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Recommended Citation
Quaile, Sheilagh (2013) ""The black dog that worries you at home": The Black Dog Motif in Modern English Folklore and Literary Culture," The Great Lakes Journal of Undergraduate History: Vol. 1 : Iss. 1 , Article 3. Available at: https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/gljuh/vol1/iss1/3

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Cover Page Footnote
Sheilagh Quaile is from Rockwood, Ontario. She is currently completing her Honours BA at the University of Guelph in History, with minors in Art History and Studio Art. Her undergraduate work has focused on British and Irish history and art during both the medieval and modern periods, and she plans to continue her studies in Art History at the graduate level.

This article is available in The Great Lakes Journal of Undergraduate History: https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/gljuh/vol1/iss1/3
“The black dog that worries you at home”: The Black Dog Motif in Modern English Folklore and Literary Culture

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“No matter ‘ow dark a night it is, you can allus see the Dog because ‘e’s so much blacker.”

In his famous 1977 essay, “Why Look at Animals?” John Berger acknowledged the significance of animal symbolism, contending that since prehistory animals have been used as perhaps the earliest signs “for charting the [human] experience of the world.”¹ Berger suggested that humans’ lived experiences with animals led to and influenced the development of lexicons of animal symbols within human cultures.² If such symbols were, and continue, to represent human experience at any breadth, naturally, not all animal symbols hold positive meanings.

In western culture, animals that stand for ill-boding, melan-
choly, and wicked intent are numerous, and also bear frequent similarity in their common black colour. There are black cats that appear as portents of ill-fortune and witches’ familiars, black birds which frequent graveyards and sites of death, ‘black sheep’ to figuratively denote an unfavorable member of a group, and black dogs, who in folklore serve as portents of death and haunt lonely roadways, striking fear into the hearts of weary travellers. Recently, some dog enthusiasts and animal shelters have contended that black dogs are slower to be adopted and are euthanized at higher rates than their lighter-coloured counterparts. This phenomenon has become popularly known as “big black dog syndrome,” and has been recognized and addressed by both the SPCA and UBC professor of psychology Stanley Coren. Coren has suggested that the cultural ingraining of black creatures as symbols of ill-boding may have formed—and continue to form—cognitive biases in those exposed to the culture.

The motif of the big, black dog is prolific in culture, language, and folklore in parts of England and the wider British Isles, where Coren claims they frequently appear in the phenomenal form of “devil dogs,” appearing and disappearing without warning, haunting those that travel particular roadways. Within the British Isles, the prominence of ghostly black dogs in cultural symbolism and popular imagination has lent itself to names for numerous penitentiary institutions such as prisons, hospitality institutions such as pubs, songs, appearances in frightening stories and literature, and figures of speech including metaphors for depression. This paper analyzes the cultural situation of the black dog in a single period and mode of its usage: late eighteenth to mid-twentieth century literary and popular culture in England. At that time, the black dog motif became prominent in the collection of local British folktales, perhaps mani-
festing most famously in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and later in statesman Sir Winston Churchill’s metaphor for his depression. Further, this paper will give a brief survey of the black dog in European cultural history and move on to a case study of English folklore, literature, and speech within the bounds of the latter half of the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. This research explores the developing nature of the black dog motif and much of the history of the black dog’s symbolic meaning within European culture, shedding light on its often negative reputation.

