Wulf D. Hund, Charles W. Mills, Silvia Sebastiani (eds.)

Simianization

RACISM ANALYSIS

edited by Wulf D. Hund

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SIMIANIZATION

Apes, Gender, Class, and Race

edited by

Wulf D. Hund, Charles W. Mills, Silvia Sebastiani

LIT

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Contents

Editorial	7
Exposés	
Bestial Inferiority Locating Simianization within Racism Charles W. Mills	19
Racist King Kong Fantasies From Shakespeare's Monster to Stalin's Ape-Man Wulf D. Hund	43
Studies	
Aping the Human Essence Simianization as Dehumanization David Livingstone Smith, Ioana Panaitiu	77
Challenging Boundaries Apes and Savages in Enlightenment Silvia Sebastiani	105
Exterminating the Brute Sexism and Racism in King Kong Stefanie Affeldt	139
The Yellow Monkey Simianizing the Japanese Susan C. Townsend	171

The Simianization of the Irish Racial Ape-ing and Its Contexts Steve Garner	197
Intersections of Prejudice and Dehumanization	223
Charting a Research Trajectory	
Kimberly Barsamian Kahn, Phillip Atiba Goff, Jean M. McMahon	

At the end of the year 2014, North Korea hit global headlines by comparing the President of the USA to a monkey. Already in spring of that year, he had been labelled a »crossbreed with unclear blood« and a creature »reminiscent of a wicked black monkey« by the governmental news agency.¹

This was no exceptional attack caused by tense international relationships. After his election, Obama was compared to an ape even in Japan. In the US, similar pejorative representations are virtually daily fare.² Europe does not lag behind. A Belgian newspaper thought it hilarious to portray the President and the First Lady as apes.³ Black politicians must anticipate being compared to apes or being referred to as monkeys. Not long ago, this was also experienced by the Ministers for Integration in Italy and Justice in France, Cécile Kyenge and Christiane Taubira.

Italy's first-ever black minister in the short Enrico Letta government (April 2013 - February 2014), Cécile Kyenge, born in the Congo, had to face repeated racial and sexist slurs and threats, in a crescendo ranging from »Congolese monkey« to »Zulu«, and much more. At the very beginning of her mandate, a member of the European parliament for the League Nord explained that Kyenge wanted to »impose her tribal traditions from the Congo«, and branded Letta's coalition a »bongo bongo« government: while Africans had »not produced great genes«, »she seems like a great housekeeper but not a government minister«.

- Cf. >Huffington Post<, 8./9.5.2014 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/05/08/north-korea-obama-monkey_n_5288121.html); for the more recent insult see >Sydney Morning Herald<, 27.12.2014 (http://www.smh.com.au/it-pro/security-it/north-korea-blasts-barack-obama-as-monkey-over-the-interview-20141227-12ef72.html).</p>
- ² Cf. Gregory S. Parks, Danielle C. Heard: >Assassinate the nigger ape<. Obama, implicit imagery, and the dire consequences of racist jokes. In: Rutgers Race and Law Review, 11, 2010, 2, pp. 1-39.</p>
- 3 >Huffington Posts, 24.3.2014 (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/24/news paper-obama-ape-belgian-satire-putin-barack-president-racism-racist_n_5020987. html).

Editorial Editorial

In June 2013, a local councillor for the same party called for Kyenge to be raped, while her >Simianization
became immediate in July 2013, when Roberto Calderoli commented, in a public speech in front of his fellow Northern League militants: »I love animals – bears and wolves, as everyone knows; but when I see images of Kyenge I cannot but think of – even if I'm not saying she is one – the features of an orangutan«.4 Called prostitute and »dirty black monkey«, Kyenge had bananas thrown at her as she made a speech later on in summer 2013.5

In November of the same year, in France, a country which erased the word races from its vocabulary in the light of the UNESCO statement in the aftermath of the second world war, and which has limited freedom of speech for verbal violence and incitement to hatred, similar episodes happened, within the context of the protest against the same-sex marriage law. The black justice minister Christiane Taubira, herself a descendant of Guyana's slaves, was welcomed in the town of Angers by a group of children (accompanied by their parents) waving bananas and shouting: "Taubira, casse toi«, that is go away, in a brutal manner; "bananas for the guenon!«. In the same period, the cover of the 'Minute magazine taunted Taubira with the headline: "Crafty as a monkey, Taubira gets her banana back«.

Comparable examples of invective exist in a multitude of racist contexts. In this regard, the nexus of sexism and racism played a deci-

- Just one not insignificant detail: Calderoli was then (as he is still today) the vice president of the Italian Senate, and he has been acquitted by the Parliament for his statement, which has not been considered as an incitement to racism, but just as a political joke.
- 5 Among the press in English, see >The Guardian<, 14.7.2013 (http://www.the-guardian.com/world/2013/jul/14/italian-senator-roberto-calderoli-eccile-kyenge); >The Independent<, 14.7.2013, (http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/eu rope/top-italian-senator-roberto-calderoli-slammed-for-comparing-black-minister-eccile-kyenge-to-orangutan-8708183.html); >New York Daily News<, 1.8.2013 (http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/italy-black-minister-hit-bananas-article-1.1414461).
- Michelle Brattain: Race, racism, and antiracism. UNESCO and the politics of presenting science to the post-war public. In: American Historical Review, 112, 2007, 5, pp. 1386-1413. On the different meanings and conflicting usages of the term >race
 among historians in the United States and Europe, see the point made in >AHR Roundtable
 by Manfred Berg, Paul Schor, Isabel Soto: The weight of words. Writing about race in the United States and Europe. In: American Historical Review, 119, 2014, 3, pp. 800-808; see also Jean-Frédéric Schaub: Pour une histoire politique de la race. Paris: Seuil 2015.
- >Libérations, 2.11.2013 (http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2013/11/02/taubira-traitee -de-guenon-la-video-qui-le-prouve_944083); France 24c, 13.11.2013 (http://www.france24.com/en/20131113-france-racism-black-minister-taubira-monkey-bana na-magazine-cover).



