

Of course, Gorham's comment about "Manhood" being the key to voting only begs the questions posed in the cartoon: Who counts as a man? Who is man enough to be a citizen? The ascent up the human ladder in the picture is an inversion of true racial hierarchy, reversing the journey from savagery to semi-barbarity to civilization. The subservient Black man is closest to the white man physically and his mode of dress, Christianity, and shared concern about the implications of universal suffrage all explain why he is positioned this way. Despite being seen as wholly inferior to whites and undeserving of meaningful citizenship, Blacks were seen as less foreign than the Chinese and Indians – as reflected in the Naturalization Act of 1870, which permitted free Blacks to become citizens and explicitly prohibited Chinese immigrants from doing so.⁸ Thus the Black man here (in anticipation of Kipling) shares the white man's burden.

The Chinese man, whose heathenism is displayed through his queue, mode of dress, cultural activity (the firecracker he holds), and accent, makes clear his lack of civic capacity by openly celebrating suffrage as a means to greater wealth. From the mid-1800s to today, the notion of the Asiatic as overly concerned with money and unconcerned with citizenship as the performance of civic duty has persisted. At the top of the human ladder, the Indian stands on the frontier between civilization and savagery. Nearly naked and waving a bow and arrows that signal his warlike nature and his primitivism, the Indian shows himself to be even less capable in a civic sense than the Chinese. Where the Chinese man has culture and is part of the industrial labor force, the Indian is wild and indolent and shows a childlike glee that suffrage is likely to boost his liquor supply. The image of the "drunken Indian" was exceptionally enduring, having first emerged in colonial discourse on the Eastern Seaboard in the late 1600s.

Essentializing the Chinese as venal and apolitical, whites elided their own historical agency in denying the Chinese the right to naturalize; essentializing the Indian as a drunkard, whites elided their own historical agency in introducing alcohol to North American Indians and using it as a tool of political and economic control.⁹ The cartoon asks of these ridiculous figures: Are these really candidates for suffrage? What's next? Is Gorham going to claim the ape as his "Brother"? Is he going to attribute "Manhood" to the ape as well? The ape in the picture is walking upright and smiling; he looks semi-human. However, he is the only figure in the picture who says nothing, which apparently reflects his lack of consciousness or will. He is on a leash, following orders.

This picture captures succinctly the way racialized groups in the nineteenth century United States were both lumped together and painstakingly distinguished from one another. They were all imaginatively located in the borderlands between full humanity and animality – in this picture, literally between Gorham and the ape, were the latter to take his rightful place at the top of this inverted hierarchy. At the same time, they were

defined relationally, in contradistinction to whites and to one another. These distinctions were exquisitely fine-tuned so as to generate specific, shifting grounds for othering and exclusion as historical exigencies required. In 1867, the pressing question for white Southerners was whether freed slaves would go back to Africa, die out from disease and hereditary weakness in the face of competition with whites, or be virtually re-enslaved as sharecroppers. To white Californians, however, Blacks seemed distinctly more familiar and American than the Celestials, and the latter, because of their numbers, posed a far greater threat in terms of labor competition. Although the Chinese were bearers of an ancient and accomplished civilization, that civilization had decayed, and it was their very cultural fixity – as opposed to the infinite plasticity of the culture-less Black man – that sealed their fate as unassimilable (Kim 1999). If the Indian question was being resolved in the rest of the nation through military conquest, "removal," and the reservation system, it found temporary resolution in California in the establishment of Indian slavery at mid-century.¹⁰ In California in 1867, reflecting the exigencies of the time and place, the Chinese and the Indian were depicted as more animal than the Black man, closer to the ape without speech in the corner. The relative placement of these racialized groups varied, as we shall see, depending on which was seen as the greatest threat to white privilege in any given time and place.

The Animalized Animal

It is not surprising that an ape shows up as the exclamation point in the Reconstruction cartoon. As historian Erica Fudge (2000) notes, the question of human identity – what precisely is it that makes us human? – is continuously posed and never fully answered in the Western imagination. And no figure has been evoked in these speculations more often than the ape, seen as the most human-like animal and located in the imaginative borderlands between human and animal. More generally, the idea of the animal has been a vital prop in the project of defining the human. Virginia Anderson (2006) points out that seventeenth-century Algonquian-speaking Indian tribes had no single word for "animal," suggesting that they perceived a great diversity of creatures rather than lumping them together into a single category whose defining characteristic was that it was subhuman or not human. For English colonists, however, animality was constructed as an explicit counterpoint to humanity. What Keith Thomas writes about England was true for English people in the United States as well: "Men attributed to animals the natural impulses they most feared in themselves – ferocity, gluttony, sexuality. ... It was as a comment on *human* nature that the concept of 'animality' was devised."¹¹

But animals have proven an imperfect foil. The search for *the* single trait distinguishing all humans from all animals has been as fruitless as it has been relentless

over the past few millennia. Reason, language, self-consciousness, a sense of time and the future – all of these have been tried on and found lacking. Bodies are, as a matter of course, unruly and resistant to the classificatory regimes that produce them. The borderlands concept here captures the indeterminacy, contestation, and anxiety that attends such boundary failure. In the borderlands between human and animal, where animalized and raced bodies meet as joint transgressors and joint captives, one of the central contradictions of Western culture makes itself known – that humans have for millennia asserted their superiority to animals even as they are ambivalent and insecure about whether the difference between the two is one of kind or degree and about what forms of mastery such difference might authorize (Thomas 1983; Fudge 2000; Steiner 2005).

In ancient Greek mythology, although gods, humans, and animals were distinct groups, the boundary between gods and humans, on the one hand, and animals, on the other, seemed quite porous. Gods regularly went undercover as beasts (usually for nefarious purposes) and often turned disobedient men and women into beasts as punishment. In Homer's epic poem, *The Odyssey*, the goddess Circe delights in turning Odysseus' men into pigs. Pre-Socratic thinkers such as Pythagoras and Empedocles wrote of metempsychosis, the idea that souls transmigrated from human to animal bodies and vice versa. Although they believed in human distinctiveness, they also thought that humans shared a basic nature with animals.¹² At the same time, the notion of heroism in Greek mythology was inextricably tied to mastery over animals. The Greek hero – whether Perseus slaying Medusa and then the sea dragon, or Theseus slaying the Minotaur, or Herakles slaying all manner of beasts in his Twelve Labors – becomes a hero and a founder of civilization through the highly specific act of killing fearsome beasts. Slaying animals is a performance of mastery that establishes order, however tenuously. Without the Minotaur, there could be no Theseus.

As Gary Steiner argues, it is in ancient Greek philosophy that we see the beginnings of the “long and complex historical turn against the notion of natural continuity” between humans and animals.¹³ In his discussion of the tripartite human soul, Plato argues that the rational and soldierly parts of the soul need to gain control over the lowest or appetitive or animal part of the soul, giving rise to the notion that a human must master the beast within himself. Aristotle's enshrinement of “reason” as the faculty marking superior types of beings, as well as his ideas about natural slavery, helped to sculpt the argument that animals were created by nature to serve human purposes.¹⁴ However, it was the Stoics – Epictetus and Seneca among them – who raised the dividing line between humans and animals “to the status of a cosmic principle.”¹⁵ They insisted that animals existed entirely for the sake of humans, who achieved humanness by freeing themselves from bodily needs in order to contemplate God.

The Bible (Old and New Testaments) reinforced the idea that humans were distinct from and superior to other animals in crucial ways that justified their domination over the latter. Here it was not reason but rather the possession of a soul that rendered humans unique. Consider this famous passage from Genesis 1:26: “And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.”¹⁶ In the Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve are apparently vegetarian and their “dominion” seems like thoughtful stewardship, but after the Fall, that “dominion” takes on a harsher cast. Animals' relations with one another become cruel and wild and the eating of animals by humans is divinely sanctioned, as when God says to Noah and his sons after the Flood, “And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered” (Genesis 9:2) and “Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you” (Genesis 9:3).¹⁷ Writing in the Middle Ages, Saint Thomas Aquinas relied on Scripture to argue both that humans were superior to animals in that they were created in God's image and had immortal souls, and that animals existed for the sake of humans. Men should avoid being cruel to animals, according to Aquinas, but only because mistreating animals would cultivate a habit of cruelty toward humans.

Rooted in Platonic thought, the notion of the Great Chain of Being emerged in the Middle Ages and became a governing imaginative framework by the eighteenth century. It is easy to understand the appeal of an idea that purported to arrange everything from God to the angels to man to various beasts to the smallest stone in a single, unbroken hierarchical ladder. Man was located between the angels and the beasts, his soul being composed of both angelic and beastly parts, which were always warring. As Michael Walzer writes: “Angels moved by perfect intelligence and animals by perfect instinct; but men possessed neither ... they walked always on the very brink of chaos and disorder.”¹⁸ Interestingly, the Chain of Being codified man's superiority to animals but at the same time cast doubt upon the hard boundary that the Stoics and Aquinas had asserted. Arthur Lovejoy points out two aspects of the Chain idea that potentially counteracted ideas of human supremacy. First, all species were created for the sake of the completeness of the Chain, which testified to God's power and splendor; none was created for the utility of another species. Second, the Chain exemplified the principles of continuity and gradation: “every one [link] of them differing from that immediately above and that immediately below it by the ‘least possible’ degree of difference.”¹⁹ As John Locke wrote on this matter:

In all the visible corporeal world we see no chasms or gaps. All quite down from us the descent is by easy steps, and a continued series that in each

remove differ very little one from the other. ... There are some brutes that seem to have as much reason and knowledge as some that are called men ... that if you will take the lowest of one and the highest of the other, there will scarce be perceived any great difference between them.²⁰

Hierarchy suggested difference but continuity and gradation mitigated that difference. Humans were above animals in the Chain, closer to God, but there was no strict divide between humans and animals. Rather, there was an ambiguous borderlands where the basest man and the most exalted animal met. Not surprisingly, the early modern period in Europe was one marked by what Erica Fudge (2000) calls “anxious anthropocentrism,” a felt need to continuously reassert human superiority through brutal performances of mastery (animal baiting, hunting, etc.).

