturity came. The Grimms were content to describe the girl's experience as a warning.

Bascom commented that characters in folklore may do things which are regarded as shocking in everyday life. He cited the example of Old Man Coyote having sex with his mother-in-law in a Native American tale.²² Red Riding Hood may therefore reflect a commonplace male desire for, and interest in unavailable females, especially those in adolescence.

These interpretations of folklore assume a hidden agenda to the Red Riding Hood story and indeed other stories too. Perhaps it reflects a desire to escape from a society which outwardly frowned upon promiscuity but in reality was unable to stop it.

Many of the illustrations show Red Riding Hood smiling in bed. Attitudes towards sex had changed in Christian ideology. Originally the male desire had been considered sinful but gradually it became seen as excusable due to the temptations of women.

Zipes argued that the Red Riding Hood tale was used in propaganda, directed against women and that it reinforced images of women as tempters, agents of the devil, witches and generally inferior to men. The emerging European middle classes were interested in preventing the emancipation of women. According to this view Red

²⁰ Hardy, Thomas. Tess of the D'Urbervilles. New York: Signet Classics, 1999. Eliot, G, Adam Bede. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998.

²¹ Admittedly Hetty in Adam Bede received a last minute reprieve from death.

²² Bascom, W. R., "Folklore and Anthropology", in A. Dundes, ed., The Study of Folklore, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1965, p. 33.

Riding Hood was used in the same way that individuals and organisations now use the modern media to convey their ideology.

Given the usage of the wolf as an instrument of divine punishment it is possible to view the wolf in the story as an agent of divine retribution punishing the girl for failure to attend church, for disobeying her parents or perhaps just for being naive.

Perrault stresses the importance of maintaining social order by suggesting that people who behave in an inappropriate way are punished. His Red Riding Hood could not escape as she did in the peasant's tale. When his conclusion was revised by the Grimms and others the girl was still punished but saved by a man. It is interesting to reflect on the portrayal of men as seducers or protectors but more poignant to think that the fate of the girl depended on them and not on her own initiative.

Zipes pointed out that tales lost their ideology as they were transmitted through literary texts.²³ His thesis is that Perrault transformed the oral tale which showed the girl using her initiative into one in which she is the victim. There are similarities here with the way in which the role of the wolf, and indeed werewolf, changed within fiction over a period of time.

The wolf appears as the enemy because children were familiar with men in the guise of fathers, brothers, uncles and neighbours. They would not automatically fear encountering them in the woods. The wolf was little-known and portrayed already as an eater of children. It was sent to teach a lesson, harking back to the notion of divine punishment. The girl could not save herself. Various modern versions are more sympathetic towards the wolf. This may be because the roles of women have changed within society and in many cases it is women rewriting the tales. Significantly tales in which the girl defeats the wolf are uncommon before 1939.

Modern versions of Red Riding Hood tend to feature a rapist or serial killer. The chances of children being attacked by such a person are slim. Perhaps the chances of their forebears being attacked by a wolf were equally slim although there were, especially in the Gevaudan in the mid 1760s, children killed by wolves.

²³ Zipes, Breaking the Magic Spell p. 12.

Stories such as Red Riding Hood contributed to and extended existing cultural beliefs but did not create them. They evolved and accrued over an indeterminably long period of time. There is no single cause, time or place of origin which makes reversing the beliefs practically impossible as the threads cannot easily be unravelled. The web has become a maze and anyone attempting to reach the centre must be in possession of a sharp knife and a willingness to follow spiralling trails that suddenly peter out or return to their starting point. The influence of the story is hard to measure. Although the answers to question fourteen reveal its popularity they do not indicate that it influenced the respondents' beliefs about wolves. Wherever it is read children are taught to fear the wolf although they may not truly believe that the wolf eats people.

It is unlikely that the true meaning of the original Red Riding Hood will ever be known. All that can be said with any certainty is that the tale is not about a wolf eating a child. Yet the wolf is the chief victim, both in the versions of the tale in which he is slain and, until recently, in the real world.

8. The Wolf in the News.

“The study of public opinion has changed only too often into a study of newspapers, a subject also of great interest but one attended with more difficulties than the unworthy historian supposes. Do newspapers voice public opinion or make it? Do they lead or follow? Often neither. They obey the directive of a government agent, dance to the whim of a proprietor, or more rarely, express the policy of a great editor.”¹

Since this is a study of opinions it is useful to examine a type of source that is known to influence opinions. Whilst newspapers do not always reflect a majority consensus they do have the power to influence the views of their readers on particular subjects. In recent times English newspapers have had little to say about wolves. Occasionally they contain articles relating to the proposed reintroduction of wolves to Scotland and supplements to Sunday newspapers have been known to include essays on wolf hunting, wolf populations and the history of wolves.² Due to the scarcity of such reports it is not surprising that very few of the respondents to the questionnaire selected newspapers as the source that had most influenced their impressions of wolves. However in the space provided for additional comments respondent number 127 did specify The Sunday Times as the source that had most influenced her impressions of werewolves although she was unable to give precise details of the relevant article or dates.

Another reason why newspapers were not cited by the respondents is that the printed source has largely been overtaken by visual images. Television, websites, films and illustrated novels tend to be more influential in modern times than newsprint although most newspaper articles about wolves usually include photographs.

¹ Taylor, A. J. P., Europe Grandeur and Decline, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1985, p. 71.

² The Observer 14/01/2001, p. 11. Sunday Express, 29/10/2000, pp. 28-29. Sunday Telegraph 19/9/1999, p. 26. 28/01/2001, p. 20. 06/01/2002, Travel Supplement, pp 8-9. Sunday Times, Weekend Review, 20/11/2000, pp. 1-2.

Newspapers are not likely to be considered as a useful source of information by people who wish to know about wolves. They will look first in scientific books and papers, either online or in the more conventional form. These options are recent developments. A century ago newspapers were the primary source of information, on all manner of subjects, available to the general public. Sometimes they were the only available source of information about world events and about the behaviour of wild animals not residing in the British Isles.

This chapter will look at reports featuring the wolf in The Times newspaper, formerly known as the Daily Universal Register, which was arguably the leading newspaper in Britain if not the world, during the period from 1790 until 1905. This period was one which saw an increase in the numbers of reported stories concerning man-eating wolves in Europe. The Times, during this period, reports a number of incidents in which a person or persons were eaten by a wolf or wolves in various European countries, Canada, the USA and India. It cites further statistics referring to considerably more victims. Linnell noted the following statistics which provide a useful comparison.

380 cases of wolf attacks on people in France between 1800 and 1900.³

112 attacks by wolves on people in the Padania region (modern Italy and Switzerland) between 1800 and 1821.⁴

31 people killed by wolves in Latvia during the nineteenth century.⁵

31 people attacked by a wolf in Sweden between 1820 and 1821.⁶

Several wolf attacks on people in Finland during the nineteenth century.⁷

A girl killed by a wolf in Norway in 1800.⁸

³ Linnell, J. D. C., ed., The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on People, Trondheim, Norwegian Institute for Nature Research, 2002, p. 20.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶ Ibid., p. 23. This is interesting as the wolf had allegedly been raised as a pet and escaped. cf. Appendix C for rumours that the same was true of wolves that attacked people in India in 2001.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

Several children carried off by wolves in the Madyha Pradesh region of India in 1890.⁹

Three cases of wolves attacking people in America during the nineteenth century.¹⁰

273 attacks by wolves on people in Russia between 1840 and 1861.¹¹

Linnell's researchers obtained this information from a variety of sources, including official record and parish records. Newspaper reports which were not confirmed in other sources were excluded although some cases reported simultaneously in different newspapers may have been included. Decisions on reliability were made on a case by case basis.¹² It is therefore clear that cases of wolf attacks on people reported in The Times, or any other newspaper, but not noted by Linnell must be treated with caution.

The reports in The Times were apparently widely believed, building on the existing assumption that wolves did eat people. A plethora of zoological texts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century accepted information printed in The Times as wholly accurate. The reports were also considered to be an important reference source for researchers such as Pollard.¹³ It is easy to understand why. Very little was written about wolves in the nineteenth century and newspapers are preserved, and readily accessible especially with Palmer's index. Therefore the reports contributed to and shaped perceptions of the wolf for some time after they first appeared.

If the stories and statistics that appear in The Times are accurate then two reasons might be proposed to explain the increase in the number of man-eating wolves. Firstly it could be argued that the means to report these instances were previously lacking and that even when they were reported locally the news would not necessarily carry to Britain, except in severe cases like the Gevaudan. By the late nineteenth century communication between England and the continent was quicker and easier and

⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 30-31

¹¹ Ibid., p. 38.

¹² Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹³ Pollard, J., Wolves and Werewolves, London, Hale, 1964.

newspapers were much larger with more space to report a wider variety of stories. The Times allocated space to France on a daily basis. Palmer's index, in some years, contains as many as four pages under the sub heading of France.¹⁴ The Times could be purchased in certain places in France by at least 1877 and probably before.¹⁵

A second explanation for the increase in reported cases of man-eating wolves is that the preferred isolated habitats of the wolf were being eroded by rapid industrialisation. The resulting reduction in the numbers of prey species led to greater interaction between wolves and humans. The wolf became more visible; it could no longer hide in the rapidly dwindling forests and would be increasingly likely to prey on domestic animals. A number of the reports refer to casual encounters between wolves and humans. Wolves today tend to distance themselves from people wherever that is possible. Yet today the distribution of wild ungulate populations in Europe is increasing but in the nineteenth century hunting and industrialisation caused rapid environmental changes.

Despite these plausible reasons the overall reliability of some of the reports has to be questioned as they conflict with Linnell's historical study of wolf attacks on people and with recently observed behaviour of wolves. It is easy to suggest that journalists working on The Times printed erroneous information but difficult to suggest reasons why this might be the case. The boundaries between fact and fiction and between exaggeration and truth are complex and hard to discern. There are countless examples where information presented in a newspaper has been discredited and every article is tailored to suit a particular viewpoint. One researcher wrote about newspaper reports of man-eating wolves in Iran: *"Every winter the two major Tehran newspapers published grisly accounts of wolves being attacked by people... Most reports involved villagers travelling alone who upon seeing a wolf pack for the first time in their lives had fled, believing that they had escaped from a wolf attack... I followed up on the only report of a shepherd having been attacked and supposedly killed by wolves. Eventually I located a shepherd who had witnessed the man's death. Both had been attending a flock of sheep when about a dozen wolves appeared. One shepherd worked at bunching*

¹⁴ Palmer's Index to The Times Newspaper, 1790-1905, London, Vaduz, 1965.

¹⁵ The Times, 10/01/1877, p. 8c.

the flock whilst the other, with the aid of three dogs, attempted to drive off the wolves. The dogs pulled down one wolf and the shepherd clubbed another to death with his cane. Meanwhile a boy who also witnessed the attack ran for help. Several men from the local village arrived and helped drive the remaining wolves off. At this point the shepherd with the dogs sat down, coughed and died. The cause of his death was unknown but it certainly was not a wolf kill.”¹⁶

A report in a newspaper is not confirmation that an event occurred in precisely the manner described. It is impossible to judge the old stories by comparison with modern circumstances. We can point out that stories of people fleeing from wolves often appear in The Times during the nineteenth century and, just as in Iran, people taught to be afraid of wolves might well assume that they had escaped serious injury after being in close contact with a wolf.

In most cases it is not possible to verify nineteenth century stories by reference to other sources as Joslin did in Iran although Linnell’s research has helped considerably. One can do is assess each report in the light of other knowledge gleaned about the wolf and consider the probability of their accuracy. The reports in The Times must be examined in context. From them we may not learn much about wolves but in respect of nineteenth century perspectives of wolves they have something to offer.

Specific Reports

Palmer’s Index to the Times, for the years 1790-1905 classifies 96 reports under the term “wolves” and 286 under “wolf”. Not all of these are about wolves. They include the usage of phrases such as “wolves in sheep’s clothing”, descriptions of individuals as wolves and individuals with a surname or first name of Wolf who were indicted for criminal offences or made bankrupt. The symbolic use of the term wolf or wolves may have influenced impressions of the animal but it is expedient here to consider only the reports concerning real wolves, a total of 134.

¹⁶ Joslin, P., “Status, Growth and other Facets of the Iranian Wolf”, In F. H. Harrington and P. C. Paquet, eds., Wolves of the World: Perspectives of Behavior, Ecology and Conservation, New Jersey, Noyes Park Ridge Publications, 1982, p. 203.