Fig. 1: ... meditating on apes and women

sive role early on. It not only affected everyday consciousness but also literature and philosophy. Still in the age of Enlightenment, Restif de la Bretonne, in a note on his >Lettre d'un singe< refers to the legend that said ape was erroneously viewed as the child of the very woman who was caught in adultery by her husband, a Spanish captain, and thereupon, together with her lover, was marooned on an island, where the latter died, and she became the mistress of a great ape to whom she delivered two children (see fig. 1).8

The combination of this sexist dimension of the story with racist elements has a likewise long and repellent history. Here, too, philosophers of the Enlightenment still tried to shift Africans »far nearer [...]

Nicolas Edme Restif de la Bretonne: Notes de la Lettre d'un Singe. In: id., La Découverte australe. 4 vol. Leïpsick: no publisher, no year (1781), pp. 95-138, pp. 101 ff.; the author does not renounce the trash of the »Ornag-outang«, about whom »les Naturels du pays (la Guinée) disent, que ces Singes naissent du commerce que les Femmes-nègres ont avec les gros Singes« (p. 114). The ›Lettre d'un Singe, aux Animaux de son Espèce« is printed at the end of vol. 3 with a new beginning of the pagination, pp. 1-92.

to the ape species« than Europeans. Discriminatory representations like these were ironically turned around in the critique of slavery by the >Sons of Africa at latest and were characterised as inventions of »Oran Otang philosophers«. 10 But their offshoots have survived until today.

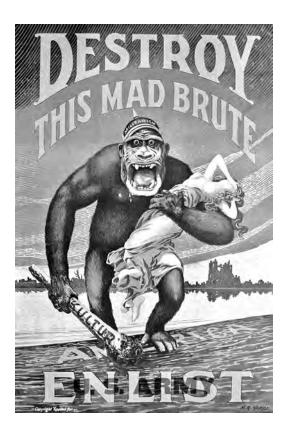


Fig. 2: ...mad brute with culture-club

Historically, Africa and Africans have been central targets of simianization discourses. But these were also directed against other subjects of racist discrimination. This includes the simianization of the

Samuel Thomas Soemmering: Über die körperlichen Verschiedenheiten des

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Mohren vom Europäer. Mainz: s. n. 1784, p. 6.
Cf. Peter Freyer: Staying power. The history of black people in Britain. London [et al.]: Pluto Press 1984, p. 108 and Roxann Wheeler: The complexion of race. Categories of difference in Eighteenth-Century British culture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2000, p. 256.

Irish, the Japanese, and even the Germans. Here, Rudyard Kipling (once again) acted as a poetic partisan of the >white man's burden
save that now »[t]he Hun is at the gate«.11 It was only a matter of time until the Hun stereotype, in combination with narrations of assault and rape, was simianized and the Prussian soldier, with >Pickelhaube
and >Kultur<-club, loomed as an ape-shaped >mad brute
that was invading the United States after already having subdued a defenceless sister of Columbia (see fig. 2).12 But although simianization often links sexism and racism, it also operates on its own as a vehicle of defamation until today. This can even happen in >intraracial
disparagements (e.g. when Muhammed Ali brought a black plastic ape to a press conference with Joe Frazier and declared that »[w]e can't have a gorilla as champ
because people would think »that all black brothers are animals«).13

Furthermore, the ape stereotype was and is an element of antisemitic racism. In France in 1939, to bypass a decree which punished antisemitic propaganda, Robert Brasillach, editor of the nationalist journal >Je suis partout<, invented and instigated >antisimiétisme« (>read properly, please«), in a letter on >la question singe<. In the supposed light of the >extraordinary invasion of monkeys« everywhere in Paris and in France, and of the >counter-nature unions« between French and guenons, which have given rise to a >hybrid race«, the author stated that the >antisimiesque« reaction had become not only perfectly understandable, but even an urgent necessity. With respect to contemporary political conflict, the ape stereotype (together with the pig stereotype) is still present in antisemitic discourses. This applies not only to statements from the fringe. During his time as president of

Of. Rudyard Kipling: For All We Have and Are. In: >The Times<, 2.9.1914; the opening of the poem reads: >For all we have and are | For all our children's fate, | Stand up and meet the war. | The Hun is at the gate

Cf. the chapters >The Hun, >The Ape, and >Rape in Anne Classen Knutson: The enemy imaged. Visual configurations of race and ethnicity in World War I propaganda posters. In: Race and the production of modern American nationalism, ed. by Reynolds J. Scott-Childress. New York: Garland 1999, pp. 195-220, pp. 202 ff.

For a photo from this press conference in 1975 and the quotes see Elisabeth Ewen, Stuart Ewen: Typecasting. On the art and sciences of human inequality. Revised ed. New York: Seven Stories Press 2008, p. 437.

Robert Brasillach: ›La question singe‹. In: Philippe Garnier-Raymond: Une certaine France. L'Antisémitisme 40-44. Paris: Balland 1975, pp. 114-117; cf. Marc Olivier Baruch: Des lois indignes? Les historiens, la politique et le droit. Paris: Tallandier 2013, pp. 31-34.

15 Cf. Neil J. Kessel: >The Sons of Pigs and Apes<. Muslim antisemitism and the conspiracy of silence. Washington: Potomac Books 2012.</p>

Egypt, Mohamed Morsi has been confronted with accusation of having declared Jews »descendants of apes and pigs«. 16

Overall, the ape stereotype represents elements of a canon of dehumanization which are »part of larger verbal and visual metaphoric systems linking the Other to objects or animals, dirt or germs, things that require managing, cleansing, or elimination«.¹¹ Although utilized in numerous contexts, the ape stereotype has taken particularly malicious forms with regard to Africa and people of African descent. This involves the construction and imputation of sexual violence and racial contamination. These accusations did not come from ultra-reactionary shadow worlds but happened in the spotlight of public representations, not least propagated en masse by the film industry. In the course of this campaign, Hollywood produced with >King Kong< a classic whose virulent influence continues until today. In it, the >mark of the beast<18 was intensely racialized and »the black beast of the white imagination« has been staged in the form of lecherous threatening monsters.¹9

The film studio intensively promoted >King Kong«. This entailed a comic strip for newspapers arousing the public's curiosity about the movie.²⁰ The cartoonist did not hesitate to incorporate its racist and

16 Cf. >Haaretz<, 4.1.2013 (http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/morsi-called-israelis-descendants-of-apes-and-pigs-in-2010-video-1.491979).</p>

18 Cf. Mark S. Roberts: The mark of the beast. Animality and human oppression. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press 2008.

