**Between Instinct and Intelligence: Harnessing Police Dog Agency in Early Twentieth Century Paris**

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**Abstract**

This article analyses the introduction of police dogs in early twentieth century Paris, which formed part of the transnational extension of police powers and their specialization. Within a context of widespread fears of crime and new and contested understandings of animal psychology, police officers, journalists and canophiles promoted police dogs as inexpensive yet effective agents who could help the police contain the threat posed by criminals. Responding to a growing number of studies on nonhuman agency, this article examines how humans – in a particular place and time – conceptualised and harnessed animal abilities. It argues that whilst nonhuman agency is an illuminating and important analytical tool, there is a danger that it might become monolithic and static. In light of these concerns, it argues that examining historical actors’ conceptualization of animal abilities allows us to get closer to the historical stakes and complexities of mobilizing purposeful and capable animals, as well a better understanding of the constraints within which animals act. For attitudes towards police dogs were entwined with wider discussions on human and animal intelligence. Concerns that police dogs’ abilities and intelligence were contingent and potentially reversible qualities echoed contemporary biomedical fears that base instincts, desires, and impulses could overwhelm human intelligence and morality leading to individual and collective degeneration. It seemed to many that police dogs’ intelligence had not tamed their aggressive instincts. These worries partly explain the demise of the first wave of police dogs in Paris after World War One.

**Introduction**

In 1907 Clément Vautel recounted the story of Spot in *Le Journal*, a police dog who could sniff out lies, infidelities and all kinds of human flaws. Alarmed by this ‘monster,’ the Parisian police prefect orders Spot to be taken to the pound and shot, thereby fulfilling his duty as a ‘defender of society.’[[1]](#footnote-1) Vautel’s article satirised effectively the claims made about the powers of France’s new police dogs by journalists, canophiles and police dog trainers who all celebrated the important role that well-trained, intelligent, sturdy and loyal police dogs could play in securing France’s urban areas from crime and in protecting the law-abiding citizen from the omnipresent threats of the modern city. Intense fears of crime dovetailed with police professionalization and new understandings of animal psychology to create the conditions for the emergence of Parisian police dogs. Their abilities became a matter of public debate within the mass print culture of *belle époque*.[[2]](#footnote-2) From front page splashes to short *fait divers* news items, numerous press reports represented police dogs as emotional and intelligent individuals dedicated to fighting crime and evidence of changing human-canine relations. In this vein, René Simon argued that using dogs for police work enabled them to fulfil their ‘social value’ as ‘vigilant defender[s] and protector[s] of our security.’[[3]](#footnote-3) In particular, Simon and others portrayed them as canine defences against the much-feared Apache gangs (roaming bands of unemployed youths so named for their supposed tribal savagery), which bourgeois commentators commonly represented as violent and unreformable obstacles to social order.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Having spent much of the nineteenth-century combating stray dogs and the threat of canine-borne rabies, Paris’s police force began deploying dogs for specialized police work in the early twentieth century, a time of increased police professionalization and expansion. Under the guidance of dynamic police prefect Louis Lépine, police dogs became part of the modern police force, which was integral to the rise of ‘bourgeois civilization’ based on liberalism, capitalism and the protection of private property.[[5]](#footnote-5) They joined customs and army dogs as creatures mobilized to protect national interests from perceived internal and external threats.[[6]](#footnote-6) But although their introduction was rooted within the particular conditions of *belle époque* France, Parisian police dogs were part of the wider deployment of police dogs in other countries, such as Belgium, Britain, Germany, and the United States, that took place through transnational connections and exchanges.

Dogs are reasonably well-represented within the emerging field of animal history, whose practitioners have shown how animals have constituted “human” societies.[[7]](#footnote-7) Historians have examined police dogs to uncover representations of class and dog breeds, as well as the mechanisms of racialized state repression.[[8]](#footnote-8) This article instead deploys police dogs, a neglected aspect of French police history and French animal history, to explore nonhuman agency, an increasingly significant area of scholarly inquiry across a range of disciplines.[[9]](#footnote-9) It argues that whilst “nonhuman agency” is an illuminating and necessary analytical tool, it is also worthwhile examining historical actors’ conceptualization of animal abilities to get closer to the stakes and complexities of mobilizing purposeful and capable animals, such as police dogs.

Numerous philosophers and theorists have grappled with questions of agency, which Julia Adams describes as connoting ‘capacity, power, free will, [and] action.’[[10]](#footnote-10) Despite challenges from post-structuralist and other theorists, agency remains a key concern for many historians with reason remaining a necessary condition of agency as it allows individuals to break free, to greater or lesser extents, of their instincts, emotions, traditions, and social structures.[[11]](#footnote-11) This conflation of agency with reason and, by extension, human levels of intentionality, provides a formidable obstacle to the meaningful integration of nonhumans into historical narratives. In response, animal studies scholars now persuasively ascribe agency to animals. Often drawing on the work of actor-network theorists, principally Bruno Latour, they argue that nonhumans display agency when they make a difference to human activities, societies and identities. Agency no longer relies on human-levels of intentionality or reason, instead emerging as a hybrid and relational achievement distributed unevenly between humans and nonhumans.[[12]](#footnote-12) Alongside this decoupling of agency and human reasoning, some animal studies scholars argue that certain animals also have agency because act with a degree of intentionality.[[13]](#footnote-13) Dogs, for instance, can be agents because they have unwittingly shaped the past *and* because they are capable of some skilful and intentional action.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Uncovering nonhuman agency allows animals to be incorporated actively and non-deterministically into historical narratives.[[15]](#footnote-15) However, “nonhuman agency” can become something of a monolithic concept. With this risk in mind, Susan J. Pearson and Mary Weismantel have called on scholars to ask how nonhuman agency ‘has been defined historically, and how agentive powers have been constructed and distributed through social formations.’[[16]](#footnote-16) Frederick Cooper, meanwhile, has convincingly argued that analytical concepts, such as “modernity” and “globalisation” can too easily become catch-all and blunt explanatory concepts.[[17]](#footnote-17) There is a danger that nonhuman agency will fall into the same trap.

In light of these concerns, this article historicizes nonhuman agency by exploring how human actors in early twentieth century France conceptualized the diverse abilities of the animals with whom they worked. This means avoiding the term nonhuman agency throughout this article. For although journalists, canophiles and police dog trainers sometimes described police dogs as ‘agents of the law,’[[18]](#footnote-18) they did not use the terms ‘agency’ or ‘agents’ as scholars use them today. Instead, they discussed police dogs’ intelligence, sensory skills, emotions, trainability, and physical strength, which, under their guidance would allow them to act in socially-useful ways. They also repeatedly stressed the crucial and transformative experience of the training process: police dogs would emerge through trainers suppressing some canine instincts and nurturing others. Without their guidance, trainers feared that the dogs’ aggressive or wayward instincts would dominate. These portrayals of dogs’ multiple and contingent capabilities help tease out the complexities and nuances that can sometimes be obscured by the term nonhuman agency.

For discussions on Parisian police dogs’ abilities reflected and contributed to wider deliberations on animal and human intelligence. The early Third Republic is sometimes treated as a Cartesian moment as some Republicans celebrated René Descartes’ veneration of reason, whilst it can be all too easy to assume that the Cartesian model of the ‘animal-machine’ has dominated French thinking about animals. Yet the discourse on police dogs made little reference to the famous philosopher. This was not so much explicit anti-Cartesian as a by-passing of Cartesian tropes altogether.[[19]](#footnote-19) Instead, discussions of police dogs’ abilities had more in common with transnational debates on animal psychology during which some early twentieth century psychologists claimed that certain animals, including dogs and apes, possessed intelligence and/or language.[[20]](#footnote-20) The history of Parisian police dogs suggests that these debates could at times be highly politicized, as well as having a very practical dimension. It also underscores that discussions of animal intelligence were entwined with the wider cultural understandings of human intelligence in the post-Darwinian world.[[21]](#footnote-21)

For police dogs emerged at a time of shifting animal-human animal relations in France as Darwinism, feelings of kinship with pets, concerns over animal welfare, and xenotransplantations all questioned the sense of an unbridgeable divide between humans and animals.[[22]](#footnote-22) The question of intelligence – human and animal – was fundamental as the emphasis of influential doctors, psychiatrists and psychologists on instinct, heredity, the unconscious, and the environment as scientifically observable explanations for human behaviour gained a stronger foothold since their initial formulation during the monomania controversies of the 1820s. Amongst these alienists was Théodule Ribot who believed that free will and reason ‘were mere abstractions, the subjective aspect of co-ordinated neurophysiological reaction.’[[23]](#footnote-23) Pioneer of crowd psychology Gustave Le Bon similarly played down the role of reason ‘in the governing of men [sic]’ in his hugely popular and influential *Psychologie des foules* (1895).[[24]](#footnote-24) Such increasingly prominent claims and the search for the biological causes of madness and delinquency all challenged notions of moral responsibility, human rationality and free will and constructed crime and other social problems as diseases to be managed and contained carefully by the medical profession as part of its struggle against national degeneration. This ‘revolt against rationalism,’ to borrow Ruth Harris’ term, turned criminals into creatures governed by harmful instinctual impulses and socially-destructive unconscious desires.[[25]](#footnote-25) As doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists animalized women, criminals, alcoholics, the insane, vagabonds and sexual “deviants” by stripping them of their freewill and reason, police dogs were conversely treated as beings whose intelligence, and physical prowess, could be mobilized to defend civilized society, even if fears about their violent instincts never died away. Police dogs became embroiled in the fraught deliberations over the meanings of instinct and intelligence.