Writing in the 1600s, Descartes had no patience for such ambiguity. His writing played a critical role in enshrining the dualisms that structure Western thinking and in drawing an impassable line between humans and animals. For Descartes, “Embodiment is a sign of imperfection. ... Any being that is wholly corporeal is of the lowest order of being. ... Nature is taken in its essence to be pure corporeality.”²¹ Humans were defined by soul, mind, thought, and language: *Cogito, ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). Animals, on the other hand, were machines, pure matter, bodies unencumbered by souls or minds. When they cried out upon being dissected while fully conscious, Descartes insisted that they were not feeling or expressing pain but making mechanical noises like a clock might make if certain mechanisms within it were triggered. Thus was the “long and complex historical turn” against the notion of natural continuity accelerated. When utilitarians Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill pointed to animal sentience to argue for the moral considerability of animals – recall Bentham’s quote, “The question is not, Can they *reason*? Nor, Can they *talk*? But, Can they *suffer*?”²² – they were swimming against the tide of Western theology and philosophy. Most thinkers of the eighteenth century agreed rather with Kant, who asserted that animals were not rational, morally autonomous beings, which meant that they had no intrinsic moral worth.

If there was a semblance of philosophical consensus on animals, there was a good deal of ambivalence felt by nonphilosophers at every stage. As Harriet Ritvo puts it, “A lot of evidence suggests that when people are not trying to deny that humans and animals belong to the same moral and intellectual continuum, they automatically assume they do.”²³ Writing about eighteenth- and nineteenth-century animal breeders in Britain, Ritvo observes that in talking about resistant bitches and dull cows, “they would not have made the same claims about the nature of their animals ... if they had not implicitly assumed an identity between human nature and animal nature – an identity they would certainly have denied if they had been asked about it directly.”²⁴ Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, various developments – including the

articulation of less anthropocentric taxonomic systems (such as the Linnaean one in *Systema Naturae*, 1735–68); the emergence of urban middle-class pet keeping; urbanization and industrialization and the distancing from rural life; and the expansion of fields such as astronomy, geology, botany, and zoology – all worked together to increase a sense of human-animal continuities and generate new ways of relating to, thinking about, and feeling for animals.²⁵ By the early 1800s, animal advocacy was emerging in Britain, where Parliament passed a number of anticruelty provisions. And in a watershed event, Charles Darwin argued in *On the Origin of Species* (1859) that humans and animals shared a common ancestor, that both were subject to the laws of evolution, and that there was a human-animal continuum in terms of cognitive and emotional abilities. Although Darwin’s work was vigorously resisted in many circles, including religious ones, it gave the imprimatur of science to the argument that the human-animal divide needed rethinking.

The Negro Beast

The positioning of man over beast in the Great Chain of Being settled one question but raised others: Which type of man ranked the lowest among humans and closest to beasts? And following the principles of continuity and gradation, what type of creatures constituted the link between the lowest men and the highest beasts? The man-ape interval was the focus of “especial zeal” on the part of scientific observers and philosophers from the Middle Ages forward.²⁶ It was the Negro, seen as base, lowly, and inferior in intelligence and civilization, who was imaginatively located between man and ape. In fact, the Negro was frequently characterized as *an ape*, a notion that emerged in the West as early as the start of the sixteenth century, won the support of leading scientific minds by the mid-nineteenth century, and peaked in the late nineteenth century as a justification for lynching in the Jim Crow South.

Winthrop Jordan (1968) cautions that the insistence and ubiquity of the ape comparison should not blind us to the fact that whites’ Christianity compelled most of them to believe in the unity of man and reject the notion that Negroes were a different species. Whites did not literally think of Negroes as beasts despite their language, he chides. Yet the historical record suggests that the ape comparison was more than just a forceful metaphor meant to denigrate or express difference; it was an indicator of whites’ uncertainty and ambivalence about how to think about the Negro and their imaginative placement of him in the human/animal borderlands where he was variously seen as subhuman, not quite human, almost animal, actually animal. It was an indicator that they thought of beings, at least in part, as being related through continuity and gradation, a la the Great Chain, rather than being neatly separable into dichotomous categories such as “human” and “animal.” This idea of the Negro as beast waxed and

waned and shape-shifted depending on historical and geographical context, and it coexisted with other ideas, some of which contradicted it, but it remains part of the fabric of racial meanings in the United States today.

Jordan traces this “extraordinarily pervasive and enduring” association of Africans and apes to the early 1500s when British explorers first encountered both of them at the same time and began describing Africans as apes who were tailless and walked upright.²⁷ From the start, the English viewed Africans as “brutish,” “bestial,” and “beastly.” Some observers speculated that Africans were the offspring of apes; they pored a great deal over the likelihood of copulation between Africans and apes and apes sexually assaulting African women – “Sexual union seemed to prove a certain affinity without going so far as to indicate actual identity.”²⁸ The Negro-ape comparison depended, of course, on the ongoing imaginative construction of the ape (Spiegel 1997). It was only because naturalists such as Edward Topsell already imagined the ape as “lustful” and “venerous” in *The History of Four-Footed Beasts* (1607) that the comparison worked to highlight the African’s putative hypersexuality. One cannot but notice the prurience in the traveler’s accounts. As Anne McClintock notes, “For centuries, the uncertain continents – Africa, the Americas, Asia – were figured in European lore as libidinally eroticized. Travelers’ tales abounded with visions of the monstrous sexuality of far-off lands, where, as legend had it, men sported gigantic penises and women consorted with apes. ... Africa and the Americas had become what can be called a porno-tropics for the European imagination.”²⁹

Many European scientific observers from the 1600s forward posited that the so-called Hottentots (Khoikhoi of South Africa) were the connecting link between man and ape. An English essayist in 1713 wrote in this representative tract:

The Ape or the Monkey that bears the greatest Similitude to Man, is the next Order of Animals below him. Nor is the Disagreement between the basest Individuals of our species and the Ape or Monkey so great, but that, were the latter endow’d with the Faculty of Speech, they might perhaps as justly claim the Rank and Dignity of the human Race, as the savage Hotentot, or stupid native of Nova Zembla.³⁰

The effort here, *pace* Descartes, is to question the human-animal boundary and suggest the virtual indistinguishability of borderland denizens. Some commentators posited that Negroes occupied a midpoint between Europeans and apes. In *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781), Thomas Jefferson indicated this when he said Negro men preferred white women to the same measure that the “Oran – ootans” (chimpanzees) preferred Negro women, the males of each species reaching up the Chain of Being in their sexual desires.³¹ Others were torn between locating Negroes close to apes and rendering them

apes. Jamaican journalist Edward Long – whose writings were excerpted and reprinted as “Observations on the Gradation in the Scale of Being between the Human and Brute Creation. Including Some Curious Particulars Respecting Negroes” (1788) – divided the genus *homo* into three categories: Europeans and other humans, Blacks, and “Oran-outangs” (chimpanzees). Of the last he said they had a “much nearer resemblance to the Negro race than the latter bear to white men” and that they “did not seem at all inferior in the intellectual faculties to many of the negroe race.” Long’s conclusion: “I do not think that an oran-outang husband would be any dishonour to an Hottentot female.”³²

The Enlightenment’s emphasis on reason, progress, and the universal perfectibility of man ensured that for much of the eighteenth century the Negro was seen as theoretically improvable. Despite the entrenchment and expansion of African slavery in the United States and the British Empire during this period, the transatlantic literati continued to speculate that the Negro’s baseness, inferiority, and even his skin color might be a product of environment, broadly construed as climate, living conditions, diet, and institutional context. This left open the possibility that these processes might be reversible, leading to the Negro’s improvement. But by the start of the nineteenth century, European and American scientists were moving away from environmentalism and in the direction of biological determinism, and in this context, the discursive practice of linking of Negroes and beasts found new life. If the hallmark of humanity was perfectibility, progress, and history, Negroes seemed to lack it. To the Western eye, Africa remained “a fetish-land, inhabited by cannibals, dervishes, and witch doctors” and “a land perpetually out of time in modernity, marooned and historically abandoned.”³³

Virtually every ethnological framework created from the dawn of the nineteenth century forward placed Blacks at the very bottom of the human hierarchy of races and somewhere between man and ape. In *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, and in Different Animals and Vegetables; and from the Former to the Latter* (1799), English surgeon Charles White posited, after inspecting facial angles in his colleague’s skull collection, that the downward gradation dictated by nature was Europeans/Asiatics/American Indians/Negroes/Orang-outangs/Monkeys. Having examined skeletons of Europeans, Negroes, “orang-outangs” (chimpanzees), and monkeys, as well as living white and Black bodies, White concluded that the Negro was more similar to the ape than was the European.³⁴ These ideas were shared by the leading minds of the day. George Cuvier, a founder of geology, paleontology, and modern comparative anatomy, described Africans as “the most degraded of human races, whose form approaches that of the beast,” and Charles Lyell, a founder of modern geology wrote, “The brain of the Bushman ... leads toward the brain of the *Simiadae* [monkeys].”³⁵