Alan Rice: Radical narratives of the Black Atlantic. London [et al.]: Continuum 2003, p. 194.

Glenn Cravath's comic was produced by RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum, the studio which produced ›King Kong‹) in 1933 to advertise the movie. He had also designed the slipcover for the book version of the story by Delos W. Lovelace (New York: Grosset & Dunlap 1932) and several of the movie posters. The six sequels of the comic were published in numerous newspapers and were also included in the press book which supported the promotion of the movie. The images on the cover originate from the first sequel. They were each accompanied by text – left (»A white and gold bride for King Kong!‹ The natives offer six of their dusky belles in exchange for Ann Darrow, golden blonde leading lady of the picture company. Jack Driscoll, in love with Ann, is for violence, but Denham and Capt. Englehorn realize they must keep the good will of the natives. Vowing friendship and promising to return tomorrow, they go back to their good ship, the Adventurer«); centre (»Alone – on deck, that night Ann is seized and abducted by the natives. She is not allowed to scream. As they roughly put her over the ship's side to the [dugout], she is afraid in a way that she has never imagined«); right (»›Another bride for King Kong!‹ The natives open the huge defensive gates and place her outside on an altar. They gather on the ramparts and strike the great gong, signal to ›King Kong. Treetops tremble and fall. ›King Kong is coming!‹ Then Ann sees leering down at her on her high

Erin Steuter, Deborah Wills: The dangers of dehumanization. Diminishing humanity in image and deed. In: Images that injure. Pictorial stereotypes in the media, ed. by Susan Dente Ross, Paul Martin Lester. 3rd ed. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio 2011, pp. 43-54, pp. 43 ff.

sexist messages in his sketches. In consecutive sketches he had the blonde beauty kidnapped by perfidious >natives< and handed over to a primeval monster. Whereas the former is depicted as frivolous (at night! alone! on deck), her snatchers can be easily recognized as >savages< and even cannibals, blatantly indicated by the bony headdress of one of them. With the ape, they share the very colour which, in the discourse of the time, was a signal for >race< and >anxiety<, indicating the fear of a global >rising tide of color< and of the persistent resistance of the Blacks in the USA. In 1921 Thomas Fortune addressed the latter in his poem >The Black Man's Burden<: >But, now, the even cometh; | The even now is here; | And all the Christian Nations | Are rived with dread and fear

As many connotations as the story of King Kong may have, essentially, it is undoubtedly shaped by the impacts of the contemporary antiracist and antisexist movements of the time of its creation and by the alarmist discourses of threat and scenarios of intimidation responding to them. They obviously had an international as well as a national dimension. The latter specifically applied to the formation of the Negro-ape metaphor in the USA.²² Here, it persists in common sense until today and is reproduced in diverse contexts.

One hundred years ago, it was even supported by the legitimization of scientific displays. The reminiscences of W. E. B. Du Bois noted that: »I remember once in a museum, coming face to face with a demonstration: a series of skeletons arranged from a little monkey to a tall well-developed white man, with a Negro barely outranking a chimpanzee«.²³

Later, the civil rights movement succeeded in making unacceptable the most disgusting kinds of racially discriminatory terms and references, at least on the official surface of political discourse. But at the same time, a white supremacist country singer, under the pseudo-

altar – an ape fifty feet tall! Helpless, she screams!«); see http://www.silverscream.net/2012/07/king-kong-is-coming-part-1-1933.html.

22 Cf. Tommy L. Lott: The invention of race. Black culture and the politics of representation. Malden [et al.]: Blackwell 1999 pp. 7-13.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois: Dusk of dawn. With an introduction by Kwame Anthony Appiah. Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press 2007, p. 49.

²¹ T. Thomas Fortune: The black man's burden. In: African fundamentalism. A literary and cultural anthology of Garvey's Harlem Renaissance, ed. by Tony Martin. Dover (Mass.): Majority Press 1991, pp. 241 f., p. 242; cf. Lothrop Stoddard: The rising tide of color. The threat against white world supremacy. With an introduction by Madison Grant. New York: Scribner 1920.

nym Johnny Rebel, could sell records with the refrain »America's for whites, Africa's for blacks | Send those apes back to the trees...«.²⁴



Fig. 3: ... closed on Sunday

This sort of hate music accompanied a widespread racist rhetoric in the USA even during the second half of the 20th century. A 1959 photograph, taken by Cecil J. Williams, who worked for >The Crisisand the NAACP, documented a linguistic strategy of racist discrimination (see fig. 3). The owner of a gas station in Sandy Run (Calhoun

The song massively circulates on the internet as text and music until today. Just recently >The Nation referred to the name of the singer in conjunction with a hate crime (cf. Zoë Carpenter: A history of hate rock from Johnny Rebel to Dylann Roof. In: >The Nation (23.6.2015 (http://www.thenation.com/blog/210657/history-hate-rock-johnny-rebel-dylann-roof).

²⁵ Cf. Elizabeth Abel: Signs of times. The visual politics of Jim Crow. Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press 2010, pp. 76 f.; see Cecil J. Williams: Freedom & Justice. Four decades of the civil rights struggle as seen by a Black photographer of the Deep South. Macon: Mercer University Press 1995, id.: Out-of-the-Box in Dixie. Cecil Williams' photography of the South Carolina events that changed

County, South Carolina) has divided the space into a public sector with his fuel pump and the private region of his station building. The demarcation is effected by racism. It is realized in a triple jump of disparagement. It begins with the identification of two contemporary terms for African Americans. >Negro<, a word used by many protagonists of the civil rights movement as a term indicating racial identity, was equated with the »paradigmatic slur« of anti-black racism in the United States.²⁶ Some steps closer towards the building demarcated by racist language, the owner had written, white on black, an interdiction in capitals: »NO NEGRO OR APE ALLOWED IN BUILDING«. The already disparaged N-word was embedded in the dehumanizing context of the ape stereotype. Furthermore, this dual strategy of degradation was coalesced with the old racist myth of the >heart of darkness<. Two equally worded signboards, one above the door, one below a window, declared: »Negros not wanted in the North or South. Send them back to Africa where God almighty put them to begin with, that is their home«.