As well as contributing to the wider rethinking of intelligence and human-animal boundaries in *belle époque* France, discussions of canine abilities formed the ‘agential conditions’ within which police dogs operated. As Bob Carter and Nickie Charles argue, the ‘possibilities for action are conditioned by incorporation into human social relations. Agency is thus always Agency in relation to other Agents and to what those other Agents want to do.’ Within this relational model of agency, police dogs are ‘agents in relation to human dominated structures.’[[26]](#footnote-26) The police dogs’ abilities were both enabled and constrained by the prevailing attitudes towards dogs and the training techniques of the time. The case of Parisian police dogs shows that even when humans want to enhance the abilities of animals (as opposed to seeking actively to subdue them) it is not always possible, not because of animal “resistance” or lack of skill but because of deficiencies in the ways in which humans have tried to mobilize and harness them.[[27]](#footnote-27) In their desire to de-centre humans as the driving force of history by highlighting animals’ roles and “resistance,” studies of nonhuman agency have arguably downplayed the conditions that structure the possibilities for animals to act: this article attempts to redress the balance. Having cleared some of the theoretical ground, I turn now to the promotion of Parisian police dogs before analysing training techniques and the reception of police dogs on the streets of Paris.

**The emergence of Parisian police dogs**

By the end of the nineteenth century many Parisians had become obsessed by crime. Fuelled by lurid stories in newspapers, magazines and novels, and following decades of urbanization, worries of crime stalked the capital. Writers, psychologists, self-defence experts and others portrayed the city as a dangerous place in which murders, robberies and assaults could happen almost anywhere.[[28]](#footnote-28) Press reports depicted criminals as mobile, anonymous, and violent, with Apache gangs amongst the most dangerous and anxiety-provoking. These gangs were first named as Apaches in summer 1900, to underscore their supposedly savagery, threat to civilization, and refusal to conform to civilized norms. Reflecting French fascination with the Wild West, the term Apache turned the gangs into obstacles to social progress and transformed Paris in a wild urban space of hunters (the police) and the hunted (Apaches).[[29]](#footnote-29) A 1907 article in *Le Petit Journal* fretted that the capital was ‘in the hands of vast criminal organizations’: Apache gangs ‘swarmed’ (*pullulent*) within the capital and its outskirts, outnumbering and mocking the police’s ability to uphold law and order. The Apache gang member had become ‘the king of the street’ and thrived within the Third Republic’s supposedly lax criminal justice system.[[30]](#footnote-30)

In this fearful atmosphere, how could the law-abiding citizen feel safe? Some turned to self-defence techniques based on boxing and jiu-jitsu.[[31]](#footnote-31) Others turned to dogs. Previously represented as loyal defenders of the private bourgeois home,[[32]](#footnote-32) police officials and dog aficionados now fashioned dogs into allies in the fight against the criminalization of public urban space. They portrayed police dogs as part of a broader improvement in human-canine relations, with some inserting them into the wider narrative of rational progress being forged in Republican France. Paul Cunisset-Carnot, a lawyer, politician and prolific writer on hunting matters, stated that police dogs proved that modern scientific curiosity, research and discoveries now allowed humans to exploit better canine intelligence and capabilities.[[33]](#footnote-33)

Dogs seemingly possessed the necessary physical and mental attributes to become effective police auxiliaries. They could even counter some of the nefarious effects of urban life on the human population. In line with biomedical theories that stressed that modern urban life caused individual and national degeneration, social problems, such as alcoholism, and crime, and with the Wild West seemingly in mind, René Simon claimed that 95% of modern urbanites had lost the physical strength and keen senses of the ‘ancient Indian tribes,’ ‘valiant pioneers’ or ‘hardy hunters.’ Yet the modern urban dweller was under constant threat from silent yet deadly criminals, such as Apaches, who had, Simon’s text implicitly suggested, retained the savage strength of uncivilized peoples. In some areas, ‘the bourgeoisie dared not go out at night.’ Guns and other weapons were illegal as well as ineffectual, if their owner could not detect the threat in time to use them. Simon identified dogs as the solution. They had the ‘muscular suppleness, sensory sharpness, instinctive sense of smell, [and] alert attention’ that the French no longer possessed. Simon believed that once a dog accompanied every pedestrian the ‘bandits’ exploits’ would diminish.[[34]](#footnote-34) Although some French canophiles fretted about the deterioration of French dog breeds,[[35]](#footnote-35) dogs, for Simon, seemed immune from the physical and mental degeneration afflicting French society. At a time when middle class tax-payers demanded that the police focus on securing the street from social disorder and crime whilst influential Republican thinkers, such as Alfred Fouillée, advanced the right of society to defend itself against hardened and incorrigible criminals,[[36]](#footnote-36) dogs’ sense of smell, intelligence, trainability and physical prowess offered an effective solution to urban policing. Like police uniforms, police dogs would give the policemen greater visibility on the streets and underscore the state’s commitment to fighting crime.[[37]](#footnote-37) A 1907 article in *Nos Loisirs* asserted that the dogs’ skills, speed, agility and biting jaws would strike ‘terror’ amongst ‘wrongdoers.’ It was entirely possible, the article stated, that murder rates would fall by 90%, as they had reportedly done in Belgium.[[38]](#footnote-38)

The reference to Belgium highlights how the deployment of police dogs took place within the international promotion of dogs as skilled, capable and useful police auxiliaries. Back in the 1870s, British police officer William Bolton had boasted of using dogs to hunt down ‘social vermin.’[[39]](#footnote-39) However, William G. Fitz-Gerald, writing in the American periodical *The Century*, identified ‘little Belgium’ as the main police dog innovator. He reported how E. van Wesemael, Ghent’s police commissioner, deployed Belgian sheep dogs in the 1890s to make up for a lack of manpower. Van Wesemael had harnessed the dog’s ‘sense of smell, its instinct that all was not right, and its remarkable jumping and swimming powers’ to great effect. Declining crime rates in Ghent encouraged the spread of police dogs to other cities in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and the United States, as well as in the colonies of European powers.[[40]](#footnote-40) In France and elsewhere, police dogs provided an animal dimension to the diversification of police powers, a key element of the modern state’s expanding security apparatus at the turn of the century, as police officers and dog trainers exchanged knowledge about police dog training across national borders, as well as actual dogs.[[41]](#footnote-41)

 Unlike the use of dogs to track down black fugitives in the South African countryside,[[42]](#footnote-42) police dogs in Europe were overwhelmingly deployed in urban areas. The first police dog arrived in France in 1905 when the police commissioner of Pont-à-Mousson (Meurthe-et-Moselle), inspired by accounts of Belgian and German police dogs and encouraged by the Eastern Canine Society (Société canine de l’est), deployed two dogs to control the town’s numerous ‘brigands.’[[43]](#footnote-43) The following year the Society organized a police dog show in Nancy at which Belgian and German police dogs, along with the two police dogs from Pont-à-Mousson, were judged on their ability to find a hidden man, defend their master from an assailant armed with a stick, and jump over obstacles (amongst other tasks). The display impressed Lalloué, a policeman from Epinal (Vosges), who then obtained some German Shepherds to train for police work.[[44]](#footnote-44) Meanwhile, Henri Simart, the Police Commissioner of the Parisian suburb of Neuilly, went to study police dog training in Ghent. Inspired by what he saw, and hoping to better protect his men following the murder of Brigadier Fleurant, Simart secured approval from Neuilly Municipal Council in February 1907 to use police dogs to ‘purge’ the Bois de Boulogne of ‘disreputable people.’[[45]](#footnote-45)

As the actions of Lalloué and Simart show, local municipal initiatives took precedence over centralized and national programmes during the early stages of police dog work in France, reflecting the weak centralization of French policing.[[46]](#footnote-46) However, national societies and clubs soon sprang up to encourage the use of police and guard dogs. This echoed other developments in urban security, in particular the rise of self-defence clubs. It also emerged, in part, from the creation of numerous dog breeding societies following the establishment of the French kennel club, the Central Society for the Improvement of Dog Breeds in France (Société centrale pour l’amélioration des races de chiens en France), in 1882.[[47]](#footnote-47) The Police, Game-Keeper and Customs Dog Club (Club du Chien de Police, de Garde-Chasse et de Douanier) brought together members of the Central Society and individual dog breeding societies, such as the Saint-Hubert-Club de France, as well as politicians and police officials (including Simard). Its Committee of Patrons reinforced its links with the French political and social establishment and included figures of political clout, such the ministers of the Interior, War, Finances, and Agriculture, and the Parisian Police Prefect, as well as such luminaries as Madame Heriot, Henri de Rothschild and the Duchesse d’Uzès. Founded in Paris on 1 January 1908 and based at the Paris headquarters of the Central Society, the Club established a kennel on rue Chevaleret in the thirteenth arrondissement to train dogs for police work.[[48]](#footnote-48) The kennel’s creation underscores the increasing institutionalisation of police dog work, matching developments in the promotion, training and deployment of French army dogs in the early twentieth century.[[49]](#footnote-49)