If naturalists and comparative anatomists focused on the Negro-ape interval, another comparison animated and was in turn reinforced by the discursive and material practices of Southern slavery. This was the link between Negro slaves and domesticated animals, specifically livestock. Winthrop Jordan writes, "Slave traders in Africa handled Negroes the same way men in England handled beasts, herding and examining and buying."³⁶ New slaves off the ships were described as "well-fleshed," "strong-limbed," "lusty," "robust," "unblemished," making it clear that "Negroes, just like horses, were walking pieces of property."³⁷ Indeed, as Marjorie Spiegel (1997) and Charles Patterson (2002) point out, slavery saw the redeployment of the very technologies of domination and control originally developed for use in animal husbandry – including chaining, whipping, branding, and selling at auction. Some slave owners described slavery as an institution that transformed the Negro "from the 'savage' (best understood through the metaphor of the wild animal) to the slave (best understood through the metaphor of the domestic animal)," even as opponents of slavery decried slavery's treatment of men as dumb beasts.³⁸

The image of Sambo, the docile, childlike, plastic slave, was meant to shore up this notion of slavery as benevolent toward Black people. The slave imagined as Sambo would have been lost without white protection. That the Negro was supposedly improved by slavery and civilized and Christianized by his contact with whites provided a moral justification for the institution even as it reassured whites anxious about slave rebellion. The Sambo image coexisted with the "Negro as beast" belief and was theoretically compatible with it, as in the common argument made by Southerners that Negroes could be partially civilized by slavery but would revert back to bestiality at the first taste of freedom.³⁹ The Negro might be emancipated from slavery but never from his own nature. He could only ever be, under the best conditions, a semi-civilized brute, not a civilized man. Because the "Negro as beast" idea coexisted with the Sambo image, Southerners in the mid-1800s were ambivalent as to whether "the model for the ideal slave was taken from the realm of the subhuman, with the slave as a high type of domesticated animal to serve as the white man's tool like another beast of burden" or whether the slave was a child in a patriarchal relationship with his master.⁴⁰

It was in this intellectual and political context that one abolitionist author in 1804 felt the need to devote a chapter in his book to "Whether the African Negroes be a part of the Human Species, capable of intellectual, moral, and religious Improvement, no less than the other Nations of Mankind; or, an inferior Order of beings, occupying a middle Place between Men and Brutes?"⁴¹ According to George Fredrickson, abolitionists' direct challenges to slavery ironically led to the hardening and tightening of proslavery arguments. He writes, "It took the assault of the abolitionists to unmask the cant about a theoretical human equality that coexisted with Negro slavery and racial

discrimination and to force the practitioners of racial oppression to develop a theory that accorded with their behavior."⁴² Summoned in defense of slavery, arguments about permanent, biologically determined Negro inferiority gained traction as the nineteenth century progressed. Richard Colfax, in a pamphlet entitled *Evidence Against the Views of the Abolitionists, Consisting of Physical and Moral Proofs of the Natural Inferiority of the Negroes* (1833), concludes that Negroes "are so inferior as to resemble the brute creation as nearly as they do the white species." Crucially, Colfax makes the additional point that this status is immutable as demonstrated by the fact that in thousands of years Negroes had "never even attempted to raise themselves above their present equivocal station in the great zoological chain."⁴³

The "American School" of anthropology emerged at this time, with Samuel George Morton, George Gliddon, and Josiah Nott using data from craniometric investigations to not only rank races (whites on top, Blacks on the bottom, Indians in the middle) but argue that they were different species altogether. Christian orthodoxy held that mankind was created at one time and in the image of God even if it had differentiated or degenerated into separate varieties or races since Creation. Bucking this orthodoxy about a single origin (monogenism), Morton and colleagues advanced the notion of polygenism: that different races were different species created at different times. This was a momentous shift in thinking: "The difference between a variety and a species meant also, in theory at least, the difference between a Black man who was inferior to the whites but akin to them ... and a Black man who was more animal than human and could, for most purposes, be treated as such."⁴⁴ Taken from Nott and Gliddon's *Types of Mankind* (1855), Figure 2.2 shows the imaginative location of the Black man between the white man and the ape.

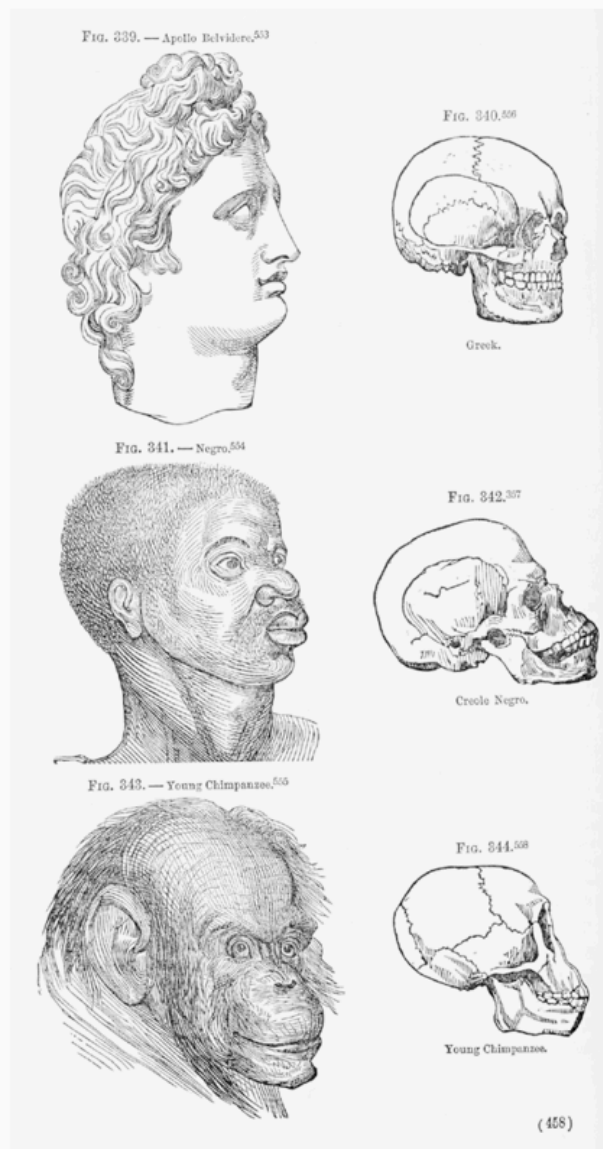


Figure 2.2. Image taken from *Types of Mankind* (1855) by Josiah Nott and George

Gliddon. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Although polygenism never became a majority viewpoint, it was eagerly embraced by defenders of slavery and resurrected by Southerners during Reconstruction. In 1867, Buckner Payne, writing under the pseudonym "Ariel," published *The Negro: What Is His Ethnological Status?*, in which he claimed that Negroes were created as a separate species before Adam and Eve and related to "higher orders of the monkey."⁴⁵ Of course, polygenists in the mid-1800s had no monopoly on the Negro-ape comparison, which was a fixture of scientific analyses grounded on the principles of continuity and gradation. Charles Darwin, whose theory of evolution placed him squarely in the monogenist camp, wrote of his anticipation of a time when the gap between human and ape would be clearer "instead of as at present between the negro or Australian and the gorilla."⁴⁶

In the late 1800s, new images of the Negro were added to the old. Since the antebellum period, minstrel show characters like Jim Crow had presented Negroes as incompetent, posturing buffoons unfit for equality with whites. However, the "Negro as beast" image "came to the surface in a new and spectacular way around the turn of the century."⁴⁷ Released from the civilizing and constraining shackles of slavery, the Negro was now a roaming, mortal threat to the white woman and the nation. The national craze over "coon" songs from 1890 to 1910 – which replaced unthreatening, buffoonish characters from the earlier period with hypersexual "razor-wielding savages"⁴⁸ – marked this shift. Lynchings of Black men, which peaked in the South during this period, were routinely characterized by participants and/or the press as the proper punishment for Negro beasts who had dared to besmirch the purity of white women. All of this was memorialized in literature by Thomas Dixon, whose novels *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905) gained great popularity by traducing in the "Negro as beast" image.⁴⁹

In *"The Negro a Beast" ... or ... "In the Image of God"* (1900), Charles Carroll argues on the basis of Scripture and studies of comparative anatomy that the Negro is literally a beast. Winthrop Jordan may have been too sanguine in his conviction that Christianity protected the Negro from this type of degradation, or he may have underestimated the willingness of some commentators to reimagine Christianity as supportive of their anti-Black ideas. Carroll ridicules both the "athetistic theory of Natural Development" (Darwinism) and "Enlightened Christianity," which together teach that although there are five varieties or races of man, they are all part of a single human species. This is heresy, Carroll contends, because it tears down the barriers that God set up between man, whom He made in His image, and the ape, and brings man down to the level of the ape by saying that he descended from the latter. The Negro, Carroll insists, was

formed separately from the white man, is not part of the Adamic family, and is an ape. The crucifixion of Jesus Christ was made necessary precisely because man forgot this fact about the Negro, for the Savior “came to destroy man’s social, political and religious equality with the Negro and mixed-bloods and the amalgamation to which these crimes inevitably lead, and to rebuild the barriers which God erected in the Creation between man and the ape” (269).