A selection of these reports will be studied in three sections featuring man-eating or aggressive wolves, wolves in England and other tales of interest. Excluding reports where the wolf is clearly described as mad or rabid there are 34 which contain specific details of attacks by a wolf or wolves on humans.¹⁷ These are briefly summarised below, with commentary, in chronological order.

Reports of man-eating wolves and aggressive wolves in The Times 1795-1901

25 January 1785, 2a

Hunters in Orciers and neighbouring districts had killed 10 wolves that were responsible for the deaths of several men and women and a greater number of children.

03 July 1801 2c.

On 6 June 1801 a large wolf was killed at Nievre in France. This had supposedly devoured seventeen people and was described as: *“five feet long and thirty two inches high, resembled a greyhound to the body, the head and neck were white, its muzzle long and jointed and its shoulders covered with thicker and longer hair than that of ordinary wolves.”* Just thirty years after the beast of Gevaudan wolves considered abnormal were still reported to be eating people in France. The source of the report is not stated. Verification of the deaths is unlikely at this time but the story, unlike that of the Gevaudan, does not appear to be noted elsewhere which may suggest that it was not taken seriously. Moreover the previous deaths do not appear to have been recorded in The Times. Linnell’s research indicates that seventeen children were killed by a wolf or wolves in Varzy in 1801.¹⁸

11 February 1825 4d.

A French physician, M. Taphanel, discovered a large wolf eating a man. Despite being bitten he succeeded in shooting the wolf. The body of the other man was too badly disfigured to be identified. This report names a man who survived the attack and who, presumably, could have been interviewed in the immediate aftermath of the incident.

¹⁷ The summary of Linnell’s figures cited above, pp. 206-207, includes attacks by rabid wolves but Linnell does differentiate in the individual sections of his report.

¹⁸ Linnell, p. 57.

01 October 1825 2d

This cites a report from The Journal de Frankfurt which said that there were large numbers of wolves in the Polish districts of Lubin and Zamoski. They had killed one child and wounded numerous persons. .

13 October 1825 5b.

This cites reports from unspecified Paris papers. A wolf had terrorised various places in the district of Tonerno in the city. Fifteen people had been wounded with four fatalities. The wolf when dead was described as a female of the ordinary species. This is interesting as it indicates a distinction between different species of wolves and also that individuals from the normal species were attacking people.

15 September 1826 2e.

On 14 August 1825 a girl named Barbara Dumek was attacked by a wolf near the village of Loanezi in Croatia. She was saved by some of her cattle which assaulted the wolf. The report attributes this to divine providence and it expected the girl to recover. Again the victim is named and it is possible that local records survive. The source of the information is not stated but it took nearly a month to reach readers in England.

04 April 1836 6e.

A Negro in Liberty Valley, Perry County, U.S.A was eaten by wolves on an unspecified day in the previous week. The source of this information was the Juniatu Journal.

06 February 1838 3b.

From The Journal of Grenoble. A wolf attacked a group of sixteen or seventeen peasants from the village of Aves near the bridge of Vareille on the river Egburan. This occurred on 30 January sometime after 22:00. The number of people attacked would suggest that this wolf was not rabid as one wolf would not normally prey on large numbers of potential prey species.

30 November 1844 3d.

A labourer fought a wolf at Chenevry and managed to escape.

21 February 1845 5c.

A French cowherd managed to scare off wolves by beating his shoes together. It is not clear if the man or the cattle were the principal targets.

26 March 1845 5a.

Two women and an infant were killed by a wolf at Genestonse. They were returning from the baby's christening with their husbands who lingered in the pub and found the bodies on their way home. None of the people involved are named and this would appear to be an apocryphal tale.

16 October 1846 5f.

There was a wolf-hunt at St-Laurent en Caux which resulted in a huntsman being injured. This wolf was presumably fighting to save its life.

31 January 1848 6b.

A letter from Baumes-les-dampons on the Doubs says that a child of eight was carried off by a wolf. The body was not found. It is not clear who sent the letter to which the journalist alludes. Perhaps it was another journalist or a relative of the child.

16 August 1852 3e.

A mad wolf at Adabilia was described in a letter from Smyrna. No precise date of the incident is given but presumably it occurred a few days earlier than the date of the letter, 26 July. The wolf wounded 128 people, killed 85 sheep and wounded 75 more whilst on the rampage for a day. Presumably this was rabid. Even so the number of injuries is high for one animal.

30 March 1853 6b.

A priest and 21 parishioners at Ola Pian near Mulhlbach in Transylvania were bitten by a mad wolf whilst leaving a church. Twelve died.

28 November 1856 7f.

A letter from Warsaw said that there were a lot of wolves in that area. One entered the village of Szymanow in daylight and carried off a six-year-old. This is the type of story that ignited Zimen's criticism. He noted that a single wolf carrying off a child of that

age would require a very large wolf and a very small child.¹⁹ The information is second hand at best. Unlike now newspapers did not have correspondents within easy reach of the major cities and communications would take considerably longer than they currently do. The child is not named and one has to ask who wrote the letter from Warsaw? Was it a journalist, a tourist or an official? The identity and status of the person is of crucial importance. Theoretically local research might identify a victim and a grave. Until it does the case must be considered hearsay.

23 April 1862 11a.

This refers to the death of a man who rescued another man from a wolf during the previous February. The information came from Galigman's Messenger. It is stated that the death of the first man was reported in The Times at the time but no record has been found.

01 May 1863 12c.

Monsieur Decheppe was pursued through a forest by two wolves but stayed calm and was unharmed. There are elements of the folk-tale about this report and it is by no means clear that the wolves intended to harm the man.

01 December 1863 3f.

Two young ladies in Canada encountered an aggressive wolf. This is a rare story of a hostile wolf in Canada. Later The Times would refer to Canadian wolves as not being aggressive.²⁰

20 January 1856 12f

This describes a wolf attack at a place between Nant and St. Jean-du-Bruel. A man and a girl were reported killed from injuries sustained in the fight. There is no suggestion that the wolf, described as of gigantic size, was trying to eat them.

12 October 1874 7f.

¹⁹ Zimen, E., The Wolf, His Place in the Natural World, London, Souvenir Press, 1981, pp. 328-329.

²⁰ The Times, 10/05/1890, p. 5c.

From the Paris correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette. A wolf killed a little girl, Marie Favrand, in Charente as she was picking chestnuts. Then it attacked a man called Texier who tried to rescue her. In turn he was assisted by another man, Fontronbande, who had his finger lacerated. Texier sustained 22 wounds. The recording of names grants extra credence to this report but the wolf may well have been rabid.

24 August 1876 6f.

This describes an appendix to an official report published in St. Petersburg which contained statistics relating to wolves in Russia. There is one story of a peasant who found a wolf that was pretending to be dead. He took it home for the pelt and was killed. The report stated that 200 people were killed by wolves in Russia in 1873. Even in a country with a large population this is a high figure, especially as reports of man-eating wolves in other parts of the world were proportionately lower. One wonders how the data was collected and verified.

Wolf specialists in modern Russia state that the wolf there does not eat people although there are still reports of this occurring.²¹ There have been allegations from Norway that the Russian government has suppressed details due to pressure from conservationists.²²

24 April 1877 10c.

A man and his family were travelling along the banks of the river Pruth in Russia on a sleigh pursued by wolves. To deter them the peasant threw off his children one by one. His wife informed the authorities but they acquitted him of murder. The motif of children being thrown from sleighs to wolves, or other animals, often occurs in fiction. Wolves would chase sleighs motivated by the rushing stimulus of the horses. No details are given of the trial apart from the verdict. Further research in that locality may locate further details.

21 Med tillatelse fra Nationen gjengir vi nedenfor det fulle og hele intervju avisen gjorde med den russiske representanten i IUCN Wolf Specialist Group Nikita Ovsyanikov i slutten av april i forbindelse med "Rapport 30"-oppslagene våren 2000. Nationen trykket intervjuet kun i papirutgaven (og kun deler av det) 4. mai 2000, partly translated at <http://www.fvr.no/nyheter/ovsyanikov.html>, Wolves, Newsletter of the Wolf Society of Great Britain, 4, (2002), 8.

22 <http://odin.dep.no/odin/engelsk/nytt/nyheter/032001-280040/index-dok000-b-n-a.html>

21 June 1877 5f.

This quotes an official report saying that there were 200,000 wolves in European Russia which caused the deaths of 161 people in 1875 and an average of 125 between 1849 and 1851. A number of subsequent sources accept this as reliable evidence. For example the article in Nature, refers to the deaths of 161 people in Russia in 1875 citing Lydecker as the authority.²³ It is possible therefore that Lydecker drew his information from The Times. Access to the official report would be interesting.

29 November 1877 5e.

A mad wolf was killed near Brittany after attacking ten people. Three children died.

16 January 1878. 5e.

A postman was attacked by a wolf in the Lorraine region.

08 January 1880. 5a.

A girl was devoured by a wolf whilst shut in a barn at Baud.

06 February 1880. 5c.

This cites the Cologne Gazette. Wolves were getting bold in Finland. They were attacking sleighs and ate an eight year old child. In this report we have an English newspaper citing a German newspaper as evidence of events in Finland. Clearly this cannot be considered reliable although Linnell did mention cases in Finland.

19 July 1883. 9f.

This article discusses the costs of wolf depredation in European Russia. It repeats the figure of 161 people killed by wolves in European Russia in 1875. There are recent reports of people being attacked by wolves in the Volgograd region.²⁴

08 August 1884 13b.

This refers to a French law passed two years earlier which increased the bounties on wolves, with the interesting comment that this has increased the efficiency of

²³ Anon., "The European Wolf", Nature, (9/12/1933), 906.

²⁴ see above, notes 11 and 23.

officials. One can assume that people had no reason to destroy wolves before rewards were offered. Therefore they did not consider the wolf to be a major threat. Eight pounds was paid for the destruction of wolves that had attacked people and nine such wolves were killed the previous year in three of the central districts of France. It was not clear how the attacks were verified.

21 November 1884 5c.

A Hungarian priest was travelling by sledge to Lonka with his pregnant wife and child when they were attacked by twenty wolves which killed him and the boy. The wife miscarried and died shortly afterwards. Despite her fatal incident she managed to give a good account of the incident. Packs of twenty wolves are uncommon which suggests an exaggeration, especially as she was able to escape. We are informed that the priest had a parish at Krasnisora so it may still be possible to obtain local information.

22 January 1888 8b.

This states that wolves were eating people in Hungary and gives two examples. One was a magistrate who fell from a sleigh and the other was a boy thrown from a sleigh by his father who wished to evade the wolves himself. The bereaved parent surrendered himself to police. If the tale is genuine police and burial records may survive.

26 December 1888 4b.

This gives figures of wolves killed in France, reproduced in table N. Two of the 701 killed in 1887 had attacked people. This is a low attack ratio, especially if one takes into account rabies as a factor. It is also significant as large bounties were paid for wolves which had attacked people so one would expect a number of false claims. It is unknown if the authorities were able to detect these and eliminate them from the statistics.

05 November 1890 9f.

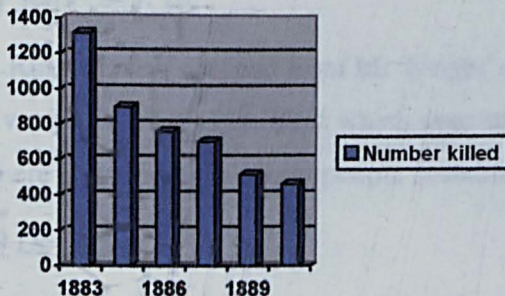
This cites information from unnamed Indian papers. 25 rupees was offered as a bounty for a wolf and 300 for a pack. These rewards follow reports that the

Hosbangabad district in Central Province was being targeted by eight wolves which had killed 40 cattle watchers, aged between eight and sixteen, but did not touch the cattle. It is hard to believe that wolves would abandon their normal diet. Yet two French missionaries visiting Mongolia in the nineteenth century noticed that local wolves attacked people in preference to animals.²⁵ They apparently had no anti-wolf agenda. The subspecies of wolf common in Mongolia, *canis lupus palipes*, is the same as that found in India and Iran.

13 August 1892. 4c.

This gives more figures of wolf destruction in France. None of those killed this year had attacked people.

Table N, Statistics concerning the extermination of wolves in France as published in The Times.



These reports are all interesting but the vast majority were not included in Linnell's study. They must be treated with scepticism. They probably influenced impressions of the wolf in England although one suspects that English readers of The Times would have been more influenced by the, less frequent, reports of wolves in their own country.