**Premodern Cultural Context**

Within western culture, the black dog motif is traceable to as early as classical antiquity. Black canines’ association with death appears within both ancient and classical mythologies, including Anubis the jackal—or, by all appearances, black dog—and god of the afterlife and the dead in Egyptian mythology; as well as Cerberus, guardian of the underworld in Greek and Roman mythology. However the importance and meaning of the black dog motif is evident in the ancient Mediterranean world beyond its religious systems. As acknowledged by Megan McKinlay in her cultural-linguistic study of the black dog, the original Greek melancholia partly stems from the word melaina, meaning ‘black’. The black dog seems to have made recurrent appearance as a symbol of ill-omen in Greek texts. Horace, whose writings frequently utilized animal symbolism, mentioned black dogs as unlucky omens, and Plutarch, writing in 450 BCE, wrote of a black dog appearing before a man to portend of his near-at-hand death. This association is something that many people would have been familiar with: a ‘Beware of Dog’ sign in the form of a mosaic in Pompeii displays a fearsome, large black dog guarding the home- reminiscent of Cerberus guarding the underworld.
In early medieval northern European mythology, and similar to the Egyptian and Greek guardians of the underworld, the Norse myth of Fenrir the great wolf also exemplifies a historical association with canines and death: as emphasized within the 13th century Icelandic texts comprising the Poetic Edda, Odin was fated to be killed by Fenrir in their fight during Ragnarok, or the ‘final destruction’ in Norse mythology. In European folklore, black dogs were also said to have led the Wild Hunt: a ghostly chase of human hunters and their animal companions, fabled within cultures across northern and western Europe. Similar to the case of classical antiquity, there are other medieval sources to demonstrate the prevalence of black dogs in systems beyond religious and spiritual worldview. Writing in the 1970s, folklorist Theo H. Brown suggested the folkloric and symbolic roots of the prominent use of black dogs in heraldry within the British Isles. Canines featured widely in early medieval medicine, retaining their associations with melancholy and death. Lycanthropy, that peculiar disease of classical Rome and medieval Europe in which a human took on the features of a wolf, was thought to be the result of an excessively melancholic humour. Specifically black dogs also seem to have held important prophetic meaning: in his article on early medieval medicine, Peregrine Horden notes an account written around the year 800 in modern France which instructs that to determine whether a sick person will die one should “take the tick of a black dog in the left hand and go into the sick room, and if, when the sick man sees you, he turns himself towards you, non euadit [he’s ‘a goner’].” Furthermore, Horden notes, by “wiping the sick person with a lump of lard and throwing it to a dog in an unfamiliar neighbourhood (or an unfamiliar dog: the Latin is ambiguous). If the dog eats the lard, the patient will live.” Here, early medieval
medical advice maintains the ancient symbolic association of black dogs with the transition from life to death. Black dogs also retained their association with ill-omen within medieval religious symbolism. Within Chaucer’s Book of the Duchess scholar Carol Falvo Heffernan has furthermore argued on the significance of the black dog as a melancholic symbol—and acknowledged its similar appearance in other medieval and early modern sources, including Albrecht Dürer’s famous engraving “Melencolia I,” which features a philosopher in absorbed in gloomy contemplation that is shared or perhaps represented by a doleful looking dog. Even into the early modern period, black dogs might also be associated with evil, appearing as witches’ familiars or personifications of the devil. This theme recurs in the eighteenth century in Goethe’s Faustus, wherein the devil appears in the guise of a black poodle.

Several different kinds of accounts incorporating black dogs are so far apparent: some medical treatises, some literary works, and some folkloric. Furthermore, the accounts’ interpretations of black dogs can be favourable, such as the role of guardians. In other sources they are unfavourable, such as in the cases where they are considered omens or are associated with death or the devil. In antiquity black dogs were mythological guardians of transient spaces (such as portals and roadways), and this analogy naturally leant itself to the more abstract transition from life to death. Furthermore, both dogs and blackness were associated with melancholy. It can furthermore be conjectured that their pagan association with death and the underworld led to the use of black dogs in early modern Christian Europe to represent sin, such as in the case of Faustus.

From its place in a pre-modern and very much pan-European
cultural heritage, the ominous and foreboding black dog motif also manifested in English folk culture, where it held many of the same meanings and associations with melancholy, ill-omen, and death. Evidence such as place-names supports the importance of black dogs in cultural symbolism before the nineteenth century in England. Public establishments and institutions in both England and Ireland used the title ‘Black Dog,’ including meeting places and drinking establishments such as inns and taverns, but also penitentiary institutions such as prisons. The proprietors of the Old Black Dog Inn in Dorset claim that there was a Black Dog Inn on their premises as early as before 1700. Furthermore, popular accounts of monstrous, supernatural black dogs intended to thrill audiences presumably aware of their deathly symbolism date as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century in Britain, with a London publication called *The black dog of Newgate.* Originally a play performed in 1602 by Worcester’s Men at the Rose playhouse, the narrative was not only concerned with the black dog spirit, but its appearance around Newgate Prison and the deathly omens of which it there forewarned of. The 1612 print edition demonstrates a fearsome image of a gigantic dog with several snakes for a head and a spiked chain around its neck, recalling the black, chained guard dog of Pompeii and the dragon-tailed and multi-headed Cerberus in Greek and Roman mythology. The creature is described as a “hell-hound” that “was a walking spirit in the likeness of a black dog, gliding up and down the streets a little before the time of execution, and in the night whilst the Seffions continued.” Thus in seventeenth century England the black dog continued to be associated with death, particularly that involving crime; and perhaps, by implication, sin.