Carroll sets forth various contrasts – the “short, broad skull” of whites versus the “long, narrow skull” of Negroes; the “short, narrow jaw” of whites versus the “long, broad jaw” of Negroes; the “prominent chin” of whites versus the “retreating chin” of Negroes; the “long, slender neck” of whites versus the “short, thick neck” of Negroes; the “highly developed calves” of whites versus the “thin calves” of Negroes; the “short, narrow heel” of whites versus the “long, broad heel” of Negroes, and so forth (46–58) – and concludes: “All scientific investigation of the subject proves the Negro to be an ape; and that he simply stands at the head of the ape family. ... [T]he Negro is the only anthropoid, or man-like ape; and ... the gibbon, orang, chimpanzee and gorilla are merely negro-like apes” (87). The costs of ignoring the Negro’s ape nature are high, Carroll insists, and many catastrophic events (in addition to the crucifixion of Christ) can be traced to this root cause.

Three years later, Reverend W. S. Armistead published *The Negro Is a Man: A Reply to Professor Charles Carroll’s Book* (1903). Armistead’s indignation at Carroll’s heterodox interpretation of the Bible is apparent in his frequent use of exclamation marks. Point by point, referring to Scripture, Armistead offers a refutation of Carroll’s argument. The Negro, he writes, “is of Adamic offspring, Noachic origin, Hamitic descent, a blood relation of whites, reds, browns, yellows and copper colors – a human being, and therefore has a soul” (xv). That the Negro, like the white man, has dominion over animals and eats meat is further proof of his humanity (526). Not to be outdone by Carroll’s mobilization of scientific data, Armistead has a chapter on each of the following topics: skin, hair, skeleton, muscles, digestive organs, thorax and heart, organs of voice and respiration, urinary organs, nervous system, organs of sense, organs of circulation, lymphatics and articulations, brain. His conclusion is that “from bone to skin, the Negro is a *fac simile* of the white man” (161). For the reader innocent enough to infer by the end of the 582-page volume that Armistead is a defender of the Negro – as opposed to being a defender of Christian orthodoxy – the concluding chapter provides a surprise twist. Here Armistead explicitly states his commitment to preventing social equality and intermingling between Negroes and whites, which would be bad for both groups and would violate God’s design (why else would He separate them by continents?). In closing, Armistead denounces:

the practice of the Blacks in *assaulting* white females. A more *dangerous practice* could never have been *started by the Blacks*. ... For a strong man to meet an unprotected female in some lonely place, seize her person, choke her to insensibility and rape her person, and then, in most instance, murder her to prevent detection, argues a *beastliness*, a *cold-blooded, murderous heart*, a *depth of criminality* that *demonstrates fitness for equalization with beasts*, rather than with human beings. ... *Let the Blacks beware!*

As sure as there is a God in heaven, a *continuation* of such outrages on Southern females, is *digging the grave of their race*. To continue such practices is to *invite and make certain their extermination!*” (540–2)

Thus does the Reverend who sets out to argue that *The Negro Is a Man* reduce the Black man to a beast.

A couple of years after the Carroll-Armistead exchange, the Congolese man Ota Benga was exhibited in the Bronx Zoo in a cage with an orangutan. The sign above the cage read “THE AFRICAN PYGMY, ‘OTA BENG.’ AGE, 23 YEARS / HEIGHT, 4 FEET 11 INCHES. WEIGHT, 103 POUNDS. / BROUGHT FROM THE KASAI RIVER, / CONGO FREE STATE, SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICA / BY DR. SAMUEL P. VERNER. / EXHIBITED EACH AFTERNOON DURING SEPTEMBER.” *The New York Times* ran stories about Benga, asking “Is it a man or a monkey?”⁵⁰ In the same vein, filmmaker Martin Johnson planned a movie on “African Babies” in 1922 that would show “elephant babies, lion babies, zebra babies, giraffe babies, and Black babies,” suggesting that “African human life had the status of wildlife in the Age of Mammals.”⁵¹

Indeed, when African humans attempted to transcend nature and assert mastery over animals in the presence of whites, matters were promptly set straight. Donna Haraway (1989) recounts the story of the white scientist/hunter Carl Akeley going on an African safari in the early 1900s with his African servant, a Kikuyu known as Bill. Bill shot at an elephant he thought was charging Akeley, and Akeley, not realizing what had prompted the shooting, slapped Bill. Haraway notes: “The African could not be permitted to hunt independently with a gun in the presence of a white man ... Bill’s well-meaning (and well-placed) shot was pollution, a usurpation of maturity.”⁵² It was no accident that in the period of African decolonization at mid-century, Western primatologists working in Africa were white and female – they had to be, Haraway argues: “People of color could not mediate the required touch with nature that could reassure ‘man’ within the myth and science system of National Geographic ... because they were still implicitly (if no longer officially) assigned to a lower rung on the chain of being, insufficiently differentiated from the nonhuman primates. ... Black people *were* the beast.”⁵³

The Indian Savage

If it was the Negro's lowliness that linked him to apes, it was the Indian's savagery that linked him to wild animals and the wilderness itself. Coming in above the Negro on ethnological scales, the Indian was not imagined, with a few exceptions, as the missing link between man and ape but rather as someone located in a space of antecedent time and ahistoricity, a primitive as incapable of cultural development as the wolves and trees he lived among.⁵⁴ At the start of contact, and at moments thereafter, whites discussed Indians as civilizable and assimilable as equals, perhaps through intermarriage and amalgamation – notions that were almost never expressed about Blacks. But the assimilation impulse toward Indians, when implemented, was done coercively, and it gave way over time to a much harsher posture.

Just as ideas about Blacks emerged in engagement with the institution of slavery, ideas about Indians emerged in engagement with the centuries-long white land grab initiated by English colonists in the 1600s. Rendering Indians wild beasts of the forests proved crucial first, to constructing an account of why English colonists and other Europeans had a right to appropriate the land, and second, to constructing an account of why they had a right to clear the Indians out, much as they killed wolves and cleared forests, in order to make way for civilization. When whites characterized Indians as savages and likened them to wild beasts, they were not simply using strong metaphors to express a sense of distance; nor were they strategically dehumanizing them to further their material agenda. They knew Indians were men but they thought them animal-like men, and being inclined to thinking in terms of continuity and gradation rather than dichotomy, they imagined them into the human-animal borderlands in ways that decisively shaped white-Indian relations into the twenty-first century.

By the time English colonists began to settle on the Eastern Seaboard, they knew that the Spanish had already resolved that the Indians of the New World were in fact human, but only barely. After Columbus named the natives "Indians" in a moment of geographical disorientation, his compatriots assessed all those they lumped together under this label and found them deficient from the standpoint of both Christianity and civilization. In 1550, the famous debate between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda transpired, in which the former argued that the Indians were human and that the Spanish subjugation of them was unjust, and the latter argued that they were subhumans deserving Spanish domination. Through the 1500s, the English, who prided themselves on being less cruel than the Spanish, used "savage" and "Indians" interchangeably.⁵⁵ Travel narratives in the 1500s depicted the Indian as "a fierce, cannibalistic creature" and as "less than human – naked, violent, warlike, and frequently, more animalistic than human"; they warned travelers against being "seduced into savagery" by the "unrestrained sexuality and immorality" of the Indian.⁵⁶

From the 1500s onward, we see the coexistence of "two fundamental but contradictory conceptions of Indian culture" – the good Indian who is friendly, hospitable, brave, handsome, dignified, and innocent; and the bad Indian who is brutal, cruel, warring, lecherous, dirty, lazy, and thieving.⁵⁷ Encouraged by the Crown to Christianize and civilize the Indians, English colonists in Jamestown, judging from the written record, started with good intentions at the dawn of the seventeenth century. Unlike the merciless Spaniards, they would gently instruct the Indians how to behave in terms of food, clothing, arts, and skills and bring them into the community, whether by adopting Indian children into white families or building a college to civilize and convert Indian youth to Christianity.⁵⁸ For a while at least, these benevolent impulses coexisted with the tendency to see Indians as beasts who were occupying land to which they had no claim. So the Virginia Indians "live and lie up and downe in troupes like herds of Deare in a Forrest" and "have no particular propertie in any part or parcell of that Country, but only a generl recidence there, as wild beasts have in the forest."⁵⁹ Operating with the Roman legal concept of *res nullius* – "empty things" – the Virginia colonists believed that the land remained common property until its use led to specific rights of ownership.⁶⁰ The rub lay in what constituted proper and genuine use. Because Indians lived as "wild" animals on the soil, hunting and gathering, they had no claim to it. By tilling the land, growing crops, and establishing animal agriculture, the English developed a legitimate claim to the land. The fact that Virginia Indians did grow crops, particularly corn, which they sometimes offered to save the lives of starving colonists during particularly inclement winters, did not interfere with this dichotomous notion in the minds of the colonists between the "savage" life of the Indians and the "civilized" life of Englishmen.

At mid-century, the Virginia colonists came up with a scheme to use domestic beasts to reward beast-like men for subduing and killing wild beasts. Thus in 1656, the House of Burgesses, keen on protecting livestock from wolves, decided to give Indians one cow for every eight wolf heads they produced. This bounty was smaller than that which whites received for the same number of wolf heads: the Indian was invited to kill wolves but this move, a product of exigency, was not to be mistaken for an acknowledgment of full humanity. The idea behind the plan was that animal agriculture, and, specifically, individual property in livestock, would civilize Indians, turning them into industrious, God-fearing, peace-loving farmers. However, "the cows proved no more successful as missionaries than the few ministers who tried their hand at it."⁶¹ Before long, as Virginia Anderson writes, "the expansion of livestock-based agriculture ceased being a model for Indian improvement and instead served almost exclusively as a pretext for conquest."⁶² Colonists' livestock encroached on Indian land and invaded Indian cornfields, which prompted Indians to kill the animals, which prompted colonists to initiate hostilities in defense of their "property." Livestock became a major

flashpoint for conflict between Indians and colonists in Virginia and New England, and the need for more grazing land became an important driver in territorial expansion and the seizing of Indian lands in both areas.