The Wolf in England in The Times

Although wolves were extinct in England long before this period they could still be found in zoos and menageries from which they would sometimes escape. The Times

²⁵Huc, R. E., and Gabt, J., trans. W. Hazillitt, ed. P. P. Peliot, Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 2 Volumes, London, Routledge, 1928, p. 336.

also reports intriguing stories of wild wolves and hybrid canids being discovered in England. This small collection of reports indicates that knowledge of wolves held by people in England could sometimes be based on first-hand experience.

29 April 1834. 6a.

A wolf escaped from the tower of London menagerie and caused distress to a lady before being recaptured. This long report stresses the brutality of the animal. Wolves had been kept at the tower for some time. A guidebook published in 1760 described three ravenous German wolves in captivity there.²⁶

16 December 1839. 3b.

Four large wolves were seen near Lilleshall, Salop. One was killed and the others captured. It was suggested that they had escaped from a collection. This information came from The Shrewsbury Herald.

29 June 1843. 7b.

A Russian wolf escaped from Mr Wright's menagerie at Coventry fair. The newspaper gives an account of the hunt which eventually resulted in the wolf being recaptured. There is no mention of any people sustaining injuries.

09 December 1843. 6e.

This describes a wolf hunt at Ashton. Two wolves escaped from a fair owned by Mr Wright, who may be the same individual mentioned in the last report. Indeed one of the escapees could even have been the same animal. This time the wolves were not so lucky. One entered a house and was blinded by a gang. Mr Wright then authorised its destruction. The second was shot and nearly killed but retained sufficient strength to bite its keeper.

11 November 1865. 12b.

A half-wolf was attacking sheep in villages near Harrogate. A precise identification of this creature is not now possible.

²⁶ Anon, An Historical Description of the Tower of London and its Curiosities, London, J. Newberry, 1760, pp. 17-18.

29 February 1869. 5b.

A Siberian wolf escaped from a menagerie in Liverpool but was recaptured.

21 July 1884. 10b.

This is a long report taken from Land and Water, July 19, 1884. The superintendent of London's zoological gardens was given a coyote that had been found in Epping Forest.²⁷ It was speculated that four coyote cubs had been brought to England in a ship belonging to Mr J. R. Fletcher some years previously. They were thought to be fox cubs and were released into the forest. The coyote is referred to in the report as a prairie wolf so although the story is not about the wolf it may have influenced impressions of the wolf.

23 October 1884. 6e.

This is a letter sent by Henry Foster. He criticises the previous article, claiming that his dog was recently killed and proclaimed to be a wolf.

27 October. 1884. 7d.

This is a reply to Mr Foster from Henry Fennell who was involved in the original discovery of the coyote in Epping Forest and had some connection to the zoological gardens. He states that the animal was definitely a wolf bred and captured in the forest. It could be viewed at the gardens.

12 February 1888. 6f.

Eight wolves escaped from Sanger's circus in Westminster and attacked some horses.

14 February 1888. 10c.

The owner of Sanger's circus claimed that two discharged grooms were responsible for the above release. The report says that the culprits had jeopardised lives with their actions.

09 January 1891. 7d.

²⁷ A further incongruous beast was supposedly seen near Epping Forest in March 1998, Simpson, J., and Roud, S., Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 4.

A Bolton publican, William Entwhistle, and a female companion walked around a cage containing a pack of Siberian wolves. Their reasons for so doing are not stated.

06 December 1904. 7d.

A wolf, presumably escaped from a collection, was terrorising sheep in Allendale, Hexham.

19 December 1904. 9f.

The above mentioned wolf was still at large. Although there had been no reports of attacks on humans mothers were closely watching their children.

21 December 1904. 7f.

The Northumberland wolf was still at large.

30 December 1904. 7f.

A wolf was killed on the railway near Camwhirton, four miles from Carlisle. It was presumed to be the Northumberland wolf referred to above.

Other Interesting Reports Concerning Wolves in the Times

There are some other interesting reports worthy of consideration. In most cases it is hard to see why the story was considered newsworthy by an English editor. They are summarised below.

24 January 1788. 4a

A wolf/dog hybrid was found near St Quintin in Picardy. The liaison between the wolf mother and the father was observed by labourers. His behaviour was not threatening in any way.

06 February 1824. 3e.

A coach passing between Sigean and Eitan on the night of 22/23 January was upset by a wolf running between the legs of the horses. Coaches travelling through woods would presumably encounter wolves on a fairly regular basis. Since nobody was injured it is difficult to see why the story was considered newsworthy.

19 July 1837. 5f.

The wolves in the countryside around Vitre in Brittany were so numerous that over 100 sheep had been devoured by them in a week. This implies that the consumption of 100 sheep a week is excessive. The figures relating to average consumption by wolves cited earlier suggest that a very large pack would be required to eat so many sheep in this space of time.²⁸

11 April 1839. 5a.

A wolf was killed during a hunt at Fontainebleau. It is suggested that he had been bred for hunting.

04 November 1839 6e.

Wolves had arrived in the Eure and killed some sheep. Stories of wolves killing large numbers of sheep may just be considered worthy of mention. This report appears to be talking about small losses, well within the normal range of wolf predation.

15 January 1841 4e.

Wolves were described as following coaches in France. Again it could not have been uncommon for wolves to appear in the vicinity of coaches.

19 February 1841 3f.

A wolf that was shut in a chapel with a sheep refused to eat it. This occurred in the Chapel of Saulchicort and was reported in a French journal.

28 February 1842 3e.

A wolf entered a cottage at Avignon which contained three girls.

23 May 1848 6b.

Wolves ate four horses at Gueret. The consumption of horses is normal behaviour for wolves.

25 December 1856 5f.

This is a letter from one someone using the alias Verdant Green who gave his address as Evergreen Bower, Wildman Road. He claimed that the Governor of Calabria, a man

²⁸ Above, pp. 75-79.

named Verdi, tried to tame wolves and fed them on blackberries. This could be the most bizarre letter that The Times has ever published.

25 October 1859 6c.

A man supposedly gave his friends cutlets of a wolf they had killed. The idea of people consuming meat which they later discovered to be dog, human or something equally unappetising is a common enough motif.

30 October 1860 10c.

Sheep were attacked in a field between Intravelle and Gilcourt. The report notes that this was unusual at this time of year.

29 November 1860 9c.

Wolves were seen in Dieppe. They took 26 of the 27 sheep at Rouxmesnil-Bouteilles. A shepherd put them to flight. Sheep stealing was presumably a common practice of French wolves, albeit rarely on this scale. The behaviour of the shepherd contradicts the idea that people were afraid of wolves.

01 April 1863 9e.

The Duke of Beaufort was in Poitou with 200 hounds to hunt wolves. It appears that the motivations behind the visit were sporting rather than a desire to rid France of wolves.

04 May 1863 10b.

A report on the Duke of Beaufort's progress, praising the venture although no wolves had been killed.

08 May 1863 10c.

More about the Duke of Beaufort, including news that his prize foxhound had been outwitted by an old wolf. However the Duke enjoyed his sport.

07 September 1880 5d.

The Petite Republique Francaise, published an article on wolves in France. Napoleon I had abolished bounties for wolves and Napoleon III then squandered the money in

Syria and Mexico. Wolves currently thriving in France were said to have come from Germany in 1870. This is an interesting account of wolves being used to make a political and nationalistic point. The presence of the wolf in France is being used here to illustrate the perceived failings of government.

18 May 1890 5e.

This begins with statistics relating to wolves in Russia. Their population was estimated at 170,000 and 70,000 had been killed in two districts the previous year. The report then says that the Canadian wolf was not dangerous.

This summary of reports in The Times began with one which distinguished between different types of wolves and ends on the same note. Reports of man-eating wolves in France persisted until the early twentieth century. On 26 January 1914 an eight year old girl was supposedly killed at La Coquille in Dordogne.²⁹ Thompson refers to a schoolboy killed by wolves in 1913.³⁰ First hand documentary evidence of either incident appears to be lacking.

Arguably the phraseology of the reports about wolves was more influential than the contents. Wolves are described in The Times as savage brutes on several occasions. They are invariably presented as a threat to humanity, even in cases where no people or domestic animals were injured. Never is any sympathy expressed for them.

The recording of wolf sightings strongly suggests that such sightings in those areas were rare. They increase in line with industrial progress, perhaps because this progress was driving wolves out of their normal habitats and making them more visible to the public. The corresponding reduction in prey species would presumably have led to an increase in attacks on domestic animals. This would increase hostility towards wolves.

The period was one in which wolf populations declined dramatically in France, and other parts of Europe, primarily as a result of extensive hunting campaigns. The reports in The Times suggest that these campaigns only succeeded when hunters

²⁹ Pollard, Wolves and Werewolves, p. 27.

³⁰ Thompson, R. H., Wolf Hunting in France in the Reign of LouisXV, The Beast of the Gevaudan, Lewiston, Edwin Meller, 1991, p. 258.

received financial incentives. The implication is that wolves were not hunted by local people as a matter of course. They probably were not considered to be dangerous under normal circumstances. In many accounts of wolves attacking people in The Times it is not specified if the wolf was rabid. Except when writing about the hunting of wolves the journalists always assume that the wolf is a threat to humans or human interests.

There is a general fascination with wolves, not afforded to other animals. For example sightings of tigers in India are not reported, nor are true stories of tigers eating people, horses or sheep. It could be argued that The Times generally allocated more space to France than India yet it does note incidents of man-eating wolves in India.

England during the nineteenth century regarded herself as one of the world's leading nations with France, Germany and Russia challenging for that status. The wolf provided a reminder that man was not in control of nature. In England there were no wolves so perhaps there was a sense of national pride in the revelations that continental Europe, Russia and India were still plagued by wolves. Throughout there is a patronising tone when referring to other countries, especially India. The sightings of wolves in specific areas and the terminology used would support this theory yet it cannot be claimed that there was a conscious editorial policy to further British and predominantly English nationalism, by usage of the wolf metaphor. It should also be noted that much of the information about wolves was selected from indigenous newspapers.

Agricultural and industrial factors may have prompted the French authorities to wage war on the wolf with reports of man-eating wolves being exaggerated to encourage public support. As the nineteenth century drew to a close the vast majority of cases involving man-eating wolves of the European variety were reported in France. The Times does mention incidents in Finland and Poland but there is virtually nothing from Germany, Spain, Italy and Austria. It might be said that events in France were of more interest to British readers but this does not explain why the majority of earlier reports of man-eating wolves in Europe also came from France.

The wolf population in France does not appear to have been unduly high, given the mortality figures cited by The Times. Statistics given in the newspaper indicate

that at the height of the wolf culling in France reveal that very few were attacking people. The higher bounties paid for aggressive wolves would be expected to result in more claims. This did not happen, suggesting that other accounts of man-eaters were exaggerated at best and invented at worst.

Most reports concerning man-eating and potentially dangerous wolves in The Times appear in the twenty years between 1870 and 1890 when the French authorities in particular were becoming more hostile towards the wolf. A British hunter living in Brittany in the 1850s noted the need to preserve the species for future sport.³¹ The more sensational accounts follow attempts by the French government to eliminate wolves, documented in The Times through summaries of the bounties paid. None of the incidents appear to have been witnessed by the English journalists. The majority were second hand accounts, taken from newspaper or nameless individuals. This report was going to conclude by stating that the accounts in The Times could not be accepted without a search for confirmation in the historical records of the relevant countries. Linnell's team has now undertaken this research and the vast majority of reports featuring aggressive wolves in The Times during the nineteenth century cannot be verified.

Nowadays one can view information in newspapers with a degree of scepticism and attempt to verify it through other sources. This was not always the case and in a less competitive market than now certain nineteenth century newspapers such as The Times were able to exert a greater influence than their modern counterparts.

It is worth considering how incidents of wolves killing children in India in the late twentieth century were reported in the media. There was much distortion and exaggeration in Western accounts of the tragedy. These deaths in India were confirmed so it is at least a possibility that nineteenth century stories of wolves eating people in India were also true. Yet at the same time there were stories circulating in India about a very different sort of wolf which raised human children. Some of these incidents were also reported in The Times. Could the eater of men also raise their young? This duality

³¹ Davies, E. W. L., Wolf Hunting in Brittany, London, Chapman and Hall, 1875, p. 259.

is worthy of further investigation, especially as most stories of wolves raising children in colonial India have never been subjected to proper scholarly analysis.