The Club’s membership made it a somewhat elitist organisation. In contrast, the Union of Guard and Police Dog Enthusiasts in France (Réunion des amateurs du chien de défense et de police en France), founded in 1910, portrayed police dog training as a useful ‘recreational sport’ suitable for all and an effective form of self-defence fit for a democratic republic. The Union organized shows in which police dog skills could be judged. Like the dog training manuals discussed below, the Union’s shows treated police dogs as sensitive and capable creatures, rather than machines. Judges gave points to dogs for their ‘general attitude’ (*allure générale*) and up to 40 points could be awarded for such qualities as ‘love of work, shrewdness, brilliance (*brio*), intelligence, instinct, atavism, will (*volonté*), [and] courage.’[[50]](#footnote-50) The shows were frequented by establishment figures, such as President Armand Fallières in 1909, and were the object of enthusiastic press reports.[[51]](#footnote-51) They became showcases for the dogs’ multiple abilities and won round at least one *Le Matin* journalist, who although already a partial believer in canine intelligence, left a police dog show convinced that dogs possessed ‘a sense of duty to the highest degree,’ as well as respect for the law, a ‘love of property and a hatred for bandits.’ The ‘future,’ therefore, ‘belonged to dogs.’[[52]](#footnote-52)

 There was a slippage between private and public institutions in the emerging police dog world. Whilst intellectuals, journalists and politicians debated the role of private security organizations in securing the public space of the city for the bourgeoisie,[[53]](#footnote-53) canophiles promoted the use of privately-owned guard dogs and publically-owned police dogs, sometimes within the same book.[[54]](#footnote-54) The public-private slippage continued once Paris’ Municipal Council agreed a budget of 8,000 francs on 30 December 1908 to create a police dog service, following a policing report by municipal councillor Emile Massard.[[55]](#footnote-55) Although the police prefecture bought seven dogs in 1908, six of its other dogs were privately owned and lodged with individual policemen, 26 were hired from the Police, Game-Keeper and Customs Dog Club from June 1909 onwards (for an annual charge of 230 francs per dog), and twelve were donated by the writer, philanthropist and entrepreneur Henri de Rothschild in October 1910.[[56]](#footnote-56) The vast majority of Parisian police dogs were privately trained and owned and, in line with the view that police dogs were most effective in helping police sparsely populated areas, they patrolled Paris’ outer arrondissements where open and abandoned land was commonplace.[[57]](#footnote-57)

 There were no firm views on what type of dog was best adapted to police work. One journalist asserted that as long as the training programme was ‘sufficiently methodical’ any dog could contribute to ‘public defence.’[[58]](#footnote-58) However, most observers and practitioners treated police dog abilities as dispersed unevenly and argued for particular dogs based on their breed or individual character, inserting them seamlessly into existing dog breeding narratives that stressed history, lineage, and hierarchy. The classification, standardization and promotion of dog breeds during the nineteenth century also gave police dog trainers and handlers a range of dog breeds to consider. Echoing the arguments put forward by noted French dog expert Paul Mégnin and France’s increasingly vocal and organised pedigree dog breeders, one observer advised police commissioners that pure breeds were superior to mongrels as training was not everything; dog pounds and refuges were not places to obtain police dogs, just as good servants could not be found in ‘vagabond asylums’ (*asiles de vagabonds*).[[59]](#footnote-59) In line with breeders’ assertions that pure breed dogs were the product of rational selection, expert knowledge, and prestigious ancestry, Robert Gersbach (a German breeder whose police dog training manual was translated into French in 1911) advocated that police forces carefully examine the potential police dog’s breed ‘history and development’ and try to locate ‘elite subjects’ of the breed. Better still, the offspring of successful police dogs should be favoured as they would have inherited the ‘moral qualities’ of their parents.[[60]](#footnote-60)

Cartesian depictions of animals-machines were largely absent from *belle époque* representations of police dogs: trainers and others overwhelmingly treated them as animals rather than technologies, even if one journalist described them as ‘weapon[s].’[[61]](#footnote-61) Whilst hardly freed from anthropomorphism, police dog trainers made serious attempts to know the dogs *as dogs* so as to better harness their abilities for police work. They carefully considered the mental, emotional and physical attributes of various breeds and, in an echo of racialized classifications of humans, they divided dogs into different categories and established a hierarchy of their intelligence, abilities and potential for police dog work.[[62]](#footnote-62) In trying to establish which dogs were best suited for police dog work they also echoed the growing, if contested, interest in measuring, assessing and ranking intelligence as pioneered in France during the early Twentieth Century by Alfred Binet.[[63]](#footnote-63) As with debates over human intelligence, the police tried to assess canine intelligence on a group and individual level. Some stressed particular breeds. Lalloué identified five main suitable breeds: Alsatians, Airedales, Dobermans, and Belgium and French sheep dogs. Each of these dogs had their advantages and disadvantages. Dobermans, for instance, were easy to train but could be hostile to other dogs, whilst Airedales offered policemen a heightened sense of security but were poor at jumping and running long distances. But of all the dogs, the Alsatian was the ‘ideal’ police dog due to its excellent sense of smell, trainability, loyalty and ‘very developed intelligence.’[[64]](#footnote-64) Villers also identified the Alsatian, or German shepherd, as the best dog for police work due to its ‘intelligence,’ ‘strength,’ ‘agility,’ and sense of smell.[[65]](#footnote-65) Joseph Couplet similarly claimed that shepherd dogs were best due to their history of protecting sheep from wolves.[[66]](#footnote-66) The shepherd dog embodied the perfect combination of canine emotional, physical and cognitive abilities, as well as having long protected settled and productive human communities from dangerous outsiders.

 Other police dog experts were less concerned about breeds, placing greater stress on individual personality. Saint Laurent agreed with the suitability of German shepherds for police work. But he emphasised that the individual dog’s ‘personal qualities’ were more important than its breed, especially as dogs of the same breed differed substantially. Rather than belonging to a particular breed, a police dog needed to be ‘agile’ and of an ‘imposing physique,’ as well as being ‘brave,’ ‘wary of strangers,’ ‘attentive,’ and having an ‘excessive sense of loyalty towards its master.’[[67]](#footnote-67) Breed was not a reliable identifier of a dog’s aptitude for police work and police dog handlers therefore needed to pay close attention to individual dogs. In contrast to the quantifying aspirations of the Binet-Simon human intelligence test, there was room for subjective assessments of individual dogs within the police dog world.

 The lack of expert consensus on what type of dog was best suited to police work partly explains why French police forces used a variety of dogs. Chance and cost also played a role. The first police dogs in France – Achate (a bitch) and Argus (a dog) – were two mongrels trained in Pont-à-Mousson in 1905. Although the Eastern Canine Society had recommended pure breeds to the town’s police commissioner, the latter had accepted a spontaneous offer of two free mongrels rather than find the funds to buy expensive pedigree dogs.[[68]](#footnote-68) In contrast, Simart used Belgian shepherd dogs in Neuilly and when the Paris police force obtained 10 police dogs in 1909, 9 of them were German shepherds (the odd one out was a French shepherd dog). These choices were subject to close scrutiny. According to one report, the police force had chosen German shepherds because they were more aggressive than French dogs and therefore easier to train to attack people. *L’Eleveur belge* believed this to be a mistake. French shepherd dogs were ‘rustic’ and ‘unpolished’ but some, such as Briards, were spirited attackers if the occasion arose. German shepherds, on the other hand, had an excellent sense of smell but were hesitant to bite. As the French police wanted the dogs for protection, they were hardly an ‘ideal’ choice.[[69]](#footnote-69) The divergent views on these dogs’ abilities highlight how police dog experts treated canine qualities as diverse, as well as dependent on breed and individual histories.

 As with breeds, there was no consensus on the desired sex of police dogs. For instance, although male dogs took the top three places at a police dog competition in August 1908, two bitches, Foullette and Mordienne, came fourth and fifth.[[70]](#footnote-70) And even though the names of certain police dogs – ‘Garcon’ and ‘Moustache’ – contributed to the police force’s culture of masculinity, police units deployed bitches.[[71]](#footnote-71) Furthermore, female police dogs proved themselves effective agents in the field. They included Lucie, a German shepherd, who reportedly used her intelligence and sense of smell to pick out two fugitives in crowded bar.[[72]](#footnote-72) Moreover, Lalloué’s celebrated police dog Léni was a bitch. Rather than sex or breed, it was a dog’s individual capabilities, not least its intelligence, and its response to training that were paramount.