Powhatan's successor, Opechancanough, decided to try to eliminate the Virginia colony in one concerted assault in 1622, killing hundreds of colonists and launching an all-out war. This was a historical turning point, after which the victorious colonists segregated Indians within certain territorial boundaries and established a tributary relationship with them. Images of the Indian took a hard turn, too, as suggested by this poem written in the aftermath of the massacre:

...For, but consider what those Creatures are,
(I cannot call them men) no Character
of God in them: Soules drown'd in flesh and blood;
Rooted in Evill, and oppos'd in Good;
Errors of nature, of inhumane Birth...
Sprung up like vermine of an earthy slime...
What feare or pittie were it, or what sin...
To quite their Slaughter, leaving not a Creature
That may restore such shame of Men, and Nature.⁶³

These were no longer the friendly natives whom the Crown directed colonists to bring into the fold; these were merciless, monstrous beasts beyond the pale of humanity. Laws in the colony increasingly reflected this shift in thinking. In 1670, the Virginia legislature had distinguished Indians from African slaves, categorizing the former as indentured servants, but in 1676, it determined that enemy Indians could be made slaves for life. Edmund Morgan argues that this move lumped Indians and Negroes together legally and clarified the racial foundation of slavery. Why did the English colonists not enslave Dutch captives of war? Morgan writes: "There was something different about the Indians. Whatever the particular nation or tribe or group they belonged to, they were not civil, not Christian, perhaps not quite human."⁶⁴

Further north, during this same period, the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony showed a special inclination to associate Indians with wolves, who were invested with Satanic significance in their theology and posed an ever-present threat to livestock. A 1638 Massachusetts law held that "[W]hoever shall shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game except an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit 5 shillings for every shot."⁶⁵ Cotton Mather, in rousing soldiers to fight the Indians in 1689, exclaimed: "*Vengeance, Dear Country-men! Vengeance upon our Murderers ... Beat them small as the Dust before the Wind, and Cast them out, as the Dirt in the Streets ... those Ravenous howling Wolves.*"⁶⁶ Similarly, when Reverend Solomon Stoddard recommended to the

governor of Massachusetts in 1703 that dogs be used to track Indians, he justified this departure from Christian practice thus: "*If the Indians were as other people are and did manage their warr fairly after the manner of other nations, it might be looked upon as inhumane to pursue them in such a manner. ... [But] they act like wolves and are to be dealt withall as wolves.*"⁶⁷ Just as the Negro-ape association relied on a particular constructed notion of apeness (as hypersexual and violent), the Indian-wolf association, too, relied on a particular constructed notion of wolfness in the Puritan mind (as cruel, merciless, bloodthirsty, and evil).

During the 1700s, Enlightenment optimism about the unity and perfectibility of mankind warred with and eventually succumbed to the image of the Indian as an irredeemable savage standing in the way of the civilizing mission in the New World.⁶⁸ Many American commentators, influenced by Enlightenment thinking, were environmentalists in the sense that they believed that climate, diet, living conditions, and the state of organizational development shaped a people's physical bodies, cultural traits, and level of civilization. As such, "[M]any fully believed that Indians could progress rapidly through the three stages of society from savagism to barbarism to civilization – if the conditions under which they lived were changed."⁶⁹ Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781), characterized Indians as brave, manly, eloquent, and the physical equals of white men, expressing hope they would amalgamate with the white population.⁷⁰ He was not as generous to the Negro. In a letter to the Marquis de Chastellux in 1785, Jefferson wrote: "I am safe in affirming that the proofs of genius given by the Indians of N. America, place them on a level with whites in the same uncultivated state. ... I believe the Indian then to be in body and mind equal to the white man. I have supposed the Black man, in his present state, might not be so."⁷¹

Of course, Jefferson had a horse in this race, so to speak. Incensed by French naturalist Buffon's claims that the American environment was inferior to the European one and that it had produced smaller animals and a savage who is "feeble" and shows "no ardor whatever for his female," Jefferson was determined to demonstrate the Indian's worth as an index of the quality of the American environment.⁷² At the same time, another luminary and Jefferson's contemporary, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, wrote about "the animals, vulgarly called Indians" in this striking passage:

What use do these ring, streaked, spotted and speckled cattle make of the soil? Do they till it? Revelation said to man, "Thou shalt till the ground." This alone is human life. It is favorable to population, to science, to the information of a human mind in the worship of God. Warburton has well said, that before you can make an Indian a christian you must teach him agriculture and reduce him to a civilized life. To live by tilling is more

human, by hunting is *more bestiarum*. I would as soon admit a right in the buffalo to grant lands, as in Killbuck, the Big Cat, the Big Dog, or any of the ragged wretches that are called chiefs and sachems. ... I am so far from thinking the Indians have a right to the soil, that not having made a better use of it for many hundred years, I conceive they have forfeited all pretence to claim, and ought to be driven from it.⁷³

Brackenridge echoes the century-old notion that Indians are beasts who exist on the land rather than cultivators who through their labor develop a rightful claim to it. His angry contempt at the notion of Indian land rights indicates that this was still, to some extent, a live issue at the time of his writing. Within several decades, this issue would be settled once and for all, and not in favor of the Indians.

Enlightenment thinkers, viewing history as progressive, saw Indians as primitives, men in the state of nature who had not progressed toward civilization as Europeans had. What emerged in the early part of the nineteenth century was the conviction that Indians could *never* progress beyond their primitive state. Like the wild beasts of the forest, Indians were static and without history, in pointed contrast to dynamic, progressive whites. Ann McClintock writes of the colonial view of the native:

The colonial journey into the virgin interior reveals a contradiction, for the journey is figured as proceeding forward in geographical space but backward in historical time, to what is figured as a prehistoric zone of racial and gender difference. ... Since indigenous peoples are not supposed to be spatially there – for the lands are “empty” – they are symbolically displaced onto what I call *anachronistic space* ... [where] they do not inhabit history proper but exist in a permanently anterior time within the geographic space of the modern empire as anachronistic humans, atavistic, irrational, bereft of human agency – the living embodiment of the archaic “primitive.”⁷⁴

Once it was decided that Indians could not be induced to make progress toward civilization through conversion, education, or other environmental changes – that they were forever marooned in “anachronistic space” – their fate was sealed. Like the wolves in the forests and the buffalo on the plains, they had to give way in the face of advancing white civilization. In “Removal of the Indians” (1830), Lewis Cass, President Jackson’s secretary of war, averred that Indians had not advanced despite two centuries of contact with whites: “Like the bear, and deer, and buffalo of his own forests, an Indian lives as his father lived, and dies as his father died. ... His life passes away in a succession of listless indolence, and of vigorous exertion to provide for his animal

wants, or to gratify his baleful passions ... he is perhaps destined to disappear with the forests.”⁷⁵ Clearing the land for white civilization reflected the unfolding of both God’s will and nature’s laws; it was necessary, moral, and inevitable.

One sees during the late 1700s and early 1800s how closely American nationalism and exceptionalism were tied to this idea of conquering the wilderness and establishing civilization. As Klaus Lubbers shows, Fourth of July orations during this period, delivered by local men of prominence, were rhapsodic paeans to the nation’s greatness and singularity. In them, Indians were often tightly linked with animals of the wilderness as obstacles overcome in the journey of progress. In 1791, William Linn said in his oration:

Less than two centuries ago, what was this now pleasant country? A dismal wilderness; the habitation of wild beasts, and of savage men. Where now the populous city lifts its spires, the solitary wigwam stood; where commerce spreads its sails, was seen the bark canoe; and where the sound of industry is heard, and all the arts of civilized life flourish, indolence, rudeness, and ignorance, held a gloomy reign.⁷⁶

Similarly, in 1800, Matthew Livingston Davis recalled “when these fair and extensive domains were rude and inhospitable wilds ... when wild and ferocious animals divided the empire of this continent with human savages, still more barbarous and intractable than themselves.” And in 1809, John Treat Irving spoke triumphantly of “the glad ray of knowledge [that] shall burst upon these dark recesses, where the wandering savage holds dominion, the mighty mammoth thunders thro’ the forest, and the rattling serpent wreathes his folds among the herbage.”⁷⁷

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 forcibly moved most Indian tribes from the Eastern portion of the nation westward beyond the Mississippi River. Continued expansion westward on the part of whites necessitated a second phase of Indian removal farther west during the 1840s and 1850s and the establishment of reservation systems. As the “Indian question” found resolution in this way, and as Indian wars on the Great Plains began to subside, whites felt a surge of nostalgia and pity for the “dying Indian” (Berkhofer 1979), some of which was memorialized in literature such as James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and George Caitlin’s portraits of the “vanishing race” through the 1800s.