9. The Mother Wolf.

“And ever and anon the wolf would steal
The Children and devour but now and then
Her own broad, lost or dead, lent her fierce teat
To human sucklings and the children housed
In her foul den, there at their meal would growl
And mock their foster mother on four feet
Till straightened they grew up to wolf like men
Worse than the wolves.”¹

Stories of wolves, and other animals, raising children date back to ancient times. In the classical world a child suckled by an animal would often become a hero, a motif listed in The Motif-Index of Folk Literature.² Herodotus remarked that a rumour concerning Cyrus being suckled by a bitch was spread by Cyrus’s parents in order to gain him this prestige.³ However Raglan, in his study, did not identify suckling as a hero motif.⁴ Generally it was believed that an animal foster parent would pass on its characteristics to the child and that this was usually beneficial as it made the recipient superior to other humans.

One of the best known tales is that of Romulus and Remus who were allegedly suckled and reared by a she-wolf after being abandoned on the banks of the river Tiber. There is no evidence that this actually happened or even that the boys existed. Since the Latin word *lupa* means both a female wolf and a prostitute Augustine thought that Roman traditionalists changed the story to avoid giving prostitutes a positive image.⁵ The wolf was obviously not then considered in entirely negative terms although it would later be associated with prostitutes in some bestiaries.⁶ The story of Romulus and Remus was well

¹ Tennyson, A., “The Coming of Arthur”, in The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson, Boston, Fields, Osgood and Co. 1869, p. 231.

² Thompson, S., Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 Volumes, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, C111.24.

³ Herodotus, trans. G. Rawlinson, The Histories, Ware, Wordsworth, 1996, 1. 122.

⁴ Raglan, Lord, “The Heroes of Tradition”, Folklore, 45, (1934), 212-31.

⁵ Augustine, trans. H. Bettenson, City of God, and Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984, 18.22.

⁶ White, T. H., The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century, London, Cape, 1954. p. 60.

known in England, being depicted on the left side of the Franks casket which was probably made in Northumbria, c.650 BC. This image shows the she-wolf suckling the boys whilst her mate licks their toes. The cover to a late seventeenth century English history of Rome shows the wolf between the boys.⁷ The tale was also nominated by two respondents to the questionnaire as the work of fiction that had most influenced their impressions of wolves.

It is necessary to make a distinction between children supposedly suckled by animals and those supposedly raised by them. Surprisingly few cases of animals raising children also contain stories of suckling. Mc Carthy identified 40 cases of animals raising children in Greco-Roman culture and nine of them raising gods.⁸ Only six of the children were girls and he was unable to find similar examples involving girls in other cultures.⁹ If animals were raising children then one would not expect disparity between the sexes, especially as girls were perhaps more likely than boys to be abandoned due to the perceived greater value of a male child.

One of the more interesting early stories is that of a goat boy, told by Procopius who wrote in the sixth century AD.¹⁰ The boy, later named Aegisthus, was suckled by a nanny goat which protected him like a human mother. It can be assumed that this and most of the classical cases were known to the educated in mediaeval England.

Whether stories of animals raising children are true or not it is apparent that people, including children, were living wild in many areas and continue to do so. In Europe the presence of hermits, outlaws, and criminals added some credence to legends. Further the existence of the exposure motif in stories such as Hansel and Gretel suggests that many poor parents were tempted to dispose of unwanted offspring by leaving them in the wilderness.¹¹ This practice may continue in countries such as India and stories of modern wild children appear in countries such as Romania.¹²

Pollard told a typical story of a village girl abandoning her illegitimate child for it to be partly-eaten by wolves.¹³ Although this particular tale is fiction the idea of infanticide by

⁷ Florus, L. A., Roman History, London, S Sneed, 1669.

⁸ Mc Carthy, E., "Greek and Roman Lore of Animal-Nursed Infants", Michigan Academy of Science, Art and Letters, 4.1, (1924) 27.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Procopius, trans. H. B. Dewing, The History of the Wars, 6 Volumes, London, Heinemann, 1914, Vol 3. VI. XVII, 1-11.

¹¹ Grimm, J., and Grimm, W., Fairy Tales, London. C Baldwin, 1924, Volume 1, pp. 126-129.

¹² There is an interesting website devoted to feral children which includes a list of recent newspaper reports at <http://www.feralchildren.com/en/listbooks.php?tp=2>

¹³ Pollard, J., Wolves and Werewolves, London, Hale, 1964, pp. 40-41.

exposure must have occurred to many new mothers. For some it might have been comforting to believe that animals would care for their offspring.

Two mediaeval English Chroniclers record a story of two wild children found in a wolf pit at the village of Woolpit near Suffolk during the reign of King Stephen, possibly in 1173.¹⁴ They were eventually taken to the home of Sir William de Caine at Wilkes but their final fate is unconfirmed.

A wild boy, later named Victor, was found in Aveyron at the start of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ This individual had apparently been roaming wild for years and opinion was divided as to whether he was an imbecile or a normal child traumatised by the experience. However he was not linked to animals, being able to fend for himself and surviving for some time prior to his capture. There was also a boy called Peter found in Hannover but later brought to England. An account of his life was apparently given in the register of North Church in Hertford.¹⁶

Doubtless there were others like these children, abandoned or lost in the thick forests and woods that once covered so much of Europe. One case in the nineteenth century involved a six year old girl who followed a wolf into the woods and was discovered some six weeks later.¹⁷ A more recent case involved a Romanian boy living wild with dogs for some time but at least one British newspaper referred to him as a wolf boy.¹⁸

The naturalist J. J. Vivey, adding to a report on Victor by Pierre-Joseph Bonnaterre, identified several characteristics of wild children. These included dark skin, scars, large thumbs, frightened expressions, the eating of raw meat (Victor didn't eat any meat at all at first), a hatred of children, an ability to climb trees, and to walk on all fours.¹⁹

It is possible that the children had some kind of mental illness. Mentally deficient children would be shunned in mediaeval society as they are often are in modern times. Some of these wild children would have come into contact with wolves and garbled accounts of the encounters could lead to rumours about wolves raising children or eating

¹⁴ William of Newburgh, trans. J. Stevenson, The Church Historians of England, Vol. 4. 11. Ch. 27, London, Seeleys, 1861. Ralph of Coggesall, Chronicon Anglicanum, in Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, No 66, pp. 118-120.

¹⁵ Malson, L., Wolf-Children, and Itard, J., The Wild Boy of Aveyron, trans. E. Fawcett, P. Ayrton and J. White, London, NLB, 1972.

¹⁶ The Times, 21/04/1927, 8d.

¹⁷ Davies, E. W. L., Wolf Hunting in Brittany, London, Chapman and Hall, 1875, p. 257

¹⁸ Daily Telegraph, 14/04/2002.

¹⁹ Trans. Lane, The Wild Boy, p. 47.

them. Bettelheim proposed three reasons why such children were confused with wolves. They did not talk, shunned human company and made ferocious attacks.²⁰ It is also possible that some people believed that these had been wolves in a former life.

Few European stories of wild children feature wolves and for those that do there is no extant evidence. Some cannot even be dated and none appear to have been widely known in England. However there are some stories of wolves raising children in India during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Our knowledge of them comes mainly from the accounts of British officials.

Wolf Children in Colonial India

*"India is probably the cradle of wolf child stories, which are here universally believed and supported by a cloud of testimony, including in the famous Lucknow case of a wolf boy the evidence of European witnesses."*²¹

Today one would not readily accept Kipling's assumption that European witnesses are more reliable than Indian ones. His "*cloud of testimony*" refers to a small number of second hand reports which were brought to the attention of British military officers in India during the mid to late nineteenth century. Written records survive in the form of memoirs and literature left by the officers. In most cases they were not keen on disseminating the material. This may be because they did not accept it as fact or because they had no real interest. It can be inferred that only a handful of such cases became known to the British whose stories centre around very small areas. There were probably many more wolf-children noted in local folklore.

Colonel William Sleeman (1809-1856) was the first European to publish details of Indian wolf children. He obtained information from oral sources and from the private diary of another British official which has not survived. Sleeman's fifteen page pamphlet entitled An account of wolves nurturing children in their dens, first appeared in 1851 and the information was reprinted in his later text, A Journey through the Kingdom of the Oude.²² Sleeman listed the following cases of wolf children found in the Oude district.

²⁰Bettelheim, B., The Empty Fortress, New York, Free Press, 1967, pp. 357-58.

²¹Kipling, J. L., Beast and Man in India, London, Macmillan, 1893 p. 13.

²²Sleeman, W. H., An Account of Wolves nurturing Children in their dens, Plymouth, Jenkin Thomas, 1852. A Journey through the Kingdom of the Oude in 1849-50, 2 Vols, London, Bentley. 1858. Reeves, P. D., ed., Sleeman in Oudh: an abridgement of W. H. Sleeman's 'A journey through the kingdom of Oude in 1849-50', London, Cambridge University Press, 1971. Some of the text concerning wolf children was also reprinted in Panjab Notes and Queries, 3, May to June, 1886, nos. 602, 604, 605 and 662.

1. Two men saw three wolves with a boy on the banks of the river Gumptji. They took him to Lucknow where wolves apparently visited him during the night.
2. A boy aged nine or ten was found by a trooper in a wolf's den near Chandour, 10 miles from Sultanpoor in 1847 or 1848. He was scared of people and ate like a dog. The Rajah of Hansunpoor sent him to Captain Nicholetts whose letters are the main source of Sleeman's knowledge. The boy died in August 1850. He was claimed by his original parents but they declared him stupid and abandoned him. Sleeman states that he never spoke until he said "It aches", and asked for water which he quaffed then died.²³ These would be unusual first words. The only evidence that the boy was found in the wolf's den is that of the trooper, reported at least first hand. This boy may have been mute and stupid but he was probably not an authentic wolf child.
3. A boy aged three was snatched by a wolf at Chupra, 20 miles east of Sultanpoor in March 1843. In February 1849 two men found the boy with some wolf cubs and took him to Kolee bazaar where he was identified by his mother on account of a birthmark on his thigh, a scald on his left knee and teeth marks on his loins. He preferred raw meat to other food and was not affectionate. All this was supposedly confirmed by neighbours and villagers. In November 1850 Captain Nicholetts ordered both boy and mother to be sent to Sleeman but the boy ran away.²⁴ At first glance this story appears more believable than its predecessor. The boy was at an age when he could conceivably have been carried away by a wolf. However as Sleeman was unable to confirm what the villagers told Nicholetts and Nicholetts himself did not leave a written record, this case must also be dismissed.
4. The Rajah of Hansunpoor said that in 1843 a twelve year old boy came to Hansunpoor, having been brought up by wolves. He could walk erect but was unable to speak. His parents recognised him.²⁵ Again there were no eyewitnesses.
5. A shepherd from Ghutkoree, 12 miles from Sultanpoor, saw a boy with a wolf. The child was captured and taken to Colonel Gray but a few days later ran off. There is no evidence whatsoever to support this story.
6. According to Zulhikar Khan, a landowner in Bankipur, some eight or nine years earlier than the date of interview in 1849 a trooper rescued an eight or nine year old boy from wolves. The boy was mute but understood sign language. He was looked after by a

²³ Reeves, *Sleeman in Oudh*, pp. 208.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 211-214.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

cultivator for three months then claimed by a shepherd as his son. He had no body hair. This tale was confirmed by the village people.²⁶ Presumably that confirmation was confined to information given to them by the trooper.

7. In 1842 or 1843 another trooper and his companion captured a boy, aged around ten. Firstly he was looked after by the Rajah then by a comedian who both let him go. He was then shot with an arrow by a shopkeeper and subsequently cared for by Janoo, a servant of Sanaoolah. Four months later he began to understand signs. On several nights he played with wolves, of which there were never more than four. Eventually he ran away. Two months later a woman from Chureya Kotra came to the Rajah and claimed him as her son, identifying him by describing two marks; one on his chest and another on his forehead.²⁷ Sanaoolah, Janoo and other servants confirmed the story although the Rajah could not recall sending the mother, when he wrote to Sleeman on 28 January 1851. This story is more detailed than the others and differs from them in two important respects. Firstly the boy was examined over a period of time. Secondly the identification made by the mother came after the boy had escaped, and she had to travel a long way to make the claim. This would suggest a genuine motive.

There are three common factors in the stories reported by Sleeman.

1. The wolf children were all male.
2. They were usually discovered by one or two people who claimed to have seen them in the company of wolves.
3. They were claimed by parents.

Bearing in mind that several years had elapsed in each case, since the supposed disappearance one must ask how reliable the identifications were. It should also be noted that many poor families in India relied on healthy male offspring to run businesses and perform domestic duties. Therefore those without such children may have made false claims on orphans.