The semantic overkill of the racist signage illustrated a widespread manifestation of the verbal dimension of racism. The fourfold equalization (N=N=A=A) practiced a labelling relying on a long tradition of discrimination, hierarchization and dehumanization. Because the question concerning the places of apes and men in the chain of being, or the process of evolution, was a significant part in the development of modern race science, everyday simianization could, partially at least, count on scientific complicity. Because the ape stereotype allowed the mise-en-scène of monstrous fantasies, common simianization was accompanied and reinforced by works of art.

In the course of a flood of ascriptions and assumptions, the ape stereotype evolved into a persistent marker of otherness. As the contributions to this volume of the Racism Analysis Yearbook show, its

America. Orangeburg: Cecil J. Williams Photography Publishing 2010 and the oral history interview with Cecil J. Williams conducted by Joseph Mosnier for the Civil Rights History Project (http://www.loc.gov/item/afc2010039_crhp0026/).

Cf. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn: Naming ourselves. The Politics and meaning of self-designation. In: The Columbia Guide to African American History since 1939, ed. by Robert L. Harris Jr, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn. New York [et al.]: Columbia University Press 2006, pp. 91-100, pp. 92 ff. (for Negros) and Randall Kennedy: Nigger. The strange career of a troublesome word. New York: Vintage 2003, p. 22 (slurs). In the very year in which Williams took the photo of the gas station, Francis L. Broderick: W. E. B. Du Bois. Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1959 was published. But the word Negros was not undisputed at that time – cf., for example, Richard B. Moore: The name Negros, its origins and evil use. New York: Afro-American Publishers 1960.

expiration date has not yet passed. The papers discuss the varying dimensions of simianization in the context of sexist and racist discrimination. Charles W. Mills (Northwestern University) determines the place of simianization within racism. Wulf D. Hund (Universität Hamburg) traces the conjunctions of sexist, racist and classist discriminations in the history of simianization. David Livingstone Smith and Ioana Panaitiu (University of New England) consider the foundation of dehumanization. Silvia Sebastiani (Centre des recherches historiques - EHESS) explores the drawing of boundaries between apes and men during the Enlightenment. Stefanie Affeldt (Leuphana Universität Lüneburg) looks at >King Kong(as an aggressive story of sexist and racist counter-emancipation. Susan C. Townsend (University of Nottingham) investigates the simianization of the Japanese and Steve Garner (Open University) examines the simianization of the Irish. Kimberly Barsamian Kahn (Portland State University), Phillip Atiba Goff (University of California) and Jean M. McMahon (Portland State University) discuss the persisting intersections of prejudice and dehumanization.

(Wulf D. Hund, Charles W. Mills, Silvia Sebastiani)

Exposés

Bestial Inferiority Locating Simianization within Racism

Charles W. Mills

Abstract: Racist dehumanization can take many forms, with simianization being just one of them. Moreover >dehumanization< itself is an ambiguous term, since it can encompass both the status of the >inferior< human who does not achieve the threshold of normative equality and the apparent human who turns out to be non-human. Obviously, the kind of dehumanization involved will depend on the particular variety of background racist theoretical framework being presupposed. In this chapter I begin with a discussion of the two main competing periodizations of Western racism, long and short, currently extant in the literature (racism as dating back to classical antiquity and racism as distinctively modern). I then offer a conceptualization of racism, its different possible metrics of superiority/inferiority, its major varieties (theological, cultural, biological), and the correspondingly variegated ways people can be dehumanized. Against this background, I then turn to the question of where simianization fits, both temporally and conceptually, in the history of Western racism. Finally, I look at some examples of simianization in literature, German, American, and British, and the different kinds of significance they each have in the context of their times.

A proper appreciation of the significance of simianization requires that we locate it in a broader theoretical context (the conceptual analysis of racism and different varieties of dehumanization) as well as within a particular periodization (competing accounts of the temporality of Western racism). In this introductory essay I offer an analysis and taxonomy of racism(s) in different periods, and where simianization fits, followed by a discussion of some interesting and illuminating examples of simianization in literature.

Periodizing and Conceptualizing Racism

Controversy about the appropriate conceptual analysis of racism is, unsurprisingly, linked to controversy about how best to date it. One kind

of definition will rule out one kind of periodization; another will permit it. The most influential forms of modern racism identify color-coded continental groupings of humans as the fundamental races. Thus the familiar categorization of white Europeans, black Africans, red Amerindians, and yellow Asians, albeit with uncertainty about whether a separate brown Asian category needs to be demarcated, and where native Australians fit. Modern racist theory puts these groups into a hierarchy with whites on top and blacks (usually) at the bottom, and as such seems to be transparently a product of modern European expansionism, conquest, and Atlantic racial slavery. George Fredrickson speaks for the majority of commentators in thus identifying racism as a product of the early modern, or – at the earliest – the late medieval period.¹

But other scholars have replied that the definition begs the question. Color-coded racism may admittedly be distinctively modern, but the term should not be so constructed as to rule out other kinds of racism that are not color-coded. Benjamin Isaac has argued that a non-question-begging conception of races and racism would make the crucial criterion an innate differentiation of human beings that is impervious to change by the human will, and which is the foundation of a hierarchy of superiors and inferiors.² (A later conference and conference volume inspired by his book brought together other authors sympathetic to such an analysis).³ On this conception, Western racism goes all the way back to the Athens of the fifth century BCE, and Aristotle (developing ideas from Hippocrates' >Airs, Waters, Places<) emerges as the trailblazing racist thinker of the Western world.

Similarly, Denise McCoskey, more recently, introduces her book >Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy< by stating: »This book is founded on the belief that the concept of race remains essential to the study of antiquity. [...] [I]n unanimously arguing for the insignificance of skin colour [proponents of the short periodization] did not in point of fact demonstrate that the ancients did not think racially, only that they did not endorse one particular brand of racial ideology. [...In this book] I consider the requisite follow-up question: if skin colour was not the basis of racial difference in antiquity, what forms or versions of racial

¹ Cf. George M. Fredrickson: Racism.