There was not much sentimentalization of the Indian in California, however, where Indian slavery was thriving in the mid-nineteenth century. California Indians were compared to simians and put up for consideration as the missing link between man and ape. (Recall that the Indian in the Reconstruction picture with Union Party

gubernatorial candidate George Gorham is indeed the link between man and ape.) California Indians were seen as darker than their Eastern counterparts (as almost Black), and their diet, manner of eating, dwellings, and behavior were all likened to animals, both domestic and wild. The epithet “Digger” conveyed an image of a filthy animal grubbing for roots. Decimated by disease and warfare between 1848 and 1870, the California Indians who survived were subjected to state legislation (1850) that authorized forced “apprenticeships,” “vagrancy” statutes that permitted the practically unlimited coercion of labor, and outright kidnapping and sale as slaves for the Californio rancheros as well as small farmers and frontiersmen (Rawls 1984). The fact that Indians were sometimes paid in liquor and then arrested and forced to labor under “vagrancy” statutes forbidding intoxication lends a special irony to the depiction of the liquor-loving Indian in the Reconstruction picture.⁷⁸

The biologization of race at mid-century and the monogenism/polygenism debate that arose then involved the Indian as much as it did the Negro. Based on his study of Indian crania, polygenist Samuel George Morton rejected environmentalism as an explanation for racial difference and concluded that Indians’ small brains meant that they were biologically incapable of becoming civilized.⁷⁹ That Indians ranked higher in craniometric studies than Blacks – Morton offered a mean of ninety-two cubic inches for Caucasians, seventy-nine cubic inches for Americans (Indians), and seventy-five cubic inches for Hottentots and Australian Bushmen⁸⁰ – did them little practical good because they were likely to be lumped with Blacks even as they were being distinguished from them, as we see in Josiah Nott and George Gliddon’s *Types of Mankind* (1855):

Lofty civilization, in all cases, has been achieved solely by the “Caucasian” group. Mongolian races, save in the Chinese family, in no instance have reached beyond the degree of semi-civilization; while the Black races of Africa and Oceanica no less than the *Barbarous* tribes of America have remained in utter darkness for thousands of years. ... Furthermore, Certain savage types can neither be civilized or domesticated. The *Barbarous* races of America (excluding the Toltecs) although nearly as low in intellect as in the Negro races, are essentially untameable. Not merely have all attempts to civilize them failed, but also every endeavor to enslave them. Our Indian tribes submit to extermination, rather than wear the yoke under which our Negro slaves fatten and multiply. ... The pure-blooded savage still skulks untamed through the forest, or gallops athwart the prairie.⁸¹

This statement concisely demonstrates how race both lumped and split nonwhite groups in reference to animality and nature. Whites, the Chinese, Indians, and Negroes

are ranked according to their degrees of humanity/animality. Only the fully human whites reach the apex of civilization, and the Chinese come in second, while the Negro slaves merely “fatten and multiply” and the Indian savages “skulk” and “gallop” through the wilderness.

Jody Emel notes that the Indians’ fate was intertwined with and paralleled that of the wolf and buffalo during the 1800s. At one time, wolves lived in almost every part of North America, particularly in the forests and on the plains, but bounties were issued for wolf heads in the East starting in the mid-1600s. By the mid-1800s, a trade in wolf pelts had been established so that buffalo hunters picked off the wolves who came to eat the buffalo carcasses left after the hunters had taken only the hams, tongue, and skin. The buffalo were decimated between 1850 and 1880, with some 75 million killed, in large part because of the leather trade.⁸² The result: “Native Americans and wolves, who had been dependent upon the buffalo herds, resorted to other means of survival ... [and] became semi-starved reservation dwellers or died fighting.”⁸³ When General Philip Sheridan of the U.S. Army said, “Let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo is destroyed ... it is the only way to bring lasting peace and allow civilization to advance,” he understood well that the viability of independent Indian tribes depended on the survival of the buffalo.⁸⁴ The slaughter of wolves on the plains peaked just after, from 1875 to 1895, as cattlemen hired wolfers to use every available means, including strychnine, to eliminate the wolf. An estimated one to two million wolves were slaughtered in the second half of the nineteenth century on the Great Plains by a coalition of government agencies, ranchers, and sportsmen. By 1925, the wolf ceased to be a major presence in the Southwest and a decade later, the wolf had been eliminated from the Great Plains and Montana and Wyoming.⁸⁵ Emel writes: “Reading the military journals of officers tracking the last small groups of free Comanches along the canyons of the Llano Estacado in West Texas is remarkably like reading the accounts of government hunters tracking the last remaining southwestern wolves.”⁸⁶

John Gast’s 1872 painting, *American Progress* (Figure 2.3), suggests how inevitable and right all of this seemed to many white Americans. The painting depicts white westward expansion under the banner of Manifest Destiny. Columbia, as the personification of America, is a white goddess in classical robes with the star of empire on her forehead, carrying a schoolbook and a telegraph wire. Her expression is serene as she leads the white settlers, who advance on horseback, by wagon, by stagecoach, and by train. White farmers till the land with oxen and plough in the foreground, and ships are visible in the harbor to the east. Fleeing westward before Columbia are a number of wild animals and Indians, who look back in horror and fear. Golden light suffuses the sky from the east, gradually illuminating all but the westernmost region. All that is savage and wild retreats before the march of civilization, and this is necessary and good. The history of violence against racialized humans (Blacks, Indians, Mexicans, the Chinese) and

nonhuman animals in westward expansion is elided. The driving agent of change is neither white desire nor white power but progress itself.⁸⁷



Figure 2.3. *American Progress*. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The Chinese Pestilential Menace

Virtually every comparative anatomist and ethnologist of note ranked the Chinese just below Europeans on a hierarchical scale of intelligence and civilization, clearly superior to Indians and especially Blacks. As such, there was no discernible talk of the Chinese constituting the missing link between man and ape and little discussion of their being actual beasts. Nevertheless, whites resisted seeing the Chinese as fully or truly human and thus located them in the human-animal borderlands, too. In the late 1800s, the practical problem, plainly stated, was that the Chinese were living in ever larger numbers in places like San Francisco, where they competed with white working-class men for jobs. As economic conditions worsened in the 1870s, white Californians increasingly cast the Chinese as a degenerate race encroaching on and invading white spaces, posing a moral, medical, and economic threat to the nation. Menacing, swarming, pestilential animal images became stitched indelibly into the body of the

Chinese. The only answer was to expel the pests from the body politic and keep them out.

When the Chinese first arrived in significant numbers in Gold Rush California, they were a racial wild card of sorts. The writings of diplomats, travelers, and others had long furnished Americans with images of China itself but there was uncertainty about where Chinese immigrants fit into the specific racial landscape of California in the mid-nineteenth century. On the one hand, naturalists and ethnologists had a rough consensus on the location of the Chinese in the hierarchy of human races. In the early 1860s, Pierre Gratiolet, arguing that higher mental functions were associated with the front of the brain, offered a schema dividing humans into “*races frontales*” (whites with anterior and frontal brain lobes most highly developed), “*races pariétales*” (Mongolians with parietal or mid lobes most developed), and “*races occipitales*” (Blacks with the back of the brain being most developed).⁸⁸ Paul Broca, an eminent craniometrist and founder of the Anthropological Society of Paris in 1859, was embroiled in a bitter debate with Gratiolet about the correlation between brain size and intelligence, but he concurred with his erstwhile opponent about the ranking of these three racial groups.

On the other hand, the Chinese were culturally fixed and thus permanently unassimilable. What marked the Chinese as different from whites was their ancient civilization, which was once glorious but had fatally degenerated, even as Anglo-Saxon culture was advancing, thrusting forward, dynamic, and energetic. Chinese culture was at once an index of relative superiority (to other nonwhite groups) and the eternal barrier to assimilation with whites. Whites placed the Chinese, too, into “anachronistic space”: where Indians remained mired in static primitivism, the Chinese had progressed, but then peaked and degenerated. As much as Indians, then, they were impervious to further progress. Thus Charles Wolcott Brooks, former U.S. consul to Japan, testified to the Joint Congressional Committee Hearings on Chinese Immigration in 1879 that “The Chinese are non-assimilative because their form of civilization has crystallized.”⁸⁹ To be impervious to history and progress was to be incompletely human, animal-like. An 1874 drawing in *Thistleton's Jolly Giant* shows a progression of images in which a monkey evolves into John Chinaman, who then degenerates into a pig. The commentary gives props to Darwin, describes the processes of evolution and degeneration captured in the picture, and concludes with, “Any further comment would be useless.”

Where whites encountered nonwhite peoples seems to have shaped, at least in part, how they viewed them, whether it was the English coming across Africans in a land overrun with apes and other wildlife, colonists encountering Indians in the forests of Virginia, or white Californians beholding the strange denizens of San Francisco's Chinatown (Anderson 1987). Although Chinatown was produced by white exclusionary

practices – residential segregation, immigration restrictions, discriminatory labor legislation – it was taken to be all that was essentially Chinese. Thus the overcrowding, poverty, lack of health care, female prostitution – all of these were proof, in the minds of whites, of immutable Chinese traits such as clannishness, degeneracy, lustfulness, and filthiness. The rankings that preoccupied ethnologists (and privileged the Chinese, relatively speaking) did little to mitigate whites' impressions of the Chinese in Chinatown as alien, decaying, repulsive bodies who threatened whites' bodies, health, labor, and way of life. Degeneracy attached not only to Chinese bodies but to Chinatown itself. Nayan Shah notes the contrapuntal images of “decaying, regressive Chinatown” and “growing, progressive San Francisco,” and notes that the former was thought to be “impervious to progress” and “unaffected by the forces of modernity.”⁹⁰

Chinese immigrants living in Chinatown were, in the eyes of whites, more like domesticated animals or vermin than human beings. The newspaper *The Daily Alta* described Chinese living quarters as “dirty, filthy dens” where the Chinese “piled together like pigs in a pen.”⁹¹ Reports from a series of government-sponsored investigations of Chinatown between 1854 and 1885 also read Chinese bodies as filthy, less than human, and animal-like. One municipal report from 1869–70, for example, described them thus:

The portion of the city occupied by the Chinese is situated between Kearny and Stockton, and California and Jackson streets, within which district Chinese life in all its phases (which in general is but little better than that of the brute creation) may be seen. As a class, their mode of life is the most abject in which it is possible for human beings to exist. The great majority of them live crowded together in rickety, filthy and dilapidated tenement houses, like so many cattle or hogs.⁹²