Sleeman did not see any of the boys himself and it must be suspected that he was merely recounting garbled recollections of idiot children found in the jungle. Indeed he was sceptical, noting that none of the stories had been authenticated. He did speak to a man who had supposedly been rescued from a wolf's den by a hermit but concluded that there was no

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 215.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 216-217.

evidence.²⁸ He believed that a child raised by wolves could never attain a man's intellect and further considered that children in a wolf's environment would find it hard to survive for long periods.²⁹

Sleeman was not the only person to comment on wolf children in the nineteenth century. In a paper read in 1880 Jamsedji claimed to have seen a man known as wolf-boy at Agra in March, 1878.³⁰ He also quoted from Reverend Lewis's History of Secundra Orphanage where three other wolf children had supposedly been taken.³¹ One boy was sent to Secundra by the magistrate of Bulandahar with a claim that the magistrate had smoked him out of the den. He could not speak but learnt to walk erect and it was supposed that the she-wolf had claimed him as a substitute for the cubs. Again the account of the discovery is suspect.

According to Jamsedji two other boys were taken to Secundra on 05 March 1872 when a man called Erhardt was Superintendent. The boys were found on March 5 1872 by locals who were hunting wolves. One died shortly after his arrival but the other stayed there for at least six years.

In 1873 V A Ball read a paper on wolf children to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³² In it he referred to a letter from Erhardt concerning the two boys. One boy was brought to the orphanage on March 5 1872 from Mynpuri. The other was 14 years old and had been at the orphanage for six years. Erhardt also referred to a mad fellow at Lucknow madhouse whom Ball believed to be the man captured on the banks of the river Gumpti. Not all the members shared Ball's enthusiasm and the committee agreed to write to the orphanage and the madhouse for further information. From the silence in the records thereafter it appears that no satisfactory response was received.

Ball claimed that one of the boys at Secundra was taken into a magistrate's court with the dead wolves.³³ Even if this was true, and the court records were extant, it still would not prove that the boy was found with the wolves. Erhardt said that a man dug out of a

²⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Jamsedji, J. Astrodan and Recorded Instances of Children Having Been Raised by Wolves, 2 Papers read by Jivani Jamsedji before the Anthropological and Natural History Society of Bombay, Bombay, Educational Society Press, 1880, p. 17.

³¹ I have been unable to find this text.

³² Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January to December 1873, Calcutta, G H Rouse, 1873, pp. 128-30.

³³ Ball, V., Jungle Life in India, London, T. de la Rue & Co, 1880, p. 454.

wolf's den by a European doctor was at Lucknow madhouse.³⁴ This individual is referred to elsewhere as an old fellow.³⁵

According to the Assistant Commissioner of Sultanpore in 1860-61, Mr H G Ross, the police brought in a male said to have been taken from a wolf's den.³⁶ The boy was then four years old and grew up to join the Police force. However Ross did not recount his experience until over thirty years later.

Another wolf boy in the province of Oude was described by The Times on 20 October 1873.³⁷ This story was apparently circulating in several Indian papers although The Times specifically credits Allen's Indian Mail. The boy, aged twelve or thirteen, had apparently been captured two or three years earlier and interviewed shortly afterwards. He was apparently not dissimilar from other boys of his age and could recite his experiences, describing how the wolf pack used to hunt. The report mentions other stories of wolf children and concludes that this case is superior. Unfortunately this conclusion cannot be supported now. Firstly there are no details of the precise place or dates for either the capture or the interview. Secondly ten years had passed between the interview and the publication of the story. As noted in the last chapter The Times in this period is not a reliable source.

In a report in The Field, in 1895 a Mr Greigh of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders declared that, when his regiment was marching toward Bareilly in 1858 after the taking of Lucknow, he saw at Sahjejan an individual said to have been raised by wolves.³⁸ The same boy was also seen by a Mr H. D. Wilcox of the Bengal Civil Service.³⁹ Neither witness observed the boy in the company of wolves or had any firm evidence as to the nature of his upbringing.

During their investigations into a later wolf child incident Ogburn and Bose were informed by a Mr Sarat Dutt of a wolf child, aged about 15, in 1899. He was captured by forest workers in the United Provinces near Nepal. A Mr and Mrs Seth identified him as their child, abducted six years earlier at the age of two. What they made of the age difference is unclear.⁴⁰ This story is interesting as it is from a different area than most of its predecessors

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Stockwell, G. A., "Wolf Children", Lippincott's Magazine, LXI, (1898), 117-124, 120.

³⁶ The Field, Nov 9, 1895, p. 786.

³⁷ The Times, 20/10/1873, p. 12c.

³⁸ Lippincott's Magazine, LXI, p. 211.

³⁹ The Field, January 11, 1896, 2333, p. 619.

⁴⁰ Ogburn, W. F., and Bose, N. K., "On the Trail of the Wolf Children", Genetic Psychology Monographs, 59, (1960), 117-193. pp. 165-166.

and therefore implies that similar tales were known across India. However the fact that it was known some sixty years or so afterwards suggests that similar stories were uncommon.

A twelve year old wolf boy was found when Thornhill was magistrate of Mutt.⁴¹ Thornhill was sceptical, believing that it was the child of a vagrant and that there was no evidence to support stories of wolf-children.

Smith described the capture of a wolf-boy aged around ten which he felt had been assisting a man-eating wolf.⁴² In his book he included a photo of the boy, named Seaall, taken ten days after his capture.⁴³ Later the boy was sent to a missionary via Bhopal with Lieutenant Cumberledge. Smith believed that this was the original Mowgli. However he did not provide firm evidence to connect the boy with the wolf.

Ireland made some useful comments on the subject of wolf-children although he drew most of his information from Sleeman. He said that the boy in a wolf's den near Chandow died in August 1850.⁴⁴ He then cites various letters which refer to wolves suckling children, specifically to two boys in 1871, and also to wolves eating people.⁴⁵

The Observer on the 19 November 1916 published five letters relating to wolf children.⁴⁶ The first from Arthur B Urmston referred to his father Colonel H Brabazon Urmston who was commissioner of the Rawal Pindi Division between 1860 and 1874 and saw a wolf boy on an unspecified date. The letter then quotes at length from the Christian Missionary Society's Secundra orphanage report for 1872 written by Mrs Erhardt. This refers to two wolf boys discovered in that year and taken to the orphanage. One was an 8 year old from Mynpoorie. He was deaf and dumb, enjoyed raw meat and did not walk unless led. He liked living in dark places and often tore up his clothes. The second boy was called Wednesday and the first Saturday. Wednesday fell ill and died. Sunichar (Saturday) remained alive, but was also deaf and dumb. This information does not exactly tally with that provided by Jamsedji or Ball.

The writer of the second letter published in The Observer, claimed to have seen a 34 year old former wolf boy in an asylum in Bengal. The third letter from J A Hither, enclosed a photograph of Sanichar which the editor thought was not good enough to print. This boy

⁴¹ Thornhill, M., Haunts and Hobbies of an Indian Official, London, J Murray, 1899, p. 279.

⁴² Smith, A. M., Sport and Adventure in the Indian Jungle, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1904, p. 96.

⁴³ Ibid. facing p. 96.

⁴⁴ Ireland, W. W., The Mental Affections of Children, London, J A Churchill, 1900, pp. 429-432.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 433.

⁴⁶ The Observer, 19/11/1916, p. 14.

was captured in fields in Agra and taken to an orphanage at Silkandar near Agra. He never learnt to speak.

The fourth letter from M Novis says that a 20 year old was seen in Lucknow in 1892. The boy didn't speak but seemed healthy.

The fifth letter from M H James refers to a mission printed text sent to him by an army chaplain. This contained an account and picture of a wolf boy. He was about 25, deaf and dumb. Unfortunately James had not retained the text.

All these cases are interesting but none of them contain any real evidence that children were raised by wolves. There is however an account which describes two girls being discovered in a wolf's den and narrates their subsequent growth and development. This is recorded in the diary of Reverend Singh who, in the company of other witnesses, allegedly rescued the girls in 1920.⁴⁷ Unfortunately the book was not published until 1942. Publication was refused on a number of occasions due to the poor quality of the, now lost, manuscript and doubts over its reliability. Such doubts persist as Singh was credited with a different account of the discovery. Nevertheless he is the only eye-witness of the discovery of a wolf-child who has left a detailed contemporary, or very near contemporary, record.

Singh was in charge of an orphanage at Midnapore when in 1920 a man named Chunarem alerted him to stories of mysterious beings in the area of Godamuri. Singh claimed to trace them to a wolf's den under a large termite mound. This appears to be the only account of a wolf's den under a termite mound and if Singh was inventing the story one would expect more convention. According to his diary Singh returned to the termite mound in the company of several Indian hunters and two Europeans, named as Rose and Richards. They began to dig out the den. Two male wolves fled but a female resisted and was killed. Inside were found two human girls and two wolf cubs. One of the girls was aged five or six and the other about three. Immediately this differs from other stories which all featured single boys. Also the area is different, not being in Oude. The presence of two unrelated girls in the den suggests that the circumstances leading to their involvement with the wolf pack were not unique. Singh named them Kamala meaning lotus and Amala meaning bright yellow flower.

⁴⁷ Singh, J. A. L., and Zingg, R. M., Wolf-Children and Feral Man, Hamden Connecticut, Archon Books, 1966.

At this stage there was no publicity of the discovery. Full details were only provided after the deaths of the girls. Doctor S. P. Sarbadhicari was summoned to treat Amala's final illness on 11 September 1921. She died ten days later and was buried in St. John's churchyard under a banyan tree. Neither girl had received medical treatment at the time of the rescue.

Kamala survived and lived at the orphanage. She ate raw meat, including carcasses. At first she could not touch salt. She had a high jawbone and could not stand without assistance. Her eyes glared and she was unable to tolerate the sun. She took to a hyena cub, which returned her affection, and ate from the same plate as dogs. Gradually the situation changed. Kamala became frightened of dogs which were now barking at her, and she started to use the toilet. By 1926 she knew around thirty words, mostly the names for utensils and household goods. Any hopes that this progress would continue and eventually allow her to lead a normal life were extinguished by her death on 13 November 1927.

The deaths of both girls are apparently recorded in the register of burials at St. John's church. Doctor Sarbadhicari supposedly said that they died of kidney failure caused by an inability to get used to a normal diet. This suggests that they were malnourished prior to the discovery although this must have been common for many poor families and Singh's wife would later die of starvation.

There is much detail in the diary, much of it unnecessary in a forgery. However the record of the girls' behaviour may be genuine with simply, and crucially, the details of their discovery being false. Why should Singh falsify the details? One possibility is that he desired publicity to help ease the financial problems facing the orphanage. In a diocesan report of 1921 he mentions severe financial pressure.⁴⁸ Yet if he wanted to tempt philanthropic hearts he could have done so by saying that the girls came from prostitutes. There is no evidence that he sought to profit from the girls. On the contrary there is evidence that he tried to avoid publicity in 1920 and he certainly did not desire it in 1921. In the diary he bemoans the curiosity of sightseers drawn to the orphanage after Sarbadhicari had published details of Amala's origins. The story was not reported in the West until 22 October 1926 when the Westminster Gazette published an article.⁴⁹

Ogburn and Bose felt that seven and a half years was too long for the oldest girl to spend in the den and retain some humanity. Yet there is nothing to indicate how long

⁴⁸ MacLean, C., *The Wolf Children*, London, Allen Lane, 1977, p. 141.

⁴⁹ *Westminster Gazette*, 22/10/1926.

Kamala had been in the den.⁵⁰ Long enough certainly to lose any memories of human culture.

Singh is known to have taken children of prostitutes and pagan tribes back to the orphanage.⁵¹ A story supposedly appeared in The Calcutta Statesman, 16 November, 1926 to the effect that the wolf girls came from these unfortunates.⁵² By this account Singh was journeying through Mayurbhanji when a poor cultivator of the Jodha tribe took him to his hut and showed him the children. Later Singh went back and was told that the villagers had removed the girls from the wolf's den, which he was shown.

In March and April 1940 Singh sent letters in which he claimed to have told the original story to Bishop Pakenham Walsh in October 1926. In the London archives of the church missionary society Mac Lean came across a brief mention of the wolf children in the Calcutta diocesan record. There Singh said that the two girls were rescued by villagers and given to him. In due course MacLean found a second and longer account in an open letter from Father Brown of the Oxford mission, put in July 1922 on the children's page of the mission magazine. This also attributed the rescue to villagers and came from Singh.⁵³ The Reverend was clearly responsible for disseminating two different stories of the discovery. He may have had legitimate reasons but the fact remains that he lied.