**Training Police Dogs**

Training police dogs differed from training army and customs dogs: the former would operate in densely populated urban spaces where innocent citizens could be hurt by their bites, unlike the battlefield or remote rural borderlands where army and customs dogs operated. Police dog trainers therefore emphasised the importance of adapting dogs to the urban environment, which they depicted as perilous, noisy, and teeming with dangerous criminals. For although dogs from rural breeds already lived in Paris as pets and helped bring livestock to the capital’s markets, police dog experts fretted about how well shepherd dogs used to the calm of the countryside would adapt to the bustle of the city. They therefore advised trainers to introduce their dogs to the hubbub of urban life (including cabarets, pedestrians and vehicles) from the age of eight months and expose them to gunshots: Saint Laurent even suggested using a revolver to announce mealtimes.[[73]](#footnote-73)

Training dogs for a crime-fighting role also necessitated engaging with canine intelligence. Bitter experience had taught the Parisian police to take canine psychology seriously. From 1900 it had deployed Newfoundland dogs to rescue people from the river Seine, after the drowning of one of its employees. The rescue dogs, however, were not a success and become the subject of numerous critical press reports. In response, the police force asked Pierre Hachet-Souplet, Director of the Institute of Zoological Psychology and author of numerous books on animal intelligence and training, to write a report on training river rescue dogs. Like certain other proponents of the emerging field of animal psychology, Hachet-Souplet viewed dogs and other animals, such as parrots,[[74]](#footnote-74) as intelligent creatures whose psychology could be better understood through empirical observation. More sophisticated understandings of animal psychology would, Hachet-Souplet believed, allow humans to train dogs more effectively and so better secure their obedience. By the time Hachet-Souplet’s report came out in 1907, the Parisian police had already abandoned the use of rescue dogs.[[75]](#footnote-75) Nonetheless, his report highlights how considerations of canine psychology informed the police force’s mobilization of dogs.

Now largely identified with experiments on laboratory animals, especially rats, comparative psychology was a heterogeneous discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first French chair in experimental and comparative psychology was established at the Collège de France in 1888 and the Institut Général Psychologique created a group devoted to animal psychology.[[76]](#footnote-76) At stake was the question of whether or not continuities existed between human and animal minds and whether or not animals possessed language and intelligence. Whilst some psychologists argued that animals were intelligent creatures, others, such as Henri Piéron and Edward Lee Thorndike, dismissed their claims as anthropomorphic and subjective.[[77]](#footnote-77) Police dog trainers were not trained psychologists and they did not explicitly engage with the theories of Piéron, Thorndike and others. Yet the question of animal intelligence, which had entered popular culture through stories of pets endowed with incredible abilities, such as telepathy, framed their attitudes towards training.[[78]](#footnote-78) In contrast to comparative psychologists, trainers sought to understand better animal minds not to prove or disprove arguments over the relationship between humans and other animals in the post-Darwinian world but to mobilize better animals so as to fight crime more effectively. This was practical animal psychology tested on the fraught Parisian streets.

To hone their abilities, police dogs were expected to undergo a rigorous training regime, echoing the longer and more in-depth training that human policemen received: the police force had opened a training school in 1883, developed new crime detection techniques based on finger-printing, centralized record-keeping and photography, and introduced new specialist units, such as a river brigade service in 1900.[[79]](#footnote-79) A host of training manuals laid out programmes for police dog training, which their authors claimed would lead to the formation of effective and able police dogs. Like army dog training manuals, police ones asserted that trainers needed to work with canine characteristics in a thorough and logical way.[[80]](#footnote-80) And as with the human educational system in the Third Republic, which, alongside providing a universal education, offered ‘advanced training’ for future cadres in the *grandes écoles* and other elite institutions, dogs chosen for police dog work would, in theory, receive a level of training that far surpassed those of other working dogs.[[81]](#footnote-81)

The authors of police dog training manuals treated dogs as intelligent creatures who required a methodical, sensitive and patient trainer to bring out their best. These were not Cartesian animal-machines but adaptable and responsive animals who could be trained to perform a range of complex tasks. The Belgian influence was once again apparent with the publication of Joseph Couplet’s *Le chien de garde de défense et de police* (1909) and Gaston de Wael’s *Le Chien auxiliaire de la Police* (1907). De Wael placed much emphasis on canine intelligence. In his book’s preface, veterinary professor Hebrant asserted that dogs are ‘one of the most intelligent animals’ whose ‘advanced functional development’ placed them ‘at the top of the zoological scale.’[[82]](#footnote-82) De Wael similarly noted that the ‘marvels’ of their intelligence were becoming more and more apparent. Drawing on the anti-Cartesian strands contained within the writings of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), and perhaps unconsciously echoing wider debates about the relationship between instinct and intelligence in nonhuman animals,[[83]](#footnote-83) de Wael argued that although dogs were often governed spontaneously by instinct they could be trained to act intelligently. Instinct was a property that belonged to a species and could not be developed, only suppressed. Intelligence, on the other hand, was a ‘faculty’ that could be developed in the individual animal through training and experience. A dog that was constantly chained up, ‘whatever its race,’ would ‘always remain in a state of stupidity.’ Once a dog’s intelligence had been developed it would be able to repress those of its instincts that inhibited police work, such as chasing cats and fighting other dogs. Canine intelligence was sharpened through training, for although dogs ‘cannot reason’ their capacity to remember events and experiences meant that they could associate ‘ideas in an empirical way.’ If a dog re-experienced something, it would expect subsequent events to reoccur. Training should therefore develop the dog’s ability to ‘think, which is to say to know, understand and remember’ to allow it to ‘reflect’ upon what to do in certain situations. The dog would therefore learn to associate finding a ‘wrongdoer or poacher’ with receiving a treat from its owner. It could also develop the ability to calculate and assess danger in particular situations and decide whether or not to attack. De Wael’s recognition of canine intelligence placed him in opposition to Descartes. But neither, he pointed out, was he a follower of Montaigne who ‘lauds animals to bring down humans.’ It was, after all, ‘human intelligence’ that enabled ‘progress’ in animals.[[84]](#footnote-84)

As human intelligence outstripped canine, dogs needed accomplished trainers for them to become effective police dog, just as Rousseau-inspired educators argued that children needed committed and skilled teachers to realise their full potential.[[85]](#footnote-85) Police dog training manuals positioned the individual human-dog relationship as the crucial foundation of any successful training regime. For de Wael each police dog should have its own master.[[86]](#footnote-86) Simon agreed that trainers should only work with one dog so that there is the ‘most perfect’ understanding of each partner’s ‘will.’ In such a way, training would take into account the ‘psychology of each animal’ as every dog had a ‘particular soul,’ by which he meant a ‘character, a collection of qualities and flaws which are unique [to the individual dog] and distinguishes him from his peers.’[[87]](#footnote-87) Such conceptualizations of animal psychology and subjectivity were rooted in the trainers’ *personal* experience and observation of dogs. In the debates on animal intelligence, police dog trainers were amongst those who believed that better knowledge of animal capabilities would spring from personal encounters and observations.[[88]](#footnote-88) Their stance stood in opposition to later experimental psychology approaches that sought to remove the intersubjective aspect of human-animal relationships to isolate animal capabilities within the experimental environment.[[89]](#footnote-89)

The training manuals all emphasised that trainers needed patience and ‘kindness.’[[90]](#footnote-90) Lalloué preferred ‘caresses’ to ‘the whip and violence’ as training was an emotional and reciprocal process in which dog and trainer became attuned to each other. A well trained dog would feel ‘happy’ when it successfully completed a task as it could sense its satisfaction. Furthermore, the trainer had to ‘love’ his dog. Even if the dog failed to achieve the task set task, the trainer should only consider punishment if the dog was disobedient or acted from ‘bad will’ (*mauvaise volonté*).[[91]](#footnote-91) Punishment needed to be used sparingly as it could physically harm the dog and damage its character, thereby undermining its suitability for police work. Gersbach warned that violence would create a ‘slave that seemed obedient’ but who would never become a ‘loyal companion’ ready to ‘share danger and sacrifice themselves.’[[92]](#footnote-92) The notion that a police dog’s obedience to its master needed to come from emotional connection and loyalty, rather than fear, echoed the bourgeois celebration of the loyal family dog willing to defend the inhabitants of its home. Lalloué and others’ stress on patience and encouragement also resonated with educators who condemned the corporal punishment of children in late-nineteenth century France, instead insisting that rewards and punishments should be rational, measured and appropriate. Dog trainers, however, may have ignored the advice issued by Lalloué *et al*. and resorted to violence, just as some parents did to their children.[[93]](#footnote-93)

Having set out a framework for a productive training relationship, the training manuals laid out a series of tasks that the well-trained police dog should be able to achieve.[[94]](#footnote-94) The police dog training curriculum started with simple activities, such as recall and lying down, sitting, and standing on command, before leading to more complex ones, such as refusing to take potentially poisoned food from a stranger, barking when hearing a noise, and finding a lost object.[[95]](#footnote-95) The tasks up until this point were not only pertinent to police dog work: hunters required their dogs to find and carry objects, such as dead game. But henceforth the tasks became more specific. Unlike bloodhounds trained for a particular aspect of police work – detecting criminals through their scent – in nineteenth century Britain and the United States,[[96]](#footnote-96) the police dogs depicted in Francophone training manuals were expected to be all-rounders. The skills required of them were jumping over walls, hedges and ditches and defending their master. In addition, they needed to be able to pick out an individual from a crowd and disable a fugitive and guard them until their master arrives.[[97]](#footnote-97) According to de Wael, individual differences between dogs would influence how well a certain dog would adapt to particular exercises. ‘Energetic and courageous’ dogs would take better to defending their master than ‘fearful’ dogs.[[98]](#footnote-98) A dog’s emotional state, as well as its physical and mental attributes, was therefore taken into account when assessing its ability.