² Cf. Benjamin Isaac: The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity.

³ Cf. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, Joseph Ziegler (eds.): The Origins of Racism in the West.

Bestial Inferiority 21

formation might the Greeks and Romans have actually used?«⁴ So the long periodization of race and racism is gaining more adherents.

Since there is obviously no room for us to try to resolve this debate here, we will proceed on the assumption that this extended periodization is at least a possibility, so that pre-modern forms of Western racism (in classical antiquity and the Middle Ages) might indeed have existed. Even if this revisionist scholarly position is ultimately refuted, the prejudices identified by McCoskey, Isaac et al. could still be argued to be important precursors to racism, with an influence on its genesis and development. (In fact, Isaac himself originally spoke of protoracism rather than racism.)

Rejecting any reference to color and different continental origins as essential, then, we get a more minimalist conception of racism as the conjunction of the following two beliefs: (i) The human race is divided into discrete races. (ii) These races are hierarchically ordered, with some races being superior to others.

However, this definition is not adequate to capture the standard usage of the term, since it is at least logically possible that the difference between superiors and inferiors in the hierarchy is very small. Technically, this would still count as racism, but be a racism less serious in its implications. So let us add a third condition, (iii): The gap between superiors and inferiors is sufficiently significant as to make the races very different in kind and to justify their differential treatment. This addendum makes the definition more correspondent with how we would normally use the term.

Finally, one more complication: the philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah raises the possibility of what he calls an intrinsic racism which regards and treats the races differently independently of whether or not their racial identity is linked with other race-based traits and tendencies. Whether or not such a variety of racism could actually psychologically (as against logically) exist is an interesting question. But it need not detain us here, since our concern is obviously with what has historically been the most pervasive variety of racism, in extrinsic racism (Appiah), which is so linked. So that gives us our fourth condition, (iv): The gap that justifies differential treatment is rooted in particular race-based traits and tendencies.

- Denise Ellen McCoskey: Race, pp. 9 f.
- ⁵ Cf. Kwame Anthony Appiah: Racisms.

This four-part definition is, I suggest, adequate to cover the different varieties of racism directed at apparent humans who are, nonetheless, still conceded by the racist to be fellow-humans. But we are not done yet, because we now need to add a fifth claim to handle the more extreme varieties of racism in which the target of racist beliefs is ultimately deemed to be not actually human in the first place. Let us phrase it this way: (v) In some cases, what initially appear to be humans are not actually human at all, but entities of another kind (which explains the size of the gap and the radical degree of difference between them and actual humans).

So in addition to all the other familiar demarcations of varieties of racism – individual racism vs. social-structural racism, racism-ashatred vs. racism-as-aversion, conscious racism vs. unconscious racism, and so forth – we would now have another distinction, especially apposite for the pre-modern period: racism that concedes the humanity of the stigmatized race vs. racism that literally denies it. The five-part definition covers both kinds, though the reference in (i) to >the human race
would really now have to be rewritten to accommodate the latter possibility. Perhaps it should instead read: (i) The human race, and what appear to be humans, are divided into discrete races.

Now what are the race-based traits and tendencies (from (iv)) that extrinsically ground these hierarchies, whether intra-human or human/non-human? Five areas can be distinguished, giving rise to five metrics: the cognitive (intellectual ability); the characterological (virtuousness and viciousness); the aesthetic (beauty and ugliness); the spiritual; and the physical.

From a modern perspective, it is the first two that will be most familiar, and least in need of elaboration. The superior race is deemed to be both smarter and of superior virtue. (Note, though, the complications introduced by antisemitism, which in many versions attributes to Jews an intelligence that is not inferior but may well be superior, though of course fouled by the sinister purposes to which it is being put. A plot to take over the world, after all – as in the most famous antisemitic document, >The Protocols of the Elders of Zion< – is not normally devised by the mentally challenged!)

However aesthetic criteria have also been very important in the history of racism. François Bernier's >A New Division of the Earth<, for example, published anonymously in 1684, and sometimes judged to be

Bestial Inferiority 23

»the first text in which the term >race < is used in something like its modern sense«,6 makes a point of commenting on the »thick lips and squab noses« of Africans and the »very ugly« Lapps.7 Likewise, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's >On the Natural Variety of Mankind < concludes that >Caucasians are > the most beautiful race of men «. 8 Christian Meiners used the distinction between beautiful and ugly races as his main racial divide,9 and in David Bindman's book on race and aesthetics, he points out that the ancient Greek concept of »kalokagathia«, »that physical beauty and moral goodness were synonymous, as were ugliness and vice«, continued to be influential into the eighteenth century, and indeed until today.¹⁰ So the aesthetic and the ethical have usually gone together in racist thought, which is what one would expect, since they tend to go together even in non-racist thought. When white racists concede the physical attractiveness of some members, primarily female, of the inferior races (usually light-skinned Asians, or mixed-race combinations like the beautiful Eurasian or high-yellow creole), by contrast, it is delinked from virtue. (These are femmes fatales not contingently, as white women may be for the purposes of the noir plot, but intrinsically, racially). Hence the perceived need for Anténor Firmin's 1885 The Equality of the Human Races – the most impressive nineteenth-century refutation of Arthur de Gobineau's 1853-55 > Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races(11 – to devote two sections of the book to the question of the beauty of different races.¹²

The spiritual is obviously of greatest significance in a religious framework – the racially inferior as not merely of vicious character but actually possessed of evil souls. Finally, the physical may involve both literal non-humanity – the apparently human revealed by their bodies to be something else – or a human corporeality that ranks one higher or lower on some bodily scale. Social Darwinism, for example, presupposes the greater fitness and evolutionary superiority of the bodies of the advanced races. As late as the 1936 Berlin Olympics,

7 Ibid., pp. 2 f

9 Cf. Gustav Jahoda: Images of Savages, pp. 63 ff.

David Bindman: Ape to Apollo, p. 95.