Mac Lean noted that the story is only preserved from myth by the fact that Singh was an eyewitness.⁵⁴ This is a trifle unfair as Singh did name other witnesses and could not have envisaged the failure of later attempts to trace Rose and Richards.

Ogburn and Bose conducted a detailed investigation in the early 1950s. They sought the site of the original discovery and any surviving witnesses who saw the girls behaving abnormally. From a discussion with Singh's daughter they concluded that Singh was probably familiar with other stories of wolf children.⁵⁵ This is debatable and probably can never be verified. Louise Mani Das, a resident at the orphanage from 1932 said that most of the book was not true and that her uncle, Bhagabat Khatua brought the children to Singh.⁵⁶ Chandrakunda Das confirmed that his brother in law had rescued the children.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Ogburn and Bose, p. 122.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 157.

⁵² This report has not been traced.

⁵³ Mac Lean, Wolf Children, p. 239.

⁵⁴ Mac Lean, p. 254.

⁵⁵ Ogburn and Bose, p. 147.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 149.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 1709

Two superintendents said that the villages, Godamuri and Tpuban, mentioned by Singh did not exist. Ogburn and Bose also noted that there were no records of the girls' deaths although photographs of Kamala existed and several witnesses saw the girls at the orphanage. The failure to find Godamuri appeared to provide a conclusive indication of Singh's dishonesty. Yet the girls had been at the orphanage and their behaviour remained unexplained.

As MacLean conducted his own research he found that nobody in the area remembered Ogburn and Bose visiting. Dr. Jyotima Sarma, a sociologist who once studied under Ogburn in Chicago said that he came to India in 1951 but was too old for active field work.⁵⁸ According to her Bose took over the research. Bose was a known nationalist whilst Singh had been a republican who disowned his son for attending one of Gandhi's meetings in 1925.⁵⁹ Sarma implied that most of the work was done by students.

MacLean said that one of Singh's daughters showed him a portion of the original diary manuscript. The rest had been consumed by white ants.⁶⁰ Crucially he found Godamuri which had changed its name to Ghorabandha.⁶¹ He confirmed that Chunarem had lived there and found one old man, Lasa Marandi, who claimed to have taken part in the original hunt as a boy of sixteen.⁶² Marandi testified that Singh, whom he described clearly, along with two Europeans and an Indian, Dibakar Bhanji Deo, had been present.

It is not known to what extent, if any, MacLean influenced his subjects. If Lasa Marandi's evidence is accepted then Singh is exonerated and we do have an authenticated case of children being found in a wolf's den. However the word of one witness cannot be accepted five decades after the event and the word of another who put out a contradictory story cannot be taken either. The researches of Ogburn, Bose and Mac Lean have made the case more intriguing. They have not proved or disproved Singh's original assertion that he found Kamala and Amala in a wolf's den under a termite mound.

In April 1927 The Times reported the discovery of a wolf-child in Allahabad.⁶³ He was found by herdsmen near Miswana. This prompted a letter from Lionel James in Berkshire who said that an Indian friend had seen a male wolf-child, recaptured at the age of 7. The friend's theory was that the child was taken as food but got mixed in the she-

⁵⁸ MacLean, pp. 297-298.

⁵⁹ MacLean, p. 179

⁶⁰ MacLean, p. 298.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 299.

⁶² *Ibid.* pp. 299-300.

⁶³ The Times, 05/04/1927, 16c.

wolf's litter.⁶⁴ Another letter from Osmond Reedy said that two Moslems used to tour Bihar with a wolf-girl.⁶⁵

Another wolf child was reported in Allahabad in 1926 and was reported in The Daily Mail as a proven case.⁶⁶ The evidence mentioned consisted of the child's preference for raw meat and roots, the discovery of his footprints amongst paw marks, a mauling on his face, the fact that he barked instead of spoke and was discovered in a wolf's cave. The boy was seven years old and apparently received medical treatment at Allahabad. The article also specifies that no suggestion of suckling was made and that it is not implausible for wolves to look after children as dogs can do this.

Practicalities

It is probably not possible for a wolf to suckle a human child as the milk of the female wolf would provide insufficient nourishment. Yet none of the Indian stories describe that happening. They feature older children without a suggestion that the wolf weaned them. It is certainly not impossible for children, or adults, to live with wolves. Recent television documentaries have featured people living with gorillas and wild dogs, although not for a considerable length of time.

Even if the children were found with a wolf pack it does not follow that they were members of it. We have a collection of mostly unconfirmed reports to the effect that children were found in the company of wolves in areas where children are frequently exposed and were they may not have been taught to fear animals. Amidst all the chicanery and rumour there once existed two very unusual girls in Midnapore. The absence of verification does not affect the belief.

Question seventeen in the questionnaire asked the respondents if wolves could raise children. The answers of the respondents are given in table O.

Just under half of the respondents believed that wolves could raise children. It is not clear what sources influenced this perception. Initially it seemed reasonable to assume that the respondents were influenced by the most famous wolf-child, Kipling's fictitious Mowgli.⁶⁷ The Jungle Book, (1905) contributed to the mythology surrounding man-eating tigers in the west although its portrayal of friendly gregarious wolves, four decades before

⁶⁴ The Times, 07/04/1927, 12a.

⁶⁵ The Times, 07/04/1927, 12a.

⁶⁶ Daily Mail, 26/04/1926, p. 8 and photo on back page.

⁶⁷ Kipling, R., The Jungle Book, London, Macmillan, 1910.

Murie, was not widely accepted. In writing his collection of short stories about Mowgli Kipling may well have been influenced by his father's book *Beast and Man in India*.

The influence of The Jungle Book, especially the Disney cartoon version must be considered here. Did people answer with a guess, based on Kipling, a vague knowledge of Singh's diary and other cases? Other possible sources of influence are hard to find but tabloid newspapers sometimes report modern wolf children.⁶⁸

Table O, Summary of answers to question seventeen.

Answer	Number of Respondents
Yes	92
No	67
Possibly	22
Not Answered	6

The Jungle Book, was nominated as the selected work of fiction by thirteen of the first 174 respondents. Five of these felt that wolves did raise children and three considered it possible that they did. Two respondents nominated Romulus and Remus, one of whom felt that wolves did raise children and the other felt that they did not.

No firm evidence for wolf children has ever been obtained. Nor has the belief in the man-eating wolf been confirmed. Research into the reasons why people believe in these occurrences may prove more productive than a search for verification of individual cases.

⁶⁸ Daily Star, 11/05/1990, p. 1 has a photo of a Bangladeshi wolf-boy whose condition was apparently caused by a hormone deficiency.

Conclusion

"Why are wolves so mean on cartoons and not in real life?"¹

The wolf is often portrayed as a man-eater and as an evil being. Zoological research in the last fifty years has challenged those views and zoologists now describe the wolf as a timid animal which avoids humans wherever possible.

There is plenty of evidence that the wolf was, and continues to be, confused with other canids some of which can be aggressive towards people. This confusion may account for some historical cases of wolves eating people. It is impossible to verify these accounts although in the case of the Gevaudan people did die at the hands of a predator which was assumed to be a wolf. The Indian wolf, *canis lupus palipes*, has killed and eaten children although not as many as is claimed.

In ancient cultures the wolf was noted for its ferocity and cruelty but does not appear to have been endowed with negative connotations. In the West Christianity was largely responsible for changing this. By the ninth century wolves were symbolically associated with groups and individuals who threatened, or appeared to threaten, the ideological control of Christianity. The use of artwork and text in the later bestiaries and other sources strengthened this association as did the emergence of the Devil as a perceived ideological threat to which wolves were also linked. The association between the wolf and persecuted or isolated groups such as witches and Catholics persisted until relatively modern times.

The werewolf, like the wolf, does not appear to have been perceived as evil in ancient sources. Christian beliefs changed it into an evil being, although often it was seen as the servant of an evil master, Satan. The wolf did not acquire a man-eating reputation until the late middle ages. This was the period of the most intense witchcraft persecutions and the beginning of social changes that would lead to the industrial revolution. Werewolves personified the metaphorical link between wolves and evil men, yet there is no evidence that these lycanthropes ate children. Theoretically children are more vulnerable to attacks by wolves but such attacks are commonly

¹ Question from J. Schimmel, Philadelphia Inquirer, 09/01/1996.

ascribed to persecuted groups. Lycanthropy may have been a way of explaining abnormal wolf behaviour.

The image of the evil wolf is found in children's literature published or disseminated in England from the eighteenth century onwards. Many of these stories were accompanied by illustrations which probably influenced, and continue to influence, people more than the texts. Red Riding Hood is a good example of this.

News of wolves in France during the nineteenth century was brought to England via The Times. It is not clear why so many wolf stories were considered to be of interest to British readers. The Times and other sources also published stories of wolf-children in India, many of which were told to British military officials. Although the historical evidence is dubious these tales were widely believed. Indeed the results of the questionnaire show that more people believed in wolf-children than in the man-eating wolf.

Perceptions of the wolf over a long period of time differ from the findings of modern zoologists. There are only three possible reasons for this. Either the wolf has changed its behaviour or one of the authorities is at fault. Factors which may have altered wolf behaviour include a reduction in their numbers, a greater fear of humans and the destruction of their environment. Since zoologists base their findings on observations, which can be verified, their accounts seem to be more reliable.

It is now expedient to summarise the results of the questionnaire and to evaluate its effectiveness. The distribution process may have led to discussions between respondents especially as some questionnaires were copied in households or distributed amongst friends. The questions requiring an opinionated reply sought spontaneous answers and for that reason may have been more effective as part of an oral survey. However the response rate would have been lower and the positive feedback much reduced. An oral survey would also have consumed more time and probably remained with much smaller geographical parameters. It is comparatively easy to distribute a written questionnaire to strangers, especially via email. Only people previously unknown to the compiler could be relied on to provide an impartial view. Nevertheless some were known to the compiler prior to completing the questionnaire and some have since become better acquainted with him.

It is impossible to determine how much the respondents were influenced by each other. A brief glance at questionnaires returned by the same household show that the replies were not exactly identical but that collaboration could have occurred. It is likely too that people who helped disseminate the questionnaire would pass on opinions. The process of anonymous networking has other problems in that the respondents could return more than one questionnaire or deliberately give misleading answers. Answers were noticeably more extensive in replies sent by email. There were also indications that some respondents were not taking the survey seriously. However in a survey of nearly 200 a few rogue answers should not affect the overall picture.

A comparative survey in other countries such as the USA or France would have been useful. Also a more localised study, concentrating on a particular region, or even town, may have yielded different results. However the current place of residence can be seen as insignificant since it became apparent that impressions of the wolf were more likely to have been cultivated in childhood. Therefore the place of the respondents' upbringing is considerably more important than the place where they resided at the time when they completed the questionnaire. It would have been useful to know something of family background, in terms of class and ethnicity as these may have been relevant. A study relating exclusively to children would provide a useful comparison with the adult version, although some children did complete this questionnaire. If it were possible those children could be asked the same questions a decade later to see if their opinions had changed. However this would affect the anonymity of the respondents.

Although there is no evidence of man-eating wolves in Europe a high percentage of respondents believed in them and more thought that the wolf was dangerous to people. A high percentage also believed that wolves raised children. People seemed to be influenced more by visual and oral sources than written ones. Their impressions of the werewolf were probably shaped by Hollywood rather than historical accounts. The respondents were more inclined to think that wolves survived in non-western countries than western ones.

The answers to the questionnaire can be seen in Appendix A.

The Future of the Wolf

In recent times many governments have at least paid lip-service to environmental concerns and some have sanctioned wolf reintroduction programmes. Their motives are not always apparent. Morris identified three criteria for conservation stating that the animal should be cuddly, attractively coloured or extremely rare.² A reintroduction programme in Italy in 1973 had three principle aims: to reintroduce red and roe deer, to implement an educational programme and to study the biology of wolves.³ The reintroduction of wolves to Scotland has been mooted but public opinion is the biggest obstacle.

“Would a wolf campaigner living in London be just as eager if their nine year old child had to walk up a lonely track from the school bus in the dark of winter with starving wolves killing livestock, dogs, etc in the nearby vicinity?”⁴

Wolf reintroduction in other countries has often met with public hostility. Nicholas Evans's The Loop about the relationship between a wolf friendly zoologist and the son of a wolf-hating farmer may be fictitious but it is an accurate description of how some people feel. In an early attempt at wolf reintroduction in North America all four subject wolves were killed by humans or cars.⁵ Seven of nine wolves killed in the Abruzzo region of Italy in 1974 were victims of humans, unconnected with sheep farming.⁶ The Baragu County Wolf Hunters Association was formed to oppose relocations and offered 100 dollars to anyone who killed a wolf.⁷ In Spain in 1987 it was estimated that 51% of wolf kills were illegal.⁸

In a poll released in December 1994 71% of Colorado residents backed the return of the wolf. Evidence of the changing attitudes can be seen in recent rejections of applications to kill wolves in Norway and Poland.⁹

² Morris, The Animal Contract, p. 132.