Regional folklore received greater attention in England during
the Victorian era as literary material of local folk cultures becomes much more plentiful. This was part of a wider romantic nationalist movement engaged by the middle class, which sought to collect folklore as the relics of what was seen as an increasingly antiquated past. This would result in the adoption of many folk-themes in wider Victorian literary culture. Folklore and folktales collected beginning in the late eighteenth century makes up an appropriate source for tracing the cultural symbolism of the black dog in England as well as other parts of western Europe. Indeed, a black dog appears within one German folktale of the Brothers Grimm: in the tale, “The Three Little Birds,” a girl is instructed by a woman to strike a black dog in the face when she comes across it on the road. Here, like in many English folktales, the black dog occurs once again in its frequent context as haunter of roadways.

Folktales collected in the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century in Britain frequently feature apparitions of spectral black dogs, generally portending ill fortune. While there is no firm evidence to the existence of such apparitions other than hearsay, this phenomenon can be analyzed to reveal the significance of the black dog motif in local folk cultures. Folklorist Ethel H. Rudkin’s 1938 paper on appearances of a spectral black dog in Lincolnshire is perhaps one of the most complete single sources for Black Dog folklore in any one region in England. Rudkin’s essay includes collected songs, regional folktales, and even accounts of ghostly ‘sightings’ relayed personally by witnesses. Several consistent details make for an archetypal black dog, ghostly in nature, within the tales recorded by folklorists such as Ethel H. Rudkin, Katharine Briggs, and Theo H. Brown. For one, these apparitions are almost always described as being black—‘blacker than night,’ as testified by one man interviewed by Rudkin.
The importance of this detail reaffirms the premodern connection between the animal and the colour in relaying the specific meaning of ill-omen. Among such accounts, it is also generally agreed by the witnesses and storytellers that the dog was a ghost and not living, and to emphasize this, it was often said to have scared mortal dogs. Most people claiming these sightings observed the Black Dog as being large in size and shaggy-coated, although a Mrs. B. in Algarkirk in Lincolnshire believed it to be “tall and thin, with a long neck and pointed nose.” Among both nineteenth and twentieth century folkloric accounts, such apparitions were frequently described as having great fiery eyes “the size of saucers.” It may be conjectured that the tendency of the Black Dog to be attributed with fiery eyes be related to the dog as the devil-hound, and the tendency in Christianity for hell to be associated with fire.

This Black Dog seems to be inspired more by the psychological themes of human predation which David Quammen discusses in his 2003 monograph, *Monster of God: the Man-Eating Predator in the Jungles of History and the Mind*. Quammen contends that to fear man-eating creatures is a part of human nature, as “they were part of the ecological matrix within which Homo sapiens evolved” and of “the psychological context in which our sense of identity as a species arose.” Quammen therefore states that the introduction of such creatures into human spiritual systems and culture was a coping mechanism to deal with the fear of such creatures: and this, in part, is what continues to fuel the popular craving for literature about “man-eating” animals. This includes imaginary and supernatural creatures such as the Leviathan in the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. This human tendency to mythologize affairs in terms of man-eating creatures could also undoubtedly include the dog within The Hound
of the Baskervilles and the monsters of English folklore: particularly as they are often attributed to such emotionally-charged historical events as the Protestant Reformation, witch-burnings, and local homicides and suicides.