François Bernier: A New Division of the Earth, p. 1 (the comment is from Bernasconi and Lott's introduction to the text).

⁸ Johann Friedrich Blumenbach: On the Natural Variety of Mankind, p. 31.

¹¹ Cf. Arthur de Gobineau: The Inequality of Human Races.

Anténor Firmin: The Equality of the Human Races, pp. 181-201.

See Mike Dawkins: Social Darwinism in European and American Thought.

Hitler's hope was that his Aryan supermen would display their racial superiority to the world not merely in their intelligence, character, and blond beauty but their physical prowess also. But with the postwar rise of the black athlete – think of all those Olympic and World Championship final events where blacks make up the majority of contenders or sometimes the entire field – physical achievement of this sort has now been inverted in racist thought as a sign of innate animal ability (the natural athlete) rather than distinctively human capacity.¹⁴

So the metrics for putative racial superiority are multiple, and variable over time. Moreover, these racial beliefs will not usually be operant in the stark form in which we have presented them here, but will be woven into developed and elaborate racial ideologies, involving complex frameworks of assumptions, normative systems, and overarching narratives. The big three are usually taken to be theological/supernatural racism, biological/scientific racism, and cultural racism.

Theological racism presupposes the reality of a supernatural world and the efficacy of supernatural causation; it is most influential in the pre-modern period (assuming the long periodization of McCoskey, Isaac et al.). Many agents and agencies may be taken to be responsible: God, gods, Satan, demons, and so forth. Biological racism relying on physical causation is usually seen as distinctively modern (though medieval physiognomics may be an exception), is insofar as it rests on the putative physical superiority/inferiority of different bodies and their inner workings. It develops, obviously, in tandem with secularism and the scientific revolution, coming into its heyday from the late eighteenth century, with Western attempts to taxonomize humanity and subject it to >scientific

The standard judgment is that biological racism is discredited by the Holocaust and postwar anti-colonial struggles and decolonization. However, it has never really gone away, even if it is less important than it used to be, as shown by the success of books like >The Bell Curve<. 16 Finally, cultural racism, which largely displaces biological racism in the postwar Western world, makes >culture< (in varying senses) the crucial variable. The inferior races are not being represented as having problematic bodies but problematic beliefs and attitudes inextrica-

¹⁴ Cf. John M. Hoberman: Darwin's Athletes; William C. Rhoden: Forty Million Dollar Slaves.

See Joseph Ziegler: Physiognomy, Science, and Proto-Racism 1200-1500.

¹⁶ Cf. Richard J. Herrnstein, Charles Murray: The Bell Curve.

Bestial Inferiority 25

bly tied to their racial identities. Proponents of the long periodization sometimes suggest that cultural racism is in fact the dominant form of racism, long predating biological racism. However, adjudicating the issue is complicated by the simultaneous presence of theological racism. For example: if medieval antisemitism and Islamophobia are judged to be examples of pre-modern racism, to what extent can the representation of Jews and Muslims as enemies of Christianity be disentangled from the attribution to them of deficient cultures?

As can be appreciated, then, this poisonous matrix of denigrating beliefs and concepts provides a rich set of resources for different possible ways of dehumanizing our fellow humans. I suggest that they fall into two main categories which can then be subdivided into different variants: (1) dehumanization as demarcation within the human: representing inferior races as humans who fall below the threshold of equal normative status, though still admittedly being human; (2) dehumanization as expulsion from the human: representing inferior races as entities who only appear to be human but are literally (not metaphorically) not human. The five metrics of superiority/inferiority earlier listed, in conjunction with auxiliary beliefs and conceptual frameworks appropriate to theological, biological, or cultural racism, can then be drawn upon in different combinations to justify these judgments.

Under (1), I propose that the main variants would be: – (a) humans judged to be of the same origin (monogenesis) but inferior because of (i) theological causation (for example, the curse of Ham/Canaan to explain natural black servility,¹⁷ or the curse on Cain to explain the origins of some of the medieval >monstrous races<, or the collusion with Satan for some varieties of medieval antisemitism and Islamophobia);¹⁸ (ii) cultural causation (for example, Aristotle's naturally servile Persians, or varieties of medieval antisemitism and Islamophobia that make ethnicity and morally flawed character the crucial factor, or European representations in the Age of Discovery of Native Americans and Africans as >savages< on the lowest rungs of stadial schemes of human progress); (iii) biological causation (for example, the use of the >limpieza de sangre< criterion against Jewish >conversos< in fifteenth-century Spain, or nineteenth-twentieth century social Darwin-

¹⁷ Cf. David M. Goldenberg: The Curse of Ham.

¹⁸ Cf. Debra Higgs Strickland: Saracens, Demons, & Jews.

ism as an explanation of the evolutionary inferiority of the non-white races); – and (b) humans judged to be of different origins (polygenesis) and thus inferior because of (i) theological causation (a separate creation) or (ii) biological causation (a separate evolutionary genealogy) combined with cultural deficiency as a natural outgrowth. Where the actual humanity of these differently-originating races is denied by the racist, of course, these last two examples would actually fit under (2) rather than (1).

Under (2), I propose that the main variants would be: – (a) apparent humans revealed to be humanoid rather than human (as in the two cases just discussed), for example, the pre-Adamite races in theological racial thought, whose ancestors are not Adam and Eve but some other couple; – (b) apparent humans revealed to be actually beasts (though beasts in human form); – (c) apparent humans revealed to be actually demons (or some other supernatural entity), again in superficially human form. As with (a), the second variant, (b), could then be further divided according to whether the causality is assumed by the racist to be (i) supernatural or (ii) natural.

However if it is the former, then the categories potentially become hybridized, since humanoid and bestial humans could simultaneously be demons. (David Nirenberg gives the example of a Spanish author who »related the lineage of Jews to the offspring of, first, Adam with animals and second, Adam with the demon Lilith«). And such a possibility obviously needs to be differentiated from a completely secular racist theory that, for example, takes Darwinism to vindicate the claim that inferior races never evolved beyond the animal or humanoid-but-not-human stage. Such apparent humans would likewise then fall below the threshold for actual humanity, but as a result of straightforward biological processes, not magical ones.