³ Boitani, “Wolf Research”, p. 126.

⁴ Ross, A. “In the Company of Wolves, A Scottish Perspective on Reintroduction”, Wolf Society of Great Britain Newsletter, Summer, 2000, p. 3.

⁵ Weise, et. al. “An Experimental Translocation”,

⁶ Zimen and Boitani, “Status of the Wolf”, p. 70. “An Experimental Translocation”, p. 406.

⁷ Weise, et. al. “An Experimental Translocation”, p. 406.

⁸ Blanco, et. al. “Conservation”, p. 77.

⁹ <http://large-carnivores-lcie.org/news.htm>

The questionnaire asked if wolves should be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population. The majority felt that they should not. One reason for this may be a fear of man-eating wolves. Another possibility is that the respondents feared for the safety of the wolves or felt that it was not possible for wolves to live in a human environment. Opposition to wolf reintroduction is not always prompted by a hatred of wolves.

The idea behind wolf reintroduction schemes is that wolves should only be allowed to exist in areas selected by humans. In this way they can be controlled. Serious questions need to be asked about human attitudes towards wolves in the west. Firstly why is the wolf still hated as scientific studies show that it is not dangerous to man? Secondly why is it considered necessary to control wolf populations?

The best way to educate people about the wolf is for them to see him. Sadly this is not possible and although television documentaries may influence some there will also be those who believe that the wolf in Red Riding Hood is representative of the species as a whole. Better education is required, not going to the erroneous extremes of portraying the wolf as a cuddly creature and a suitable pet but emphasising that its predatory nature almost certainly does not extend to man.

The wolf is not qualified to tell his own tale and arguably no human is qualified to undertake the role either. In Canada rangers mimic wolf calls and tourists gather to hear a reply. But the howling is no longer perceived as a threat as they listen to the elusive wolf. It will remain elusive because the web of fear spun by our ancestors has not dissipated. Sheep and the livelihoods of their owners are still threatened. The dense untamed forests have largely been eradicated but the wolf is returning to some of his former territory and encountering a degree of tolerance.

The wolf lives on, in the mind and in the wilderness where self proclaimed civilised man no longer perceives it as an enemy but as an inferior animal to be preserved. An animal whose history is closely intertwined with that of man himself. The true story of the wolf may not possess the literary grandiloquence of ravenous beasts attacking travellers, eating children thrown from sledges and transforming into men under a full moon. Nonetheless it merits exploration, if only because any culture which suppresses or ignores truth hinders its own progress. Obvious errors must be

removed so that the facts can flourish. The persistent survival of beliefs that cannot be substantiated directly threatens the wolf today. Whilst the work of zoologists has broken, or at least challenged, traditional assumptions about wolves it has not yet permeated popular culture to any significant extent. Careful pruning of surviving inaccuracies is required to educate a new generation who may otherwise find reasons to permanently eradicate the wolf from our planet.

Appendix A

Results of Questionnaire

1. What is your nearest town?

The purpose of this question was to obtain information on the geographical area covered by the questionnaire and to see if respondents in a particular area or areas had different ideas about the wolf. However it subsequently became clear that there were no areas in England with strong surviving legends of wolves, thus removing any possible local variations.

161 of the respondents lived in England. The answers have been classified in regions. North, in this context, includes all areas in England which are north of Leicestershire. South includes are areas south of Gloucestershire and Midlands includes all areas between Leicestershire and Gloucestershire.

Area	Respondents
South	77
Midlands	46
North	38
Scotland	12
USA	4
Northern Ireland	4
Wales	3
Spain	1
Not answered	1

2. Would you describe your district as rural or urban?

The objective of this question was to ascertain if people in rural areas had different impressions of wolves to those in urban areas. The answers were intended to be looked at in conjunction with those to other questions, notably eight to twelve.

In practice this proved difficult as there was no way of telling how long people had been in those particular areas or of measuring any influence that location had on them.

The majority lived in urban areas.

Type of Area	Number of Respondents
Urban	122
Rural	43
Both	19
Other	1
Not Answered	1

3. Are you male or female?

The objective of this question was to ascertain if there were any gender variations in perceptions of wolves. Again the answers are useful when compared with the responses to other questions.

More males than females returned the questionnaire. It is not possible to tell if one gender was less inclined to return the questionnaire.

Gender	Number of Respondents
Male	107
Female	79

4. How old are you?

The objective of this question was to determine the range of ages from the respondents who returned the questionnaire. The answers can be compared with those to other questions to see if age influenced impressions of the wolf. The answers are summarised in groups.

Age	Number of Respondents
0-10	1
11-20	10
21-30	47
31-40	56
41-50	32
51-60	23
61-70	8
71+	1
Not answered	1

5. What is your religion, if any?

The objective of this question was to see if religious belief influenced impressions of the wolf. Given that Christianity was often hostile to wolves it was thought that Christians might have more negative impressions of the wolf than other groups.

However the question did not distinguish between those who practised their belief and those who did not.

Christianity was the dominant religion with a significant number who had no religious beliefs.

Religion	Number of Respondents
Christian	80
None	53
Pagan	16
Muslim	6
Agnostic	3
Buddhist	3
Hare Krishna	3
Atheist	2
Theologian	1
Hindu	1
Vegan	1
Not answered	17

6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England?

The objective of this question was to test the respondents' knowledge of wolves. It is thought that wolves became extinct in England by the fifteenth century.

Many of the respondents selected a later date.

Century	Respondents
5 th	2
7 th	1
10 th	1
11 th	3
12 th	6
13 th	5
14 th	4
15 th	10
16 th	13
17 th	24
18 th	43
19 th	31
20 th	10
Not extinct	7
Don't know	11
Not answered	15

6. Do wolves only live in forests?

The objective of this question was to test the respondents knowledge of wolves. The majority correctly stated that wolves do not live exclusively in forests.

Answer	Respondents
No	148
Yes	12
Possibly	5
Don't Know	4
Not answered	3
Sometimes	2

7. Do wolves eat people?

This was the pivotal question. Nearly half of the respondents felt that wolves did not eat people.

Answer	Respondents
No	93
Yes	40
Sometimes	26
Possibly	22
Don't know	2
Not answered	3

8. Are wolves dangerous to people?

This question might have been better placed before the previous one. It was intended to compare the answers.

Answer	Respondents
Yes	62
No	55
Possibly	36
Sometimes	31
Don't know	2
Not answered	1

9. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack?

Some stories of man-eating wolves, notably in literature, describe a wolf pack as more dangerous. However the authenticated instances of wolves eating people have involved a lone wolf.

Answer	Respondents
Pack	100
Not answered	49
Single	26
Both	7
Neither	3
Don't Know	1

10. Should wolves be hunted?

The aim of this question was to establish the percentage of respondents who believed that wolves were a threat and should be removed.

The vast majority of the respondents were opposed to the hunting of wolves.

Answer	Respondents
No	154
Yes	15
Not answered	6
Sometimes	5
Possibly	4
Don't know	2

11a. If yes, please list the following reasons in order of importance.

Because they are dangerous to people.

Because they are dangerous to domestic animals.

Because hunting is a good sport

Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer.

Order of Preference	Dangerous to people	Dangerous to animals	Sport	Compete with hunters
1 st	18	2	0	1
2 nd	3	5	1	2
3 rd	2	2	3	4
4 th	0	3	5	4

12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population?

The purpose of this question was to see if people, who may not have expressed hostility towards wolves in previous questions, would feel comfortable about wolves living close to them.

Nearly half of the population felt that wolves should not live in areas which have a high human population.

Answer	Respondents
No	93
Yes	57
Possibly	25
Not answered	11

13. Do wolves exist in the following countries?

The purpose of this question was to see how well informed the respondents were about the current status of wolves around the world.

With hindsight this question could have been removed.

Answer	India	Israel	China	France	Spain	Italy	Ireland	Iran	Russia	Serbia
Yes	125	51	74	110	99	83	16	79	167	140
No	36	99	84	41	53	71	140	70	4	16
Not answered	27	27	21	26	26	24	23	27	10	23
Don't know	5	5	4	5	5	4	4	6	4	5
Possibly	3	4	3	4	5	4	3	4	1	2

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf?

The aim of this question was to establish which works of fiction most influenced impressions of the wolf. It was one of the most useful questions in terms of providing information about specific individual sources.

The answers clearly showed that Red Riding Hood was the most influential text.

Work of Fiction	Respondents
Little Red Riding Hood	52
White Fang	19
Not answered	19
Jungle Book	13
Call of the Wild	10
Company of Wolves	8
Peter and the Wolf	7
The Wolves of Willoughby Chase	6
The Wolf and the three little pigs	5
The Hound of the Baskervilles	5
Never Cry Wolf	4
The Loop	3
Gelert and the Wolf	2
The Howling	2
Romulus and Remus	2
The Werewolf of Paris	2
The Fifth Elephant	1
My Antonia	1
Astray with the wolves	1
An American Werewolf in London	1
Bewoulf	1
The Boy who cried wolf	1

Dances with wolves	1
Dracula	1
Dragon	1
Elf Queen	1
Endless Story	1
Follow the wolf	1
Going South	1
Harry Potter	1
Heart of the Wolf	1
The Hobbit	1
Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde	1
King Lear	1
The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe	1
Moondance	1
Naughty Sophia	1
Run with the wolf	1
Steppenwolf	1
The Werewolf	1
Winter of wolves	1
Wolfen	1
The Wolfman	1

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves?

This question was intended to ascertain what people believed about werewolves. It produced some interesting answers and suggested that many of the respondents confused the werewolf and vampire.

Answer	Respondents
Romania	34
Transylvania	32
Not answered	24
USA	23
Germany	13
None	12
France	6
Russia	6
England	5
Eastern Europe	4
Hungary	4
Bulgaria	3
Serbia	3
Canada	3
UK	2
Bavaria	1
Bohemia	1
China	1
Don't know	1
India	1
Ireland	1
Italy	1
Scandinavia	1
Scotland	1

Siberia	1
Tasmania	1

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves?
- Insanity
 - Invention
 - Disease
 - A Physical Transformation

This question was intended to ascertain how aware people were of the explanations for lycanthropy. Most considered werewolf stories to be inventions.

Answer	Respondents
Invention	62
Insanity	60
Disease	30
Physical Transformation	16
Not answered	8
None	2
Ambition	1
Don't know	1
Legend	1
Fear	1
Paranormal	1
Religious	1
Several Reasons	1
Symbolic	1

17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves?

This question looked at an aspect of wolf-lore that showed a more benevolent image of the animal. Nearly half the respondents believed that wolves could raise children. However the question might have been more effective if it had asked “have wolves raised children?” as this would differentiate between those who thought that wolves could raise children and those who believed that this had already occurred.

Answer	Respondents
Yes	92
No	66
Possibly	22
Not answered	6

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves. Please select one and give an example.
- a. Fairy Stores or Folk Tales.
 - b. Novels
 - c. Zoological Literature.
 - d. Television Documentaries
 - e. Newspapers.
 - f. Films
 - g. Observing wolves in zoos
 - h. Observing wolves in the wild.

The purpose of this question was to identify specific types of sources that the respondents believed were most influential. The range of options was probably adequate and the results showed a greater influence of visual sources.

Very few respondents gave an example and these are irrelevant.

Answer	Citations
TV Documentaries	77
Fairy Stories/Folk Tales	65
Films	27
Novels	23
Observation of Wolves in Zoos	20
Zoological Literature	13
Not answered	9
Observations of Wolves in the Wild	7
Newspapers	4
Encyclopaedia	1
Folklore	1

The final section of the questionnaire asked for additional comments. Very few respondents took advantage of this opportunity. A sample of seven questionnaires which included additional comments are enclosed after the bibliography.

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10/12/1879, p. 6a.
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06/12/1904, p. 7d.

19/12/1904, p. 7d.
21/12/1904, p. 7f.
30/12/1904, p. 7f.