Echoing this theme, an 1880 Board of Health report on Chinatown described Chinese men and women “huddled together in beastly promiscuousness,” and an 1885 municipal report concluded that the “mode of life among the Chinese here are not much above ‘those of the rats on the waterfront.’”⁹³ By the time the Chinese were characterized as “satisfied with the bare necessities of their brute-like lives” during a conference on Chinese exclusion in 1901, the Chinese had been imaginatively located in the human-animal borderlands for decades.⁹⁴

Although the Chinese were a decaying race who could not vanquish the mighty Anglo-Saxons head on, there was always the possibility that Chinese degeneracy could insidiously undermine white civilization from below. This sense of threat registered on numerous levels. There was, to begin with, acute concern about dirt and disease. As Nayan Shah (2001) argues, San Francisco health officials and politicians routinely

referred to Chinatown as a “plague spot” and a “cesspool” and blamed Chinese immigrants’ supposedly filthy and degraded lifestyle for outbreaks of syphilis, smallpox, and bubonic plague.⁹⁵ *Chinatown Declared a Nuisance!*, an 1880 pamphlet produced by the Workingmen’s Committee of California, opined about “this laboratory of infection – situated in the very heart of our city, distilling its deadly poison by day and by night and sending it forth to contaminate the atmosphere of the streets and houses of a populous, wealthy and intelligent community.” That the Chinese “should so pertinaciously and willfully disregard our sanitary laws ... so maliciously pursue that course of conduct which they know is bringing distress upon our city, by destroying the lives of our citizens ... can only be accounted for on the supposition that they are enemies of our race and people.”⁹⁶ The Chinese threat was frequently sexualized as well, just as with Negroes and Indians. Nefarious Chinamen luring virtuous whites into opium dens, Chinese houseboys molesting little white girls, Chinese prostitutes infecting white boys with syphilis – these imaginings made the sense of a Chinese menace at once more acute and more titillating.⁹⁷ Chinatown was, simply told, a hidden alien space where inscrutable Asiatics engaged in the unspeakable. Efforts to move Chinatown from the heart of the city to the outskirts, although unsuccessful, were continuous during this period, reflecting the fear that the Chinese threat would cross over the boundaries of Chinatown into white San Francisco.

And then there was the threat to white labor. Alexander Saxton (1975) shows that the construction of white working-class identity and solidarity in this period of California history depended heavily on the cultivation of anti-Chinese feeling. In every area of work (railroads, mines, factories, fields), the “coolie” was seen as degraded labor like the slave and as a threat to the very promise of America for the white working class – namely, economic mobility.⁹⁸ That white employers used a dual wage labor system to divide white and Chinese workers and sometimes brought the Chinese in as scabs when white workers went on strike only deepened the sense that “coolie” labor was incompatible with a free labor. In this context, Union Party gubernatorial candidate George Gorham’s defense of Chinese labor was both brave and politically suicidal. An 1882 drawing from *The Wasp* periodical, “What Shall We Do With Our Boys?” forcefully expresses white labor’s fear and loathing toward the Chinese.⁹⁹ On the left, a Chinese man is shown as a crazed octopus-like creature with multiple arms, each one working at an inhuman speed to monopolize a distinct trade such as laundry work, shoe manufacturing, cigar production, and so forth. On the right, a group of white young men stand idle from lack of employment; jails are visible in the distance. It was the subhumanity of the “coolie,” readily depicted as animality, which enabled him to undercut the proud Anglo-Saxon worker and threaten the American way of life.

What the Chinese did and did not eat became an index of their humanity/animality as well. In *MEAT vs. RICE: American Manhood against Asiatic Coolieism, WHICH SHALL*

SURVIVE? (1908), Samuel Gompers and Herman Gutstadt of the American Federation of Labor assert: “[Y]ou cannot work a man who must have beef and bread alongside a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard.”¹⁰⁰ Whiteness, masculinity, nationalism, and human supremacy are all interwoven here: eating animals makes one not just a man but a full human being. As rice eaters, the Chinese were questionable on both counts.¹⁰¹ The authors of the pamphlet also criticize the Chinese for their “gratification of the animal proclivities” and “animal passions” (17–18), and for “living literally the life of vermin” (16).

As J. A. G. Roberts notes, the Western tradition of expressing disgust at Chinese eating habits dates back at least to Marco Polo’s *Travels* in the late thirteenth century, wherein the adventurer notes: “They [the Chinese] eat all sorts of flesh, including that of dogs and other brute beasts and animals of every kind which Christians would not touch for anything in the world.”¹⁰² As early as 1855, just six years after the Gold Rush began, minstrel show singers in California regularly performed “John Chinaman,” which featured this verse about the Chinese diet: “I thought of rats and puppies, John / You’d eaten your last fill; / But on such slimy pot-pies, John / I’m told you dinner still.”¹⁰³ In the 1850s, the *Alta California* newspaper ridiculed the “no ways partickler Celestial” for his addiction to rats and lizards and his general willingness to eat anything.¹⁰⁴ Various performers lampooned the Chinese for eating dogs, cats, rats, and mice in the following years. In 1873, Jason Johnson of Hooley’s Minstrels sang a version of “The Heathen Chineese” which contained these verses:

Lady she am vellie good, makie plenty chow chow,
She live way up top side house
Take a little pussey cat and a little bow-wow.
Boil em in a pot, slew wit a little mouse.

Some say pig meat makie goodie chow chow
No muchie largie too muchie small,
Up sky, down sky, down come chow chow
Down come a pussy cat, Bow wow and all.¹⁰⁵

Only cruel, transgressive people eat pussy cats and puppy dogs. An 1870s trade card for a rat poison called “Rough on Rats” shows John Chinaman about to drop a rat into his open mouth.¹⁰⁶ The caption “They must go” echoes the Workingmen’s Party slogan, “The Chinese Must Go!” There is deliberate ambiguity here – who is it who must go? The Chinese, as supposed rat eaters, are “rough on rats” but they are also like rats and deserving of the same end. Both are pestilential vermin to be dispatched without mercy.

The Wasp, a late nineteenth-century San Francisco weekly known for its pungent political commentary and satire, produced unforgettable images of the Chinese in the human-animal borderlands.¹⁰⁷ Although the *Wasp* cartoonists caricatured most everyone, “the Chinese bore the brunt of *The Wasp*’s venom.”¹⁰⁸ They were depicted as almost every kind of animal – frogs, camels, horses, elephants, vipers, vermin, tigers, among others. But two of the most salient types of images were of the Chinese as swarming and pestilential beasts or insects, and the Chinese as dragon-like monsters. Both types of creatures are of no use to humans; both are unmitigated threats that must be exterminated. The theme of these cartoons taken together is quite clear: The Chinese, heedless and transgressive, pose a mortal threat to the American nation, and if Americans stand idly by, the Chinese will supplant American civilization with their own.

In “Who Will Make The Chinese Go?” (1879), Uncle Sam stands (holding a gun labeled “Congress”) with apparent unconcern as crows swarm over a scarecrow wearing tattered U.S. military dress.¹⁰⁹ The crows have Chinese faces and queues sticking straight up out of the tops of their heads. There are many more of them on their way, darkening the sky. In “Uncle Sam’s Farm in Danger” (1877–8) (Figure 2.4), an apparently infinite number of grasshoppers with Chinese faces and queues swarm on Uncle Sam’s farm as he and another white man try to beat them back. A shadowy Chinese pagoda can be seen in the left rear where the grasshoppers originated; the sun is setting on a Western capitol-type building in the right rear; and a Satanic figure labeled “Famine” hovers behind the Chinese insects. The caption reads: “Seventy Millions of People Are Starving in the Northern Provinces of China. All Who Can Do So are Making Preparations to Come to the United States. Look Out for the Grasshoppers, Uncle Sam!”



Figure 2.4. “Uncle Sam’s Farm in Danger”. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Finally, "Devastation" (1880) shows countless wild boars with queues crashing through a gate labeled "Burlingame Treaty" and laying waste to a cornfield.¹¹⁰ The ears of trampled corn bear the names of different industries, and the pole holding up the scarecrow says "The Chinese Must Go." Uncle Sam stands in the farmyard and Eureka, the classical personification of California, leans out of the farmhouse window; both look on in horror. Again, the Chinese pagoda on top of the gate on the left contrasts with the American farmhouse on the right.

In the cartoons that feature the Chinese as monsters, civilizational struggle and the transgressiveness of the Chinese are once again the central themes. “Immigration East and West” (1881) (Figure 2.5) is a splitscreen drawing with the caption “Westward, the course of empire takes its way. Eastward, the march of national decay.” In the left half of the cartoon, New York asks Eureka to take her immigrants, who are disembarking from ships and heading westward carrying shovels, hoes, and signs saying “labor,” “industry,” “capital,” and “agriculture.” In the right half, Eureka is menaced by a serpent-like monster who is labeled “Chinese immigration,” has a caricatured Chinese visage, and wears a queue that extends outward to spell “Asia.”