Finally, I reiterate the important difference between representing humans as like beasts and as colluding with demons and/or Satan (which would still be a racism falling under category (1)) and the racism of this more extreme category, (2), which denies humanity to the inferior races altogether. They are themselves literally sub-human, bestial, or demonic creatures rather than fellow-humans.

David Nirenberg: Was There Race before Modernity?, p. 256.

Inferiorization as Simianization?

Against this background, then, let us consider where simianization fits as a distinctive form of inferiorization and bestialization. It should be noted that possible cases of racist simianization can be found in non-Western cultures in the pre-modern period. Thomas F. Gossett, for example, writes: »The historians of the Han Dynasty in the third century B.C. speak of a yellow-haired and green-eyed barbarian people in a distant province >who greatly resemble monkeys from whom they are descended <<.20 But the focus of this Yearbook is white Western racism, and here simianization has been a characteristically modern phenomenon.

To begin with, as earlier mentioned, many commentators deny that racism in any form can be found in the ancient world. Ivan Hannaford states that »there was a remarkable absence of race as an organizing idea during the Greco-Roman period [...] the idea was cobbled together as a pre-idea from a wide variety of vestigial sources during the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries«.21 So obviously on this diagnosis, shared by such scholars as Frank Snowden and Lloyd Thompson, racist simianization would be absent also.²² But as we have seen, Mc-Coskey, and Isaac and his colleagues, disagree with the conventional periodization of race and corresponding racist derogation. Isaac cites Aristotle's claims (from the >Nicomachean Ethics<) about the >bestial character« of some human beings, and asserts that although Aristotle »nowhere claims that some human beings actually were animals [...] when applied to non-Greeks, the term is meant literally and not as a metaphor [...]. Although Aristotle does not say so explicitly, it follows that he considers some foreign peoples collectively bestial«.23 So at least according to Isaac's reading, we do in fact have racist bestialization here, if not of the literal kind. But apes are not invoked, though Aristotle was familiar with them.

Nor is this just because Isaac's focus is on Persians rather than blacks (or >Ethiopians< as Africans were at the time generally known). David Goldenberg's chapter in the conference collection co-edited by

Thomas F. Gossett: Race, p. 4.

²¹ Ivan Hannaford: Race, p. 8.

²² Cf. Frank M. Snowden, Jr.: Blacks in Antiquity; Lloyd A. Thompson: Romans and Blacks

Benjamin Isaac: The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity, pp. 197 ff.

Isaac et al. expressly takes blacks and anti-black racism as his theme, since for him »anti-Black racism is of an entirely different sort« than the racism Isaac discusses, as skin color is indeed central here.²⁴ But Goldenberg concludes that color-symbolism and its related associations, not animal imagery, is what shapes negative portrayals of blacks, both in the pagan (Greco-Roman) world and the later Christian world. For the former: »Black was associated with death and the underworld, the realm of the dead«. For the latter, as in Origen and the church fathers: »The patristic hermeneutic tradition saw the biblical Ethiopian as a metaphor signifying any person who, not having received a Christian baptism, is black in spirit and without divine light«. Corrupt mind and character, aesthetic repulsiveness, spiritual evil, and a visibly malign metaphysical physicality - the five dimensions of racial hierarchy earlier demarcated – are thereby all condensed in the black body, a Manichean conflation even more disastrously reinforced by the Christian »identification of the devil and demons as Ethiopians«. So it is demonization and diabolization rather than simianization that constitutes the racist condemnation of the black man in this period.

The >monstrous races< taken by medieval Christendom from Pliny the Elder's multi-volume Natural History would seem to provide the most favorable set of possibilities for simianization. In this fantastic zoology of creatures both human and humanoid – single-breasted amazons, hermaphroditic androgini, man-eating anthropophagi, upside-down antipodes, blemmyae with faces on their chests, one-eyed cyclops, dog-headed cynocephali, giants, horned men, pygmies, one-legged sciopods, cave-dwelling troglodytes, and many others²⁵ – one might think that apes would surely be found somewhere in the depiction of those humans (Ethiopians, Jews, Muslims/Saracens, and Mongols/Tartars)²⁶ judged by Christians rightfully to belong within this bestiary of the bizarre.

But again, it is the demonic that provides the dominant framework of iconography for this eschatological imaginary: Ethiopians as black demons with hideous features and >frizzled< hair from their sun-blasted

David Goldenberg: Racism, color symbolism, and color prejudice, p. 88; for the following quotes see ibid., pp. 93 (vunderworld(), 97 (vpatristic tradition(), 99 (vdevil and demons()).

See John Block Friedman: The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, pp. 9-21.

See Debra Higgs Strickland: Saracens, Demons, & Jews.

Bestial Inferiority 29

land, marked by the curse either on Cain or on Ham; hooked-nosed and bearded deicidal Jews, agents of the Devil; dark idolatrous turbaned Saracens; cannibalistic Tartars. Where animal imagery is incorporated into these paintings and drawings of pagan or heretical unbelievers, it is not drawn from the simian but the mythological (dragons) or other areas of the animal kingdom with symbolic significance (cynocephalic/dog-headed Saracens, horned and goat-footed Jews).²⁷ Apes were sometimes seen as creations of the Devil, or as the Devil himself, but they were not used to represent humans, nor were they numbered among the monstrous races.²⁸ In sum, dehumanization in this age, whether as inferiorization within the human or expulsion from the human, is primarily theologically grounded, with the bestial being more the mark of an already-predetermined supernatural intervention than its animal source.

However, at least one exception, albeit qualified, can be found in a passage from a medieval text: Moses Maimonides' famous book, The Guide for the Perplexed, written c. 1190 CE. Speaking of people >abroad< who >have no religion«, Maimonides concludes: >Such are the extreme Turks that wander about in the north, the Kushites [blacks] who live in the south, and those in our country who are like these. I consider these as irrational beings, and not as human beings; they are below mankind, but above monkeys, since they have the form and shape of man, and a mental faculty above that of the monkey«.²⁹ In this late medieval work, Maimonides is anticipating a crucial modern racist trope: blacks as the >missing link< between humans and apes. So here we have movement toward simianization, if not (yet) full-blooded simianization.