 A tension between initiative and obedience sits at the heart of the training manuals. For although trainers stressed the need for patience and kindness, power relations between the dog and handler were hierarchical. According to the Pont-à-Mousson police commissioner, training should produce a dog that possessed an ‘absolute [and] passive obedience’ that was instantaneous and prevented the police dog from making unprovoked attacks.[[99]](#footnote-99) As such, police dog training manuals blended Rousseauian educational methods (kindness, patience and intelligence) with the aims of more disciplinarian educational theorists and animal psychologists, such as Hachet-Souplet, who argued that obedience and automatic responses should characterise trained animals, just as they should soldiers and children.[[100]](#footnote-100)

Crucially, however, the training manuals allowed some space for canine initiative and individuality. They emphasised the importance of maintaining the dogs’ fine-tuned sensitivity to their environment. To be an effective police auxiliary the police dog needed above all to be a ‘scout’ (*éclaireur*) sensing danger through, in particular, its nose and ears and alerting its master immediately to any threat.[[101]](#footnote-101) Police dogs were expected to adopt an alert and responsive way of being in the world, assess risks and communicate them to their handler: hardly the actions of automata. Moreover, trainers always represented the dogs as intelligent and emotional animals and did not seek to eradicate these qualities, treating them instead as the foundation of successful police dog work. A Foucauldian reading of police dog training as a disciplinary process designed to create ‘docile’ dogs as obedient cogs in the state’s crime and punishment system would therefore only very partially capture the situation.[[102]](#footnote-102)

A further tension, between nonviolent means and violent ends, marked police dog training. On the one hand, there was a discourse of sensitive and emotional connection between trainer and dog in which punishment was used sparingly, if at all. On the other hand, French police dogs were expected to be ready to defend their master and attack assailants on command. In his survey of European police dogs, British dog breeder and police and army dog trainer Edwin H. Richardson identified French ones as the most violent, which he explained by the ferocity of their criminal opponents: ‘the low, skulking, murderous, Parisian Apache.’[[103]](#footnote-103) There are indeed glimpses of these violent ends within the training manuals. According to Lalloué, the police dog needed to bite immediately anyone that its master commanded it to, even if the dog knew that person well and had previously enjoyed their company.[[104]](#footnote-104) Moreover, the emotional connection between dog and human was portrayed as the foundation of canine ferocity. The Pont-à-Mousson police commissioner argued that the dog’s natural affection for its master was the basis of its willingness to spring to their defence.[[105]](#footnote-105) Police dog training thereby drew on the nineteenth century celebration of canine loyalty, love and obedience and harnessed it to protect policemen through violence.

The manuals’ dehumanization of criminals served to justify these violent ends. They made it clear that training exercises should enable police dogs to identify criminal types: humans playing the part of assailants or fugitives in training exercises were encouraged to act and dress like apaches or other criminals. Cesare Lombroso’s and other criminologists’ identification of “born criminals,” individuals whose psychology and physiology allegedly separated them from law-abiding citizens and the wider cultural association of Apaches with savagery, provided the context in which police dog training manuals could legitimate the state-condoned violence embodied in the police dog. Police dogs’ capacity for violence was treated as a social defence against supposedly pathological and incorrigible criminals who some French criminologists compared to rabid dogs and other hazardous creatures worthy only of eradication.[[106]](#footnote-106) Training enabled police dogs to become socially useful animals at a time when criminologists turned criminals into dangerous beasts: the violent yet domesticated police dog stood in opposition to the animalized and vicious criminal.

The dehumanization of criminals and the tension between nonviolent means and violent ends within police dog training manuals echoed wider contradictions within the Third Republic’s criminal justice system. Despite being the first long-term democratic regime in French history, Republican tolerance towards criminality and deviance was limited. Although the Republicans liberalised the press and protected the right to free speech in public places, they campaigned against what they saw as public indecency, immoral behaviour and suspect political opinions. In supposedly delinquent areas, such as Montmartre, Republicans banned saucy cabaret posters, censored controversial press reports, and called for the police to monitor behaviour in cafes and music halls. Alongside seeking to impose civic and moral standards, Republican politicians introduced draconian punishments for crimes, in collaboration with French criminologists. Driven too by post-Commune fears of social unrest and the seeming emergence of a strand of habitual criminals resistant to reform, they promoted solitary confinement in prisons, passed a law in 1885 to transport recidivists to the colonies, increased police surveillance of released prisoners, and retained the death sentence.[[107]](#footnote-107) Police dogs became unwitting enforcers of the Third Republic’s often repressive and intolerant criminal justice system.[[108]](#footnote-108)

But we should not assume that dog handlers followed the manuals’ prescribed course of action. Dannhoffer, the policeman who trained France’s first police dogs in Pont-à-Mousson, did not follow a training manual but claimed to have relied on his love of dogs and advice from dog breeders.[[109]](#footnote-109) Furthermore, trained dogs did not always behave in the ways expected of them. De Wael reported how one police dog he knew of would chase cats during night patrols, catching 106 cats in 1906 alone. It was ‘useless’ to expect too much of this dog. Trained police dogs could also be drawn into fights and the handler needed to make sure that the dog’s ‘instinct’ did not override its training. If a dog did get into a ‘brawl,’ its handler needed to check that this did not result in the dog losing ‘any of its qualities.’[[110]](#footnote-110) As training was a process that could be reversed, the handler had to be vigilant to ensure his dog remained suitable for police work.

Dogs had attributes, such as intelligence, that could be drawn out and developed through training, transforming them into police dogs with increased abilities. But these were seen as contingent qualities, echoing the wider belief that without enlightened human control and companionship, dogs would degenerate, as shown by the behaviour of strays. As Baron A.-C.-E. Bellier de Villiers argued, ‘the intelligence and the organism of the dog reflects, to the highest possible degree, the moral and physical conditions of man [sic].’[[111]](#footnote-111) Concerns that canine instinct would override intelligence, even under the guidance of skilled human handlers, became even more apparent once police dogs began to patrol Parisian streets.

**Police Dogs in Action**

Policemen and sympathetic observers claimed that well-trained police dogs would act as inexpensive and effective means of combating urban crime. But the Parisian press did not take such claims at face value. Newspaper reports drew police dogs and their abilities into Paris’s culture of spectacle, in which the journalists scrutinized and critiqued urban life.[[112]](#footnote-112) Although the press’s sensationalized attention mostly centred on human individuals and institutions, it was directed, in this instance, towards human-nonhuman police dog partnerships.

Many articles reported how dogs aided the police to secure the city. At times it was the dogs’ physical strength that made the difference. Whether fighting off attacks on the Paris-Brest postal service, defending Parisians and police officers from Apache attacks, or uncovering couples indulging in acts of public indecency, the press praised the dogs’ physical prowess.[[113]](#footnote-113) An article in *Le Matin* singled out Stop, a dog belonging to Brigadier Mitry in Saint-Mandé, an eastern suburb of Paris. Stop’s speed, strength and ‘fearsome jaws’ enabled Mitry to become the ‘terror of the “terrors.”’[[114]](#footnote-114) Elsewhere in France, the police dogs’ abilities had reportedly helped reduce crime. In Pont-à-Mousson police dogs now deterred criminals from attacking police officers at night, helping to secure ‘public tranquillity,’ according to the town’s police commissioner.[[115]](#footnote-115) Police dogs and their emboldened masters now seemed more than a match for France’s hardened criminals.

Journalists reported that police dogs’ threat to Paris’s criminals was such that they began to mobilize their own dogs against police ones, as depicted in gory detail on a November 1907 front cover of *Les Faits-divers illustrés*.[[116]](#footnote-116) Criminal gangs also allegedly trained their ‘apache-dogs’ (*chiens-apaches*) to bring down solitary walkers in Paris’s suburbs and disable them until gang members arrived to relieve them of their possessions. In an echo of French customs officials’ tussles with smugglers’ dogs, police authorities ordered their men to kill *chiens-apaches*.[[117]](#footnote-117)

Like the training manuals, the press portrayed police dog abilities as multifaceted: they possessed ‘remarkable intelligence’ as well as physical strength.[[118]](#footnote-118) This was the case with Marcel, a police dog who spotted trouble brewing during a confrontation between a group of young men and two apaches at Lilas, and managed to disable the gang members until a policeman arrived.[[119]](#footnote-119) At times, the canine sense of smell made the difference. During a police raid on a bar near Les Halles, two police dogs used their ‘disconcerting’ sense of smell to uncover hidden guns, daggers, rubber coshes, and razors. Along with other new police techniques – two members of Bertillon’s anthropometric team were also in attendance – the use of police dogs helped capture 61 ‘suspect individuals,’ including renowned Apache chief Le Chopier.[[120]](#footnote-120) Villiers similarly highlighted the extraordinary ability of dogs to detect criminals. One German sheep dog reportedly tracked down a murderer over ‘*fifty two kilometres*’ after sniffing his cap. Another dog had identified a murderer out of 800 factory workers after sniffing the body of a murdered child.[[121]](#footnote-121) Such reports reinforced the narrative that police dogs’ multiple abilities provided evidence of animal intelligence which human ingenuity and *savoir-faire* now successfully mobilized.