Figure 2.5. “Immigration East and West”. Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

In "The Rescue," (1882), the Greek hero Perseus symbolizing the Board of Health saves the chained maiden San Francisco from a three-headed hydra monster labeled "smallpox."¹¹¹ The hydra heads have Chinese faces and queues. White supremacy, male supremacy, and human supremacy come together with explosive force in this image. Similarly, in "Our Foreign Relations" (1883), the classical female figure of San Francisco is attacked by a Chinaman/vampire bat labeled "leprosy," while other figures labeled "opium" and "smallpox" menace her.¹¹² Perhaps the most memorable image is "The Question of the Hour" (1893).¹¹³ Here Uncle Sam stands over an enormous and peculiar creature who is tied to a post and ponders, "Gosh I've got this critter lassoed right enough but how in thunder am I going to get him over thar to China?" The creature has Chinese features, Black skin, and a dragon's tail and wings; it is part beast, part human. Lying on its stomach with its chin cupped in its hands, it smiles broadly at Uncle Sam's consternation. What is to be done with this repulsive beast? Any further comment would be useless.

As a taxonomy of power, race has been elaborated in the United States in intimate connection with species and nature. From the 1600s to the 1800s, Blacks, Indians, and the Chinese in the United States were imaginatively located in a human-animal

borderlands where they were at once lumped together and painstakingly differentiated, depending on the exigencies of the situation. Remarkably, the racial stories crafted during these centuries – that Blacks are bestial, Indians part of nature, the Chinese cruel and transgressive like animals and with animals – continue to structure the American cultural imaginary today. They play a key role in the impassioned disputes examined in the remainder of this book.

¹ See Spiegel (1997). A conference entitled “Inadmissible Comparisons” was held at New York University Law School in March 2007. Cosponsored by United Poultry Concerns and the New York University Student Animal Legal Defense Fund, it brought together activists from various movements (gay/lesbian, workers’ rights, peace, animal liberation, Black liberation, feminist) to discuss connections among their struggles.

² This notion has been used by geographers (Wolch and Emel 1998) to describe both the imaginative nature/culture border and physical spaces where people and animals meet. It has been elaborated by Gloria Anzaldúa (2012), too, who uses it to describe the U.S.-Mexico border as a place of indeterminacy whose inhabitants are forbidden and abnormal.

³ Different Asian groups, too, were sometimes lumped together, sometimes differentiated in the American imagination, depending on the exigencies of the situation.

⁴ In *People v. George Hall* (1854), the California Supreme Court decided that an 1850 state law prohibiting courtroom testimony by Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians against whites also applied to the Chinese.

⁵ Skjeie (2005).

⁶ Tinkham (1915), 212–13.

⁷ Skjeie (2005).

⁸ When the 1850 California law prohibiting nonwhites from courtroom testimony was revisited in 1863, lawmakers decided to permit Blacks to testify but upheld the ban on

the Chinese and Indians (Shaffer 2005).

⁹ Alcohol was first introduced to North American Indians in the 1500s by European traders and quickly became a commodity for trading. Despite complaints about the “drunken Indian,” moralistic handwringing, and sporadic legislation to restrict the provision of alcohol to Indians, U.S. business and government interests regularly encouraged Indian consumption of alcohol for the sake of both profits and political control (Duran 1996).

¹⁰ California entered the Union a free state in 1850 and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865; during this period and beyond, Indian slavery was thriving in the state (Rawls 1984, Almaguer 1994).

¹¹ Thomas (1983), 40–1. While most of this chapter discusses the role that animality plays in constructing race, it is also true that animals have been racialized. See, for example, Harriet Ritvo (1992) on the Chillingham cattle in eighteenth-century Britain, who were identified as “ancient Britons” and constructed as white both discursively and practically (through the slaughter of Black calves). I discuss the racialization of animals in Chapters 5 and 8.

¹² Steiner (2005).

¹³ Ibid., 52.

¹⁴ See Plato’s *Republic* and Aristotle’s *Politics*.

¹⁵ Steiner (2005), 77.

¹⁶ King James Bible, Cambridge edition. See Matthew Scully (2003) for a softer reading of “dominion.”

¹⁷ King James Version.

¹⁸ Walzer (1965), 158.

¹⁹ Lovejoy (2009), 59.

- 20 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, III, Chap. VI, § 12, cited in Lovejoy (2009), 184.
- 21 Steiner (2005), 135.
- 22 Bentham (1948), 310–11.
- 23 Ritvo (1991), 70.
- 24 Lovejoy (2009), 81.
- 25 Thomas (1983).
- 26 Lovejoy (2009), 233.
- 27 Jordan (1968), 238.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 29 McClintock (1995), 22.
- 30 Blackmore and Hughes, *The Lay Monastery* (1714), 28, cited in Lovejoy (2009), 234.
- 31 Jordan (1968), 490.
- 32 Pieterse (1992), 41; Jordan (1968), 492–3.
- 33 McClintock (1995), 41 characterizing Hegel's view of Africa.
- 34 Jordan (1968), 500–1.
- 35 Gould (1996), 66–9.
- 36 Jordan (1968), 28.

- 37 *Ibid.*, 233.
- 38 Jacoby (1994), 96.
- 39 Fredrickson (1971), 54.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 56.
- 41 Jordan (1968), 505.
- 42 Fredrickson (1971), 43.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 49–50.
- 44 Fredrickson (1971), 84.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 188.
- 46 Gould (1996), 69.
- 47 Fredrickson (1971), 277.
- 48 Dormon (1988), 455. Negroes were associated with raccoons, whom they were said to be fond of hunting and eating. The word “coon” was used as a racial epithet well into the civil rights era.
- 49 In 1915, the latter was made into the film *Birth of a Nation*.
- 50 Baker (1998), 72.
- 51 Haraway (1989), 45.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 53.

53 Ibid., 153.

54 See McClintock (1995).

55 Berkhofer (1979).

56 Bataille (2001), 2.

57 Berkhofer (1979), 28.

58 Morgan (1975).

59 Anderson (2006), 78–9.

60 Ibid.

61 Morgan (1975), 232.

62 Anderson (2006), 7.

63 Berkhofer (1979), 20–1.

64 Morgan (1975), 233.

65 Emel (1998), 102.

66 Axtell (1972), 348–89.

67 Ibid., 343–4.

68 Although the *philosophes* in Paris used the “noble savage” idea during this period to criticize the corruption and decadence of European society, this notion of the Indian did not become popular in the United States until the 1800s, when the Indian question had been largely resolved.

69 Bieder (1986), 9.

70 Jordan (1968), 480.

71 Takaki (1990), 58.

72 Jordan (1968), 480.

73

<http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/curriculum/ANCSA/Claims/book2.html#THE%20ANIMALS,%20VULGARLY%20CALLED%20INDIANS>.

74 McClintock (1995), 30.

75 Takaki (1990), 83.

76 Lubbers (1994), 32.

77 Ibid., 30, 39.

78 Almaguer (1994).

79 Bieder (1986), 73.

80 Berkhofer (1979), 58.

81 Ibid., 58–9.

82 Emel (1998).

83 Ibid., 97.

84 Moore (2001), 63.

85 Emel (1998), 98–9.

86 Ibid., 113. In recent times, forty-one Native American tribes have been working together to rebuild buffalo herds through the Intertribal Bison Cooperative, which Moore (2001) reads as an audacious rewriting of the national narrative regarding the elimination of Indians and buffalo.

87 This idea was reprised, of course, in historian Frederick Jackson Turner's 1890 address, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," wherein Turner portrays native peoples, according to Huhndorf, as "casualties of progress rather than of violence" (2001, 58).

88 Gould (1996), 129.

89 Spoehr (1973), 198–9.

90 Shah (2001), 43.

91 Ibid., 21.

92 "Municipal Reports of San Francisco 1869–1870."

93 Shah (2001), 35, 42.

94 *Proceedings and List of Delegates, California Chinese Exclusion Convention* (1901), 58.

95 Shah (2001), 1–2.

96 *Chinatown Declared a Nuisance!* (1880), 5–6.

97 Shah (2001), 79, 89.

98 There were Chinese coolies (servants indentured for life who were often auctioned off like slaves) in the Caribbean and elsewhere, but Chinese immigrants in the United States were not coolies. Typically, they labored for a certain number of years in order to

pay back money for their passage from China. After repaying their passage, they were free labor.

99 <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb938nb337/?query=the%20wasp&brand=calisphere>.

100 Cited in Shah (2001), 167.

101 In the Irish musical play *Mulligan's Silver Wedding* (1881), washerwoman Honora Dublin complains about Hog Eye, the Chinese laundryman who competes with her business, by questioning his manhood and humanity at once: "You're not half a man. You're a nagur, you eat your dinner with drumsticks. You're a monkey, you have a tail growing out of your head. ... You're a mongrel Asiatic. ... Why don't you have whiskers on your face like a man you baboon you ... walking around in your petticoats and calling yourself a man." Cited in Moon (2004), 53.

102 Roberts (2002), 28.

103 <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/history/baker/w3630/edit/chinpoem.html>.

104 Roberts (2002), 136.

105 Moon (2004), 47–8.

106 <http://www.flickr.com/photos/meaghancourtney/2380779257/>.

107 All of *The Wasp* images discussed here (except "The Question of the Hour") are accessible online through the Bancroft Library's Web site. <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu>.

108 Brechin (n.d.).

109 <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb8c6005vx/?query=who%20will%20make%20the%20chinese%20go&brand=calisphere>.

110 [http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2779n51w/?
query=devastation&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2779n51w/?query=devastation&brand=calisphere).

111 [http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb78700564/?
query=the%20rescue&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb78700564/?query=the%20rescue&brand=calisphere).

112 [http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2n39n5b5/?
query=our%20foreign%20relations&brand=calisphere](http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb2n39n5b5/?query=our%20foreign%20relations&brand=calisphere).

113 <http://homepages.uwp.edu/martinm0/Summer2007/HUM103/raceimage4.htm>.

Part II The Battle over Live Animal Markets in San Francisco's Chinatown