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Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

1. What is your nearest town? BOWTON
2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? URBAN
3. Are you male or female? MALE
4. How old are you? FORTY
5. What is your religion, if any? ATHEIST
6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? 16TH
7. Do wolves only live in forests? NO
8. Do wolves eat people? I'VE NEVER HEARD OF THEM DOING SO
9. Are wolves dangerous to people? LESS DANGEROUS THAN TRADITIONALLY THOUGHT
10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? A WOLF PACK
11. Should wolves be hunted? NO
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
Because they are dangerous to people
Because they are dangerous to domestic animals
Because hunting is a good sport
Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer
12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? I DON'T KNOW
13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries?
 - a. India? YES
 - b. Israel? NO
 - c. China? NO
 - d. France? NO
 - e. Spain? NO
 - f. Italy? NO
 - g. Ireland? NO
 - h. Iran? NO

i. Russia?

j. Serbia?

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf? *Astray in the Forest*
I think by Rick Elmes.

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves?
No country

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves? (please tick one)

- A. Insanity.
- B. Invention. Do not know. Probably superstition.
- C. Disease.
- D. A Physical Transformation.

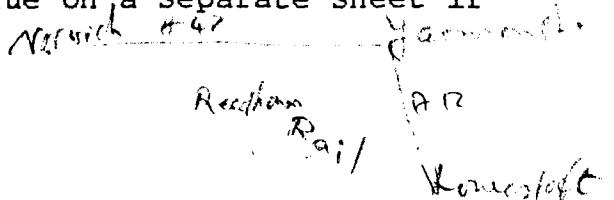
17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves? See notes below

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves? (please tick one and give an example, e.g for novels give the title of the most important book or an author, for observation name the place)

- a. Fairy stories or folk tales As a child and younger person,
- b. Novels Little Red Riding Hood and The
- c. Zoological Literature Three Pigs. Also Astray in the
- d. Television Documentaries Forest.
- e. Newspapers c - h not applicable.
- f. Films
- g. Observing wolves in zoos.
- h. Observing wolves in the wild.

Any comments. Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

Diagram for 1.
See also below *



17. Although mother wolves might be as compassionate as human mothers I doubt if a mother wolf could supply the type of food and environment for a human child. Just think of soft knees crawling on a forest floor - with no jeans on!

18. The two fairy stories gave me the impression that wolves were cunning and ferocious. Ditto the novel which was about hungry wolves in Canada. Written about early 20th century.

P.S. I do not know that the wolf is a 'cowardly' beast (your article) Certainly no more than man. Perhaps 'sagacious' is more just.

Thank you for your time. Please return this completed questionnaire to Mr P Williams, 14 Stanford Road, Brighton, BN1 5DJ.

Extra comment re 17. The child would not be able to tear the meat, not having suitable teeth.

* Note for 1. If you refer to distance in miles, it could be Great Yarmouth or Norwich; but Lowestoft is the more convenient travelwise. Cars to Lowestoft have to go by the A12 & A12

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Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

- 1. What is your nearest town? **NORTHAMPTON**
- 2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? **URBAN**
- 3. Are you male or female? **FEMALE**
- 4. How old are you? **29**
- 5. What is your religion, if any? **NONE**
- 6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? **19TH**
- 7. Do wolves only live in forests? **NO**
- 8. Do wolves eat people? **NO**
- 9. Are wolves dangerous to people? **NO**
- 10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? **SINGLE**
- 11. Should wolves be hunted? **NO**
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
 Because they are dangerous to people
 Because they are dangerous to domestic animals
 Because hunting is a good sport
 Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer
- 12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? **YES**
- 13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries?
 a. India? **YES**
 b. Israel? **YES**
 c. China? **YES**
 d. France? **NO**
 e. Spain? **NO**
 f. Italy? **NO**
 g. Ireland? **NO**
 h. Iran? **YES**

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Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

- 1. What is your nearest town? *Edinburgh*
- 2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? *Urban*
- 3. Are you male or female? *Female*
- 4. How old are you? *48 1/4*
- 5. What is your religion, if any? *Calvinist atheist*
- 6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? *dunno.*
- 7. Do wolves only live in forests? *Probably not.*
- 8. Do wolves eat people? *- Probably not.*
- 9. Are wolves dangerous to people? *Probably not*
- 10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? *Anything that's after me.*
- 11. Should wolves be hunted? *Only in the same way as all species hunt theirs.*
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
 - Because they are dangerous to people *N/A*
 - Because they are dangerous to domestic animals *N/A*
 - Because hunting is a good sport
 - Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer
- 12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? *People do and they're more dangerous.*
- 13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries?
 - a. India?
 - b. Israel?
 - c. China?
 - d. France?
 - e. Spain?
 - f. Italy?
 - g. Ireland?
 - h. Iran?

dunno.

i. Russia? YES.

j. Serbia? YES.

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf? LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD.

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves? TASMANIA.

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves? (please tick one)

A. Insanity.

B. Invention.

C. Disease.

D. A Physical Transformation.

17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves? NO.

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves? (please tick one and give an example, e.g for novels give the title of the most important book or an author, for observation name the place)

a. Fairy stories or folk tales

b. Novels

c. Zoological Literature

d. Television Documentaries (general Doc's)

e. Newspapers

f. Films

g. Observing wolves in zoos.

h. Observing wolves in the wild.

Any comments. Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

I don't know much about wolves but think most people hold misconceptions about them, mostly through ignorance. I would feel quiet happy having a wolf pack in our local park (it might keep the rapists & muggers in doors.)

Lee-Anne.

Thank you for your time. Please return this completed questionnaire to Mr P Williams, 14 Stanford Road, Brighton, BN1 5DJ.

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Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

1. What is your nearest town? *BURRY PORT*
2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? *Rural*
3. Are you male or female? *female*
4. How old are you? — *60+*
5. What is your religion, if any? *Christian*
6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? *18th*
7. Do wolves only live in forests? *No*
8. Do wolves eat people? *YES*
9. Are wolves dangerous to people? *YES*
10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? *Wolf pack*
11. Should wolves be hunted? *No.*
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
Because they are dangerous to people
Because they are dangerous to domestic animals
Because hunting is a good sport
Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer
12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? *No*
13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries?
 - a. India? *No*
 - b. Israel? *No*
 - c. China? *yes*
 - d. France? *No*
 - e. Spain? *yes*
 - f. Italy? *yes*
 - g. Ireland? *No*
 - h. Iran? *No*

Do zoos count?

i. Russia? *yes*

j. Serbia? *yes*

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf? *The Jungle Book*

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves? *- no such thing -*

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves? (please tick one)

A. Insanity.

B. Invention.

C. Disease.

D. A Physical Transformation.

17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves? *yes*

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves? (please tick one and give an example, e.g for novels give the title of the most important book or an author, for observation name the place)

a. Fairy stories or folk tales *St. Francis of Assisi*

(Italy)

b. Novels

c. Zoological Literature

d. Television Documentaries

e. Newspapers

f. Films

g. Observing wolves in zoos.

h. Observing wolves in the wild.

Any comments. Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

A lot of these answers, more so in (13.) are guesswork.

There were wolves in Wales, because place names are to be found in certain areas.

There were wolves through Europe + Asia + N. America. when GB was a part of the main European continent w no sea. Wolves roamed freely.

Thank you for your time. Please return this completed questionnaire to Mr P Williams, 14 Stanford Road, Brighton, BN1 5DJ.

Wolf questionnaire

- 1) Nuneaton , Warwickshire
- 2) Urban
- 3) Female
- 4) 54years(nearly 55)
- 5) Anglican
- 6) 18th
- 7) no
- 8) no
- 9) yes
- 10) pack
- 11) yes
- 12) A,B,C,D
- 13) No
- 14) B,D,I,J
- 15) Call of the Wild
- 16) Transylvania
- 17) C
- 18) Yes
- 19) D- documentary on National Geographic about a pack of wolves on the plains of Syria.
 E- can't remember title but French boy was dying and his final wish was to spend his remaining time with wolves so his father played by William Holden stole 2 wolves from local zoo- sound a bit naff but the wolves grieved when the boy died.
 F seen wolves in zoos – pack at Whipsnade followed us as we walked along the fence, out of curiosity, did not feel threatened.

Comments

Re. Question 9: - Yes but if their young are threatened.

Question 10: - The answer could be either

A pack has more animals and could inflict more harm but a single animal may be desperate for food and through caution to the winds so to speak.

Question 11: - Generally wolves should not be hunted but if a lone wolf has found that humans offer an easier option than hunting wild animals and is threatening children especially and braving human habitation then yes it should be hunted and perhaps re-located in a reserve.

Q17 - Not fair to wolves
 Q19 - + other documentaries

You're welcome and good luck!
 Hope all goes well. Hazel Roberts

Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

1. What is your nearest town? WORCESTER
2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? URBAN
3. Are you male or female? MALE
4. How old are you? 35
5. What is your religion, if any? PAGAN
6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? PASS
7. Do wolves only live in forests? NO
8. Do wolves eat people? RARELY
9. Are wolves dangerous to people? OCCASION ALLY
10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? WOLF PACK
11. Should wolves be hunted? NO
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
 Because they are dangerous to people
 Because they are dangerous to domestic animals
 Because hunting is a good sport
 Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer
12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? THEY PROBABLY WOULDN'T BY THEIR OWN CHOICE
13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries? DON'T KNOW TO ALL
 - a. India?
 - b. Israel?
 - c. China?
 - d. France?
 - e. Spain?
 - f. Italy?
 - g. Ireland?
 - h. Iran?

i. Russia?

j. Serbia?

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf? PETER + THE WOLF

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves? WORLDWIDE
MAINLY AMERICAN INDIANS

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves? (please tick one)

A. Insanity.

B. Invention.

C. Disease.

D. A Physical Transformation. ✓

17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves? YES

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves? (please tick one and give an example, e.g for novels give the title of the most important book or an author, for observation name the place)

a. Fairy stories or folk tales

b. Novels

c. Zoological Literature

d. Television Documentaries ✓

e. Newspapers

f. Films

g. Observing wolves in zoos. ✓

h. Observing wolves in the wild. ✓

Any comments. Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

16 D. + 15

BELIEF IN SPIRITGUIDS + ~~SOME~~
TELEPATHIC POSSESSION OF ~~THE~~ OTHERS.
SHAPE SHIFTING RARELY

Thank you for your time. Please return this completed questionnaire to Mr P Williams, 14 Stanford Road, Brighton, BN1 5DJ.

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Thank you for filling out this questionnaire. Most questions can be answered yes or no. Try to put down answers instinctively and don't look them up. Confine yourself to short answers and add other comments at the end.

1. What is your nearest town? *Wednesbury*
2. Would you describe your district as urban or rural? *Urban*
3. Are you male or female? *M*
4. How old are you? *59*
5. What is your religion, if any? *None*
6. In which century did wolves become extinct in England? *18*
7. Do wolves only live in forests? *No*
8. Do wolves eat people? *Yes*
9. Are wolves dangerous to people? *Yes*
10. If yes, which do you consider more dangerous, a single wolf or a wolf pack? *Pack*
11. Should wolves be hunted? *Depends on their record.*
- 11a. If yes please number the following reasons in order of importance?
Because they are dangerous to people *①*
Because they are dangerous to domestic animals *②*
Because hunting is a good sport *④*
Because they compete with human hunters for animals such as deer *③*
12. Should wolves be allowed to live in areas where there is a high human population? *Yes, in zoos.*
13. Do wolves still exist in the following countries?
 - a. India? *Yes*
 - b. Israel? *No*
 - c. China? *No*
 - d. France? *No*
 - e. Spain? *Yes*
 - f. Italy? *Yes*
 - g. Ireland? *No*
 - h. Iran? *No*

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i. Russia? No

j. Serbia? No

14. Name a work of fiction featuring a wolf?

15. With which country do you most associate werewolves?

Roumania

16. Which of these is the most plausible explanation for accounts of people turning into wolves? (please tick one)

A. Insanity.

B. Invention. ✓

C. Disease.

D. A Physical Transformation.

17. Is it possible for children to be raised by wolves? Yes

18. Which of the following has most influenced your impressions of wolves? (please tick one and give an example, e.g for novels give the title of the most important book or an author, for observation name the place)

a. Fairy stories or folk tales

b. Novels

c. Zoological Literature

d. Television Documentaries

e. Newspapers

f. Films

g. Observing wolves in zoos.

h. Observing wolves in the wild.

i. Encyclopedias ✓

Any comments. Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

I am very close to Wolverhampton. The football team is called the Wolves.

I was a member of the cubs when young. They were called cub-scents or wolf-cubs and if I remember correctly always followed the leader of the pack.

Thank you for your time. Please return this completed questionnaire to Mr P Williams, 14 Stanford Road, Brighton, BN1 5DJ.