 At times, however, journalists were more critical of the dogs’ abilities and called on the police to explain and justify their use. In March 1907 one of *Le Matin’s* reporters paid a visit to Max, a police dog living with Madame Thirouin on rue Nationale. Despite Thirouin’s assertion that Max was an ‘intelligent animal,’ the reporter concluded that Max was ‘no psychologist’ as he mistook him for an ‘Apache’ and began barking and straining on his lead.[[122]](#footnote-122) Despite being trained by one of the foremost police dog trainers in France, Max was unable, at least in this instance, to distinguish between an Apache and a law-abiding citizen, much to *Le Matin’s* dismay.

Such concerns about police dogs’ competence meant that muzzles supplemented training. Although animal protectionists had long-debated the ethics of the muzzle, the muzzling of police dogs was treated as a necessary precaution to allay public concerns about them biting innocent Parisians. A police dog bite would only be tolerated if permitted by the handler, who had the job of releasing the muzzle, and if directed towards a presumed criminal.[[123]](#footnote-123) The recourse to muzzling reflected doubts about the efficacy of police dog training and the dogs’ trustworthiness and intelligence. Despite recognizing that dogs possessed intelligence, many observers feared that they could not be relied upon to *always* know the difference between a criminal and innocent person and that the dogs’ instincts would override their intelligence.

Even with the use of muzzles, the risk of police dog bites could not be eradicated entirely. Police officials therefore tried to argue that the benefits of police dogs outweighed the risk of them biting law-abiding citizens.[[124]](#footnote-124) Press reports that stressed the police dogs’ obedience and the thoroughness of their training may have been partly intended to help alleviate fears that police dogs threatened public security. Having witnessed police dogs in training at Neuilly, one journalist reassured readers of *L’Eclair* that training ‘overcame’ the ‘instinctive brutality of the dog.’ Moreover, trainers only removed the dogs’ muzzles when they were in pursuit of a known criminal. The law abiding citizen therefore had nothing to fear from the police’s well trained canine ‘weapon.’[[125]](#footnote-125) However, fears persisted that training had not completely overcome the dogs’ atavistic instinct to bite, stoked by apprehensions that dog bites could lead to rabies. In 1909 a municipal councillor wrote to Lépine to protest the alleged use of police dogs against political demonstrators. Similarly, the lawyer of a protester arrested at a 1909 demonstration held in honour of Spanish anarchist Francisco Ferrer at Issy-les-Moulineaux complained about the ‘savage violence’ of the police dogs deployed against demonstrators.[[126]](#footnote-126) The violent potential of police dogs highlights how nineteenth century public concerns about police violence lingered into the twentieth century and were extended to dogs.[[127]](#footnote-127) Police dogs, it seemed clear to some, were more likely to undermine public security than protect it.

The concerns that police dogs’ abilities and intelligence were contingent and potentially reversible qualities echoed biomedical fears that base instincts, desires and impulses could overwhelm human intelligence and morality and lead to individual and collective degeneration. For psychologists such as Ribot, ‘the nervous system was liable to cumulative functional disequilibrium due to the tendency of the more fixed and stable lower levels to overrun the higher, but more fragile and recently acquired, intellectual and moral capacities.’[[128]](#footnote-128) Le Bon famously applied such ideas to the crowd in which the previously rational man became a slave to his ‘unconscious personality’: ‘he is no longer himself, but has become an automaton who has ceased to be guided by their will.’ Moreover, Le Bon continued, ‘by the mere fact that he forms part of an organized crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian – that is, a creature acting by instinct.’[[129]](#footnote-129) According to these pessimistic viewpoints, frightening forces threatened to devour the fragile edifice of civilization that held back the harmful energies unleashed by mass culture and urbanization: even the highly-developed rationality and finely-tuned restraint of bourgeois males – the supposedly most developed and educated members of society – could be overcome by violence and deviant sexual urges. Likewise, violent impulses could overrun the highly trained and controlled police dog, perhaps the epitome of the domesticated, skilful and useful animal. The “beast within” had not been tamed.[[130]](#footnote-130)

**Conclusion**

Parisian police dogs emerged within a particular set of conditions formed by widespread fears of urban crime and insecurity, influential biomedical theories and new understandings of animal intelligence. During this period of shifting human-animal relations, trainers, handlers, and sympathetic commentators all portrayed police dogs as intelligent, sensitive, loyal, skilled, and physically-imposing creatures that could make a difference to urban security. A series of tensions informed the deployment of Parisian police dogs, including those between transnational exchanges and the specificity of Parisian urban history; between police dogs as canine manifestations of the modern security state and the portrayal of them as emotionally sensitive individual creatures; and between instinct and intelligence in humans and animals.

In early twentieth century France, dogs appeared as more intelligent creatures than had been previously thought and humans less so. But intelligence in both canines and humans was a quality that could be lost through the re-emergence of primitive instincts and desires. Although intelligent and useful behaviour in animals, and humans, could be cultivated, they needed careful and constant surveillance by *soi-disant* experts, such as psychiatrists or dog-handlers. Even then, however, public security could not be guaranteed. [[131]](#footnote-131) This sense of canine intelligence’s fragility was profoundly influenced by prevailing biomedical ideas about evolution and degeneration and undermined the claims that police dogs could make cities safer. For the police dog’s ability to act effectively against crime rested on its responsiveness to training and its capacity to control and channel its aggressive instinct, all of which relied on the cultivation of its intelligence.

Police dogs’ abilities and capacity to act were viewed as provisional and brittle. This uncertainty helps explains muzzling and eventual demise of Parisian police dogs. By 1911, 145 police dogs helped police Paris and the Seine *département*.[[132]](#footnote-132) But their number had dropped to 40 in 1916 and the Paris police discounted their use after the First World War. It only reconstituted a limited police dog service in 1950 and it was not until 1965 and the creation of a national training centre that police dogs became well established in France.[[133]](#footnote-133) So whilst police dogs are now a commonplace presence in many cities around the world, the problematic case of Parisian police dogs shows how the history of this canine arm of modern state power was marked by experimentation and setbacks.

The history of Parisian police dogs also underscores the importance of human ideas and institutions in framing the ‘agential conditions’ of animals that enable and constrain their abilities. It demonstrates that assertions of animal abilities are rarely neutral or transcendent, helping us to reflect on the political and intellectual backdrop of present day articulations of nonhuman agency, such as developments in animal cognition research, the rise of animal rights movements, a desire to democratize history through the inclusion of a wider range of actors, and a problematization of the “human subject.”[[134]](#footnote-134) Although the greater recognition of nonhuman agency is a significant and welcome development to capture better the hybrid qualities of history, there is a danger that it will crystalize as an undifferentiated and universal concept that glosses over the historically varied ways in which humans have engaged with skilful and socially-meaningful animals. In light of such concerns, the charged history of Parisian police dogs serves as a reminder of the historical specificity of animal abilities and their mobilization.