Consistency with premodern black dog symbolism can be demonstrated even by the locations of these sightings, which are generally one of two types: that of the transient path such as a laneway or gate, and those of more obvious death connotations, in which the dog appears near churches, graves, and sites of murder.\(^40\) This notion fits with the symbolism acknowledged at the beginning of this paper: that is, the prominence of black dogs as symbols of guardians and of the hunt. Their emphasized role in foreboding human death and sin is also demonstrable by occasional tale, in which a human spirit incarnates as black dogs following the person’s death, particularly if it occurred via murder.\(^42\) The believed appearances of spectral Black Dogs were sometimes also thought to share special or temporal origin with historical landmark events and persons such as witch-burnings, hidden Catholic priest holes in the days of the Reformation, and even, in one case, a particular place where Oliver Cromwell was said to have watered his horse.\(^43\) Each of these qualities reveals that the premodern symbolism of the black dog motif was alive and well in folk-culture in the latter half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century in England. Black dogs are continuously associated with omen. Furthermore, their association with landmark historical events and persons (each of which were specifically associated with social strife and death) made them the imaginative vehicles of omen within popular historic narrative, giving the black dog motif mythical significance within English folk culture.

Another quality that becomes apparent when analyzing the
folktales recounted by Ethel H. Rudkin is their evident change over time; suggesting, as contended by historian Nigel Rothfels, that cultural meaning of animals is constantly changing in response to human relationships with such creatures. It is in modern folktales that people begin to identify these apparitions in terms of canine breed, using descriptors including “as big as an Alsation” or “as big as a Newfoundland,” rather than simply ‘large black dog.’ Not only does this relation to real dogs make the ghostly Black Dog appear less ‘other,’ but it demonstrates humans’ changing relationships with dogs during the modern era—i.e. the nineteenth and twentieth century. Over this time, dog breeds increasingly became standardized. Another notable change is that previous to the twentieth century, no accounts of spectral Black Dogs (that were found by this study) depict them as anything more than malevolent. However, Ethel Rudkin recorded many firsthand accounts to “appearances” of Black Dogs in which they are understood to be protecting people from the malevolent intentions of others as they walk on such lonely roadways. One man, followed by a black dog late at night to the end of a dark lane before vanishing, “always maintained that the dog was providentially sent that night to protect him from something or someone who had no good intentions towards him.” According to Rudkin, one woman noticed a black dog following her after returning in the evening from a day of shopping in another nearby village:

Presently she passed some Irish labourers, and she heard them say what they would do to the lone woman if “that (something) dog hadn’t been with her.” She arrived home safely and called to her husband to come and see this fine animal, but they couldn’t find it anywhere—it had completely vanished.
By contrast, many of the local “traditions” Rudkin records depict much more frightening or malevolent tales of the Black Dog, including the spirits of murdered people reincarnating as the ghostly Black Dog.\(^49\) It may therefore be surmised that at the time of the primary accounts’ recording during the 1930s, much of the early modern superstition was wearing off and giving way to less symbolic and more positive attitudes about black dogs. Rudkin has claimed this qualitative change to be a county difference, and that the Dog was looked upon more favourably in Lincolnshire.\(^51\) In her essay “The Black Dog in English Folklore,” Theo H. Brown also considers this change between the malevolent and more benevolent dog of English folklore to be a temporal difference.\(^52\) The widespread social scale of pet-keeping in the modern era is one possible explanation for the appearance of the more benevolent black dog figure in Lincolnshire folk culture.\(^53\) The change that is chartable within the folkloric records of Rudkin could reflect Britons’ changing experiences with dogs at the time.

However, it is also plausible that these more recent and positive folkloric accounts also reflect modern changes in modes of looking at animals. In her study of animals in modern literary culture, Laura Brown has acknowledged the changes in perceptions of animals around the beginning of the “modern” era—during the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth century—which was brought on by scientific explorations and taxonomy. She contends that before this time, such as the medieval and pre-medieval periods, animals had largely symbolic meanings. The disruption of understanding brought on by encounters with new worlds and new species meant that Europeans’ practises of looking at animals became more empirical: shifting emphasis away from symbolism to study and compare the biology
of species. This modern shift to less symbolic and more biological consideration of animals is demonstrable by the temporal frequency of Rudkin’s accounts. The majority of those recorded by Rudkin were oral tales recounted personally to her by locals, and thus ‘sightings’ generally took place over the last few years of her writing her article (1938). At one time in the paper, she suggests that sightings are now fewer than previously, and that it was mostly an older generation who remembers such occurrences. Evidently, fewer believed in the ghostly black dog and the omens it portended.