In his commentary on this passage, Paul-A. Hardy suggests that Maimonides is influenced here by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), who had judged Turks and blacks to be natural slaves (abīd).³⁰ Although Arab slavery was theoretically non-racial, in that all peoples could be enslaved, in practice populations from some regions were more likely to be targeted than others: »[S]lave labor was recruited from more or less predictable places: Africa, the Balkans, the Russian steppes. And the

²⁷ Cf. ibid

See Mónica Ann Walker Vadillo: Monkeys, Monkeys, Monkeys Galore!

Moses Maimonides: The Guide for the Perplexed, p. 384.

Of. Paul-A. Hardy: Medieval Muslim Philosophers on Race, p. 44; for the following quote see ibid, p. 39.

popular mind began to associate the servile state with the inhabitants of those regions. [...] Muslim philosophers [...] adopted Aristotle's theory [of natural slavery]. [...] Blacks, Slavs, and Turks [were] the races historically enslaved by Muslims«. The Arab role in the rediscovery and translation of writings from the classical world also had the unfortunate consequence of updating and transmitting to medieval Christendom the list of those deemed most appropriate candidates for the position of natural slaves. If the black man in the West had originally been the fearsome Ethiopian demon, a source of terror, he would now become in the Christian world what he had already become in the Islamic world, the servile grandson of Ham, a source of contempt.³¹

It is modernity, then, that elevates the ape to its current centrality as a signifier of bestial inferiority, whether for Africans (its oldest and most enduring association) or other non-white and >lesser< white races. Africans were, after all, native to the very continent where apes were most prevalent. Winthrop Jordan comments: »It was a strange and eventually tragic happenstance of nature that the Negro's homeland was the habitat of the animal which in appearance most resembles man«.³²

The great >virtue (from a racist point of view) of the ape is that in an increasingly secular age it spans the figurative and literal in a way no other animal can. Even the most dedicated and deranged of racists could not really think that Jews were literally rats and pigs, or that the Japanese were literally insects and snakes. Pressed to their limits as they might be, these comparisons remain metaphorical. But the ape-man seemed like a real possibility, even before Darwin's work revealed the family connection. Literal bestialization could now be accomplished even within a secular framework. Moreover, even when the literal identity is ostentatiously denied, it hovers as a semiotic aura over what are claimed to be just innocent satirical comparisons. And though it is natural biological causality that will primarily be invoked, the earlier black magic has not fully been exorcised, especially when Africans are involved, and the funny monkey turns into the insurgent killer ape. King Kong, after all, is both an evolutionary outgrowth gone astray and the giant black god of the black savages who worship and

³¹ Cf. Bernard Lewis: Race and Slavery in the Middle East.

Winthrop D. Jordan: White over Black, p. 29.

Bestial Inferiority 31

sacrifice to him: the demonic ape who brings together in one terrifying entity pre-modern diabolization and modern bestialization.

In terms of the three families of racist thought earlier demarcated - theological, cultural, and biological/scientific - simianization thus best exemplifies the last. Biological racism with claims to scientific backing can be roughly divided into pre- and post-Darwinian versions. Camper's facial angle which located the heads of blacks »closer to the lines of apes and dogs than to men«33 is a good example of pre-Darwinian (late eighteenth-century) biological racism. Similarly, Charles White, impressed by the consistently downward progression of these facial angles, sought to buttress the case by examining the entire body. Through a careful examination of »skeletons of Europeans, Negroes, [an] orang-outang, and a monkey, as well as the bodies of living whites and Negroes«, he was able to produce, at least to his own satisfaction, »a lengthy catalog of the particular ways in which the Negro more closely resembled the ape than did the European«. These included »longer arms, thicker skin, less sweat but ranker smell, shorter life span and earlier maturation, larger breasts and nipples, greater ease of parturition, >gibbous (legs, and perhaps greater susceptibility to certain diseases«.34

A century later, in the post-Darwinian epoch, the »race scientists« of the day were still earnestly and diligently engaged in such mensuration, now informed by a somewhat different set of framing assumptions but still, of course, committed to the same conclusions of racial hierarchy. John S. Haller summarizes the work of one Daniel Brinton, »professor of American linguistics and archeology at the University of Pennsylvania«: »The universal struggle for existence had produced paramount differences among the races of man [...]. Believing that an intimate relationship existed between the physical and psychical life of man, Brinton suggested the following principal traits as signs of race inferiority. [...] Simplicity and early union of the cranial sutures [..., w]ide nasal aperture [, p]rominence of the jaws [..., u]nusual length of the humerus [..., d]eficiency of the calf of the leg [..., e]longation of the heel. The above traits were reversions or perpetuations of the apelike (simian pithecoid) features of the lower animals which [were] man's immediate ancestor(. [...]) Measured by these criteria(, [... Brin-

³³ George L. Mosse: Toward the Final Solution, p. 22.

Winthrop D. Jordan: White over Black, pp. 500 and 501.

ton] surmised, >the European or white race stands at the head of the list, the African at its foot<<..35

Some Examples of Literary Simianization

Bestialization as simianization that is literally biological and not just metaphorical thus has implications for sex, reproduction, and rape. Pre-modern prejudices about the sexual appetites of blacks in particular had now been placed on a scientific foundation, with dangerously dysgenic implications. Size differences may have doomed King Kong's own passion for Fay Wray, but outside the world of the cinema it was, of course, the millions of apelike men whose combined lust he both symbolized and incarnated that were the actual threats who needed to be surveilled and policed. Nor was it a matter only of protecting white women from assault, imperative as that was, but of safeguarding the future of the white race itself. In what George Fredrickson calls >overtly racist regimes (the Jim Crow American South, Nazi Germany, apartheid South Africa), racial >purity< was an official component of state ideology.³⁶ But it was also an essential ideal of the social mores of many whites even in racialized societies without such formal prohibitions.

From the racist's point of view, inferior races, cognizant of their inferiority, >desire upwards< not only in terms of ascending the rungs of the social ladder but in clambering up the links in the Great Chain of Being. The white (or Aryan