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18. ‘Les chiens, agents de police,’ *Mon Dimanche*, 18 March 1904. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. F. Azouvi, *Descartes et la France: histoire d’une passion nationale* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 252-92. On the varied reception of Cartesian views on animals within French history, see George Boas, *The Happy Beast in French Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966 [1933]); L. Cohen Rosenfield, *From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine: Animal Soul in French Letters from Descartes to La Mettrie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 205; Elisabeth Wallmann, ‘On Poets and Insects: Figures of the Human and Figures of the Insect in Pierre Perrin’s *Divers insects* (1645),’ *French History* 28:2 (2014), 172-87; Peter Sahlins, ‘The Beast Within: Animals in the First Xenotransfusion Experiments in France, ca. 1667-68,’ *Representations* 129 (Winter 2015), 25-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Donald A. Dewsbury, ‘Issues in Comparative Psychology at the Dawn of the 20th Century,’ *American Psychologist* 55:7 (2000), 750-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. In this vein, Edmund Ramsden and Duncan Wilson have convincing shown that changing notions of animals and suicide echoed and informed psychological understandings of suicide in humans. ‘The Suicidal Animal: Science and the Nature of Self-Destruction,’ *Past and Present* 224 (2014), 205-17; [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*; Christophe Traïni, *La cause animale 1820-1980: essai de sociologie historique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011); Catherine Rémy, ‘Men Seeking Monkey-Glands’: The Controversial Xenotransplantations of Doctor Voronoff (1910-1930),’ *French History* 28:2 (2014), 226-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Ruth Harris, *Murders and Madness: Medicine, Law and Society in the Fin-de-Siècle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1997 [1895]), 137-8. On the reception of Le Bon, see Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (London: Sage, 1975), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Harris, *Murders and Madness*, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Bob Carter and Nickie Charles, ‘Animals, Agency and Resistance,*’ Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 43 (2013), 330-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. For a critique of animal agency as resistance, see Chris Pearson, ‘Beyond Resistance: Nonhuman Agency for a “More-Than-Human” World,’ *European Review of History* (forthcoming)*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Jean-Marc Berlière, *Le monde des polices en France* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1996), 53-9; Aaron Freundschuh, ‘“New Sport” in the Street: Self-Defence, Security and Space in belle époque Paris,’ *French History* 20:4 (2006), 425; Dominique Kalifa, ‘Crime Scenes: Criminal Topography and Social Imaginary in Nineteenth-Century Paris,’ *French Historical Studies* 27 (2004), 176; William B. Cohen, *Urban Government and the Rise of the French City: Five Municipalities in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998), 82-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Kalifa, *Crime et culture*, 47, 59, 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Ernest Laut, ‘Le pays des apaches,’ *Le Petit Journal illustré*, 22 September 1907; Ernest Laut, ‘Police et criminalité,’ *Le Petit Journal illustré*, 20 October 1907; Kalifa, *Crime et culture*, 258; Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics*, 199-200. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Freundschuh, ‘“New Sport”’; Louis Singer, *Défendez-vous!: le “Self-Defence”* (Dijon: J. Delorme, [n.d.]). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Jean Robert (Silvio), *Le chien d’appartement et d’utilité* (Paris: Librairie Pairault, 1888), 49; Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*, 47-8; Baldin, *Histoire des animaux domestiques,* 64-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Paul Cunisset-Carnot, ‘Préface,’ in Pierre Saint-Laurent, *Chiens de défense et chiens de garde: races, éducation, dressage* (Bordeaux and Paris: Féret Fils/L. Mulo, 1907), x-xii. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Simon, *Chien de police,* 3-11. On degeneration, see Harris, *Murders and Madness*; Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics*. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Bellier de Villiers, *Chien au chenil*, 117-18, 242. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Jennifer Davis, ‘Urban Policing and its Objects: Comparative Themes in England and France in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,’ in Clive Emsley and Barbara Weinberger (eds), *Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism and Public Order, 1850-1940* (Westpoint, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 7-8; Nye, *Crime, Madness, and Politics*, 69-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Quentin Deluermoz, ‘Circulations et élaborations d’un mode d’action policier: la police en tenue à Paris, d’une police “londonienne” au “modèle parisien” (1850-1914),’ *Revue d’Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 19 (2008), 75-90. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. ‘Les chiens policiers,’ *Nos Loisirs*, June 1907, 683-4. See also ‘Chien de police,’ *Le Matin*, 4 December 1908. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. William Bolton, *Recollections of a Police Officer Relating to Dogs with Useful Hints as to their Treatment in Health and Disease: How to Break your own Retriever &c., &c.* (Southport: Robert Johnson, 1878), 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. William G. Fitz-Gerald, ‘The Dog Police of European Cities,’ *The Century*, October 1906, 823-31; Samuel G. Chapman, *Police Dogs in America* (Norman: Bureau of Government Research/University of Oklahoma, 1979), 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. For instance, British dog breeder and trainer Edwin Richardson sent police dogs to India.Edwin H. Richardson, *British War Dogs: Their Training and Psychology* (London: Skeffington & Son, 1920), 38, 229. On policing and the growth of the modern state, see Howard G. Brown, ‘From Organic Society to Security State: The War on Brigandage in France, 1797-1802,’ The *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997), 661-95; Gary Kinsman, Dieter K. Buse, Mercedes Steedman (eds), *Whose National Security?: Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000); Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America’s Empire: The United States, the Philippines and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); John Merriman, *Police Stories: Building the French State, 1815-1851* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Shear, ‘Police Dogs.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson: rapport du commissaire de police,’ *Journal des commissaires de police*, April 1907, 116. The recourse to Belgium and Germany, rather than Paris, highlights how French provincial authorities were ‘curious about urban experiences abroad.’ Cohen, *Urban Government*, 257. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Saint-Laurent, *Chiens de défense* 9, 53-4; Paul Villers, ‘Le chien, gardien de la société,’ *Je sais tout: encyclopédie mondiale illustrée*, vol. 2, July-December 1907, 362-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Villers, ‘Chien,’ 362-3; Archives de la Préfecture de police (hereafter APP), Paris, 138 W 1 ‘Mémoire sur la brigade canine: projet de restructuration de la compagnie cynophile (Paris, September 1994), 2. Newspaper reports portrayed the Bois de Boulogne as a poorly policed and therefore dangerous space plagued by Apaches. ‘A l’hôtel de ville,’ *Le Matin*, 16 December 1908. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Berlière, *Monde des polices*, 74-87; Cohen, *Urban Government*, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Freundschuh, ‘“New Sport”’; Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*, 68-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *Status du club de chien de police, de garde-chasse et de douanier* (Sceaux: Imprimerie Charaire, 1908), 1-7; APP 138 W 1 ‘Historique du club de chien de police,’ 2. The kennel was later transferred to the eastern Parisian suburb of Charenton. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Lauth, *Etude*. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. *Carnet de juge avec nomenclature des penalisations spécifiées dans le programme des epreuves concours de dressage de chiens de défense et de police* (Paris: Imprimerie française/Maison J. Dangon, 1913), 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Réunion des amateurs du chien de défense et de police en France, *Bulletin Annuaire*, 1913-1914; Réunion des amateurs du chien de défense et de police en France, *Programme des épreuves des concours de dressage de chiens de défense et de police* (Paris: Imprimerie Française, 1913); ‘Les chiens de police luttent devant M. Fallières,’ *Le Matin*, 10 May 1909. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. ‘Chiens detectives,’ *Le Matin*, 16 April 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Freundschuh, ‘“New Sport”’, 437-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Simon, *Chien de police*. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. ‘Pour se débarrasser des apaches,’ *Echo de Paris*, 7 January 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. APP 138 W 1 ‘Organisation d’un Service de chiens de police’ 23 September 1908; APP 138 W 1 Préfecture de Police, ‘Minute: chiens de Police,’ 29 December 1910. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Berlière, *Préfet Lépine*, 14; Kalifa, ‘Crime Scenes,’ 182-84, 188-89. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. ‘Les chiens policiers,’ *Le Journal*, 30 March 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Niluar, ‘A propos de chiens de police,’ *Journal des commissaires de police*, May 1907, 144. See also Degoutte, ‘Conseils pratiques aux propriétaires & éleveurs de chiens de police et de garde,’ in Robert Gersbach, *Manuel de dressage des chiens de police*, trans. Daniel Elmer (Lyon: Fournier, 1911), 11. Mégnin’s publications helped popularize breed standards in France. *Nos chiens: races, dressage, élevage, hygiène, maladies* (Paris: J-B Baillière et Fils, 1909). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Gersbach, *Manuel de dressage*, 11, 152. On breeding, see Baldin, *Histoire des animaux domestiques*, 116-7; Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*, 66-75; Ritvo, *Animal Estate,* 82-115. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. ‘Les chiens policiers,’ *L’Eclair*, 4 March 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Baldin, *Histoire des animaux domestiques*, 115-7; Jacqueline Duvernay-Bolens, ‘L’Homme zoologique: race et racisme chez les naturalistes de la première moitié du XIXe siècle,’ *L’Homme* 35:133 (1995), 9-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. John Carson, ‘The Science of Merit and the Merit of Science: Mental Order and Social Order in Early Twentieth-Century France and America,’ in Shelia Jasanoff (ed), *States of Knowledge: The Co-Production of Science and Social Order* (London: Routledge, 2004), 185; John Carson ‘Mental Testing in the Early Twentieth Century: Internationalizing the Mental Testing Story,’ *History of Psychology* 17:3 (2014), 251. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Lalloué, *Chien de guerre*, 15-19 [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Villers, ‘Chien,’ 367. See also Niluar, ‘Chiens de police,’ 143-4; Gersbach, *Manuel de dressage*, 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Joseph Couplet, *Le chien de garde de défense et de police: manuel pratique et complet d’élevage et de dressage*, 2nd edition (Bruxelles: J. Lebègue, 1909), 44-51, 78. Gaston de Wael likewise recommended shepherd dogs whose intelligence, ‘accommodating nature,’ and ‘stamina’ meant that it was almost as if nature had ‘prepared’ them for human use. *Le chien auxiliaire de la police: manuel de dressage applicable au chien de défense du particulier et au chien du garde-chasse* (Bruxelles: Imprimerie F. Van Buggenhoudt, 1907), 25-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Saint-Laurent, *Chiens de défense*, 10, 17, 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson,’ 116-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. ‘Les chiens de police à Paris,’ *L’Eleveur belge*, no. 30, 25 July 1909, 475. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. ‘Championnat des chiens de police,’ *Le Matin*, 17 August 1908. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Chevandier, *Policiers dans la ville*, 463. The French police continue to use male and female dogs. Richard Marlet, *Profession chien policier* (Lausanne: Favre, 2011), 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. ‘Les expériences de Vittel,’ *La Presse*, 8 August 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Saint-Laurent, *Chiens de défense,* 49.See also de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*,25-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. ‘A thinking bird,’ *Star*, issue 7696, 4 May 1903, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Pierre Hachet-Souplet, *Le dressage des chiens sauveteurs* (Paris: Institut général psychologique, 1907); Baldin, *Histoire des animaux domestiques*, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Sofie Lachapelle and Jenna Healey, ‘On Hans, Zou and Others: Wonder Animals and the Question of Animal Intelligence in Early Twentieth-Century France,’ *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 41 (2010), 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Gregory Radick, *The Simian Tongue: The Long Debate about Animal Language* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 123-58. See also Robert Boakes, *From Darwinism to Behaviourism: Psychology and the Minds of Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Marion Thomas, ‘Histoire de la psychologie animale: la question de l’intelligence animale en France et aux Etats-Unis au début du XXe siècle,’ *L’homme et la société*, 167-69 (2009), 223-50; Daniel P. Todes, *Pavlov’s Physiology Factory: Experiment, Interpretation, Laboratory Enterprise* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Lachapelle and Healey, ‘Hans, Zou and Others,’ 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Jean-Marc Berlière, ‘The Professionalisation of the Police under the Third Republic in France, 1875-1914,’ in Clive Emsley and Barbara Weinberger (eds), *Policing Western Europe: Politics, Professionalism and Public Order, 1850-1940* (Westpoint, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 44-7; Benjamin F. Martin, *Crime and Criminal Justice under the Third Republic* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 80-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Vicard and Rode, *Chein estafette*, 62-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Carson, ‘Science of Merit,’ 186. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Professor Hebrant, ‘Préface,’ in de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Dewsbury, ‘Issues,’ 752. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 9-11, 14, 35, 57, 60-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Zoologist Louis Boutan attempted to apply these educational ideas to apes. Thomas, ‘Histoire,’ 233-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire,* 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Simon, *Chien de police*, 29-31. See also Couplet, *Chien de garde*, 91; Lalloué, *Chien de guerre,* 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Radick, *Simian Tongue*, 123-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Robert G. W. Kirk, ‘In Dogs we Trust? Intersubjectivity, Response-able Relations, and the Making of Mine Detector Dogs,’ *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 50:1 (2014), 1-36; Radick, *The Simian Tongue,* 201*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 10, 56. See also Saint-Laurent, *Chiens de défense*, 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Lalloué, *Chien de guerre*, 24, 34. See also Couplet, *Chien de garde*, 93-4. Saint-Laurent, however, argued that the whip could be used ‘as a last measure’ if the dog was ‘in revolt.’ *Chiens de défense*, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Gersbach, *Manuel de dressage*,24. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Educators such as Félix Hément argued that children should act through a moral sense of what was right and wrong and not fear of violence. Colin Heywood, *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 161-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Some manuals, however, often offered guidance on the training of both kinds of dogs. Couplet, *Chien de garde*, 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. ibid., 96; Lalloué, *Chien de guerre*, 27-34; de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 43-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Neil Pemberton, ‘The Bloodhound’s Nose Knows?: Dogs and Detection in Anglo-American Culture,’ *Endeavour* 37:4 (2013), 196-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Lalloué, *Chien de guerre*, 37-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson,’ 116-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Marion Thomas, ‘Are Animals just Noisy Machines?: Louis Boutan and the Co-invention of Animal and Child Psychology in the French Third Republic,’ *Journal of the History of Biology* 38 (2005), 441-2; Thomas, ‘Histoire de la psychologie animale,’ 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Urban space reportedly posed a threat to police dogs; de Wael stressed that police dog handlers needed to know what to do if there dog had been stabbed or shot. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*,53, 60 [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991 [1975]). For a contemporary critique of dominance in dog training, see Carri Westgarth, ‘Why nobody will ever agree about dominance in dogs,’ *Journal of Veterinary Behaviour* [advanced online access – volume/issue nos to follow] (2015), 1558-7898 [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Edwin H. Richardson, *War, Police and Watch Dogs* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1910), 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Lalloué, *Chien de guerre*, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson,’ 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Laurent Mucchielli, ‘Criminology, Hygienism, and Eugenics in France, 1870-1914: The Medical Debates on the Elimination of “Incorrigible” Criminals,’ in Peter Becker and Richard F. Wetzell, (eds), *Criminals and their Scientists: The History of Criminology in International Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 211-13. It should be noted, however, that some French criminologists, such as Alexandre Lacassagne, opposed Lombroso’s determinism. Nye, *Crime, Madness and* *Politics*, 191. Rabid dogs have been associated with criminality in France since at least the medieval period. Jolanta N. Komornicka, ‘Man as Rabid Beast: Criminals into Animals in Late Medieval France,’ *French History* 28:2 (2014), 157-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. #  John Kim Munholland, ‘Republican Order and Republican Tolerance in Fin-de-Siècle France: Montmartre as a Delinquent Community,’ in Gabriel P. Weisberg (ed), *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 21-2, 30; Alexandre Lacassagne and Étienne Martin, ‘Anthropologie criminelle,’ *L’année psychologique* 11 (1904), 446-56; Zachary R. Hagins, ‘Fashioning the “Born Criminal” on the Beat: Juridical Photography and the Police municipale in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,’ *Modern & Contemporary France* 21:3 (2013), 291-96; Mucchielli, ‘Criminology, Hygienism, and Eugenics’; Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics*; Robert Tombs, ‘Crime and the Security of the State: The “Dangerous Classes” and Insurrection in Nineteenth Century Paris,’ in V.A.C. Gatrell, **Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker (eds),** *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500* (London: Europa, 1980), 214-37.