It is clear by folklore recorded by authors such as Rudkin that even into the twentieth century within English folk culture the black dog motif retained its premodern associations with night-time, ill-boding, and death. However, this symbolism underwent change over time. By Rudkin’s article in 1938, sightings of the Black Dog not only appear to have decreased, but those accounts that were recorded did not retain their symbolic associations with omen. Tales instead took on a much more benevolent nature reflective of altered relationships with dogs. This could be explained by the rise of systematized breeding and pet-keeping during the nineteenth century. Despite the modern tendency to regard animals in more biological terms, it is still questionable how much of the pre-modern cultural legacy of the black dog remains with us today. While changes in Black Dog folklore can be argued to reveal more innocent and even changing ideas about dogs and animal symbolism, the black dog motif continued to be promoted in literature with all its premodern associations of omens.
Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Literary Appearances

The modern usage of the term “black dog” in reference to depression is also traceable as far back as the late eighteenth century in England. In her study on literary references to the black dog, published on the website of the Australian depression group The Black Dog Institute, Megan McKinlay has traced the modern usage of the term to the correspondence of Samuel Johnson, James Boswell, and a Mrs. Thrale during the late 1770s. As acknowledged by McKinlay, what is particularly interesting about this correspondence is that none of these cases foreground the metaphor. It is likely, then, that the ‘black dog’ already existed as a figure of speech in this period. As Johnson and Boswell at first seem hesitant to adopt the term, McKinlay observes that it appears to have been brought into use within their correspondence by Mrs. Thrale, who personally claimed it was an old saying in her local Streatham, London. Johnson’s question of Boswell, “what will you do to keep away the black dog that worries you at home?” later resurfaced in a nearly identical reference by Sir Walter Scott in his diary on May 12, 1826. The term ‘to have a black dog upon one’s back’ was also used in Robert Louis Stevenson’s 1882 New Arabian Nights in describing a character’s sullen behaviour. McKinlay contends that after an apparent lull in the term’s use it was revived again by the English statesman Winston Churchill in the twentieth century, who frequently and perhaps most famously referred to his depression as the “black dog.” As Churchill was familiar with the works of Samuel Johnson and tended to quote literary figures without attribution, McKinley argues it is not unlikely that this correspondence was his source for the term.
well as the occult, black and spectral dogs made several appearances in literary fiction of the long nineteenth century, featuring in works such as Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. Charlotte Brontë makes mention in *Jane Eyre* of a spectral dog, known as a ‘Gytrash’: a “North-of-England spirit… which, in the form of horse, mule, or large dog, haunted solitary ways, and sometimes came upon belated travellers,” told to the main character by Bessie, her childhood nursemaid. Brontë herself was born and lived in Yorkshire. It is here that she could conceivably have been exposed to such a story to repeat it within her novel. While not specified as being black, it is perhaps relevant that a dog is placed at the centre of human misfortune within Thomas Hardy’s novel *Far from the Madding Crowd*, wherein a new shepherd dog brings a shepherd to ruin by driving his flock over a cliff.

One of the most well-known dogs of literature, the monstrous canine within Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, also arose from a manifest interest among the Victorian middle class in regional English folklore. In his 2004 review essay on *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, Benjamin Fisher contends the novel to be the result of a conversion of factors including “mythology, late-Victorian paranoia concerning hereditary traits or human reversions to primitive, animalistic behavior.” Fisher furthermore suggests that another Victorian short story published in *The Atlantic Souvenir* in 1828, known as “Cobus Yerks,” may have been brought to author Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s attention. Fisher contends that this is probable as the story was reprinted numerous times over the nineteenth century in the author, J.K. Paulding’s own works, and one of Mary Russell Mitford’s anthologies of American stories. Set within a rural community in New York State, the false rumour is mischievously
circulated that a local family, including all their animals, have been poisoned.