 [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. On dogs and state repression, see Robert Tindol, ‘The Best Friend of Murderers: Guard Dogs and the Nazi Holocaust,’ in Hediger, *Animals and War,* 105-22; Aaron Skabelund, ‘Breeding Racism: The Imperial Battlefields of the “German” Shepherd,’ *Society and Animals* 16:4 (2008), 364-71. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson,’ 116-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. de Wael, *Chien auxiliaire*, 57 [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Bellier de Villiers, *Chien au chenil*, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. ‘La malle-poste défendue par les chiens de police,’ *Le Matin*, 25 October 1908; ‘La sécurité à Paris,’ *La Presse*, 18 April 1907; ‘Les débuts d’un chien policier,’ *Le Matin*, 19 November 1907. Overseas newspapers also reported on the police dogs’ success against Apache gangs. See ‘Police Dog puts Whole Apaches Band to Flight,’ *The Call* (San Francisco), 12 June 1910; ‘Police Dogs: How they Work in Paris,’ *The Examiner* (Launceston, Tasmania), 24 February 1911; ‘Police Dogs seize Apache,’ *The Evening Argus* (Owosso, Michigan), 9 April 1914. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. ‘Stop, le chien du brigadier,’ *Le Matin*, 21 April 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. ‘Emploi des chiens comme auxiliaires de la police à Pont-à-Mousson,’ 120. See also Villers, ‘Chien,’ 363, 366. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. ‘Chiens policiers,’ *Journal des ouvrages de dames et des arts féminins*, 1908, p.317; APP DB 41 A.-H. Heym, ‘Les chiens de police (suite et fin),’ *La “vraie police*,” 15 March 1902, 10; *Les Faits-divers illustrés*, 28 November 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. ‘Les chiens-apaches à Paris,’ *L’Eleveur belge*, no. 46, 14 November 1911, 738. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. ‘Les chiens de police de Neuilly-sur-Seine,’ *Le Petit Journal*, 27 February 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. ‘Un chien policier arête deux mystérieux malandrins,’ *Le Matin*, 16 December 1913. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. ‘A travers Paris,’ *Le Matin*, 7 June 1909. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Emphasis in original. Villiers, ‘Chien,’ 363. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. ‘Max n’est pas psychologue,’ *Le Matin*, 30 December 1907. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. On muzzling dogs, see Dr Belloli, ‘La muselière des chiens,’ *Bulletin de la Société protectrice des animaux*, vol. 8 (1862), 313-16; Maret-Leriche, *A bas la muselière: pétition de messieurs les chiens et leurs maîtres adressée à M. le préfet de police* (Paris: Librairie théâtrale, 1861). [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Heym, ‘Chiens de police.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. ‘Chiens policiers.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. ‘Les chiens de Police,’ *Le Matin*, 24 October 1909; ‘Tribunaux,’ *Le Matin*, 12 November 1909. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Deluermoz, ‘Circulations,’ 84. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Harris, *Murder and Madness*, 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Le Bon, *Crowd*, 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. On the long history of the “beast within,” see Sahlins, ‘Beast Within,’ 38; Joyce. E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994). On its expression during discussions of rabies and sexuality in nineteenth century Paris, see Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*, 97-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Harris, *Murders and Madness*, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Baldin, *Histoire des animaux domestiques*, 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. By 1986, the French national police possessed 458 dogs, 315 of which were based in urban areas. APP 138 W 1 ‘Rapport,’ 26 October 1917; ‘Historique du club de chien de police’; Marlet, *Profession chien policier*, 28; APP 138 W 1 Ecole suprieure des inspecteurs de la police nationale, Sous-direction de la formation continue, *Le centre national de formation des unités cynophiles*, 1986, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Susan Hurley and Matthew Nudds, ed. *Rational Animals?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Diane L. Beers, *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States* (Athens: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 2006); Harriet Ritvo, ‘Animal Planet,’ *Environmental History* 9:2 (2004): 204-220; Jean-Marie Schaeffer, *La fin de l’exception humaine* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-134)