The jesting storyteller relates that the family’s large, black bulldog comes alive again “after [ly]ing six hours stone-dead, and [runs] away like a d[evi]l incarnate,” leaving cloven footprints where it runs. Leaving the tavern late at night, the main character, Cobus Yerks, believes the dog follows him home behind his wagon. After being found worn and bloodied in a briar patch at the side of the road the next morning, he relates that before losing consciousness he “looked back, and a [sic] saw a pair of saucer eyes just at the tail of [the] wagon, as big and as bright as the mouths of a fiery furnace, dancing up and down in the air like two stage lamps in a rough road.” According to Yerks, the creature smelt “exactly like brimstone” and attacked himself and his horses. The end of the story reveals that this vision was the result of Yerks’ drunken state that evening; though the locals take it for true. Regardless of the humorous tone of the story, it reveals older folk beliefs that became published in nineteenth century literature. While promoting an air of skepticism about this genre of folktale, the story nevertheless reiterated an older belief in which black dogs were associated with death, the devil, and night.

While Doyle did not acknowledge “Cobus Yerks” as inspiration for The Hound of the Baskervilles, he did acknowledge that he received much of his idea for his novel from friend, journalist and Devon-native Fletcher Robinson. As Doyle wrote in the novel’s preface, it was Robinson’s “account of a west country legend… [that] first suggested the idea… to my mind.” It was during a shared voyage that Robinson and Doyle agreed to write a Dartmoor-based story together, which Robinson had already been conceptualizing.
The Hound of the Baskervilles, peculiar mention is made to the dog’s blackness and glowing red eyes, similar to many of the previously mentioned folktales of the time.\textsuperscript{72}

Frequently inspired by local British folk tales, literary materials of the long nineteenth century continued to promote the image of the black dog as ominous and dangerous. Their appearance within the print medium, frequently for the purpose of entertainment, may feasibly have disseminated such associations beyond regional British folk culture to a wider, literate audience. While black dogs are traceable in cultural symbolism for thousands of years hence, their continued use from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century in England solidified and evolved their symbolic meaning. This paper has argued that folk and print culture over this time continued to promote the black dog as a symbol of such concepts as omen, violent crime, and melancholy. The continued association of black dogs with their historically negative meanings in the works of fiction writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Arthur Conan Doyle, and the words of public figures such as Winston Churchill have undoubtedly influenced their representation in popular media such as films, literature and music today. However, the negative associations of black dogs evidently go back much farther in time and western culture. Given the cultural evidence surveyed, there is convincing precedence that black dogs should be the recipients of some negative cognitive bias in contemporary society.
Notes


20. These include the Black Dog Prison in Dublin, mentioned in Evening Post (1709) (London, England), July 17, 1718 - July 19, 1718,


24. McHugh, Dog, 41; 43.

25. Hutton and Rowlands, The discovery of a London monster called, the black dog of Newgate, A²v; A⁴v.


27. Grimm Brothers, “96 The Three Little Birds,” In Household Tales by Brothers Grimm, Margaret Hunt, trans., accessed March 29, 2013. books.google.ca/books?isbn=1613108044


32. Within the New Testament, punishment for sinners is referred to by the term “raging fire” in Hebrews 10:27 NIV and as “eternal fire” in Jude 7 NIV. Furthermore, in Matthew 25: 41 NIV, Jesus says that when the Son of Man returns, those who have sinned will be relegated to eternal fire: “Then he will say to those on his left, ‘Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.’”


36. Rudkin, “The Black Dog.” Cases of these types appear throughout the article.


39. Nigel Rothfels, “Why Look at Elephants?” Worldviews 9, No. 2 (2005), 182. In this article, Rothfels responds to John Berger’s famous essay, “Why look at Animals?,” contending that contrary to Berger’s notion of more definite animal and human identities, these identities are remarkably unfixed and undergo change. Rothfels proffers the changing ideas about elephants in recent cultural history as an example.

41. McHugh, Dog, 58; 90-91.

42. “Mr. C., of Boston” qtd. in Rudkin, “The Black Dog,” 121.


44. Ibid., 118; 121.

45. Ibid., 131.

46. Theo H. Brown, “The Black Dog in English Folklore,” in Animals in Folklore, 52.


51. Ibid., 1-5.


53. Ibid., 8; Theo H. Brown, “The Black Dog in English Folklore,” in Animals in Folklore, 52.


56. Thomas Hardy, “Chapter V: Departure of Bathsheba—A Pastoral Tragedy,” in Far from the Madding Crowd. Project Guten-


60. Ibid., 204.

61. Ibid., 205.


64. Doyle, The Hound of the Baskervilles, 223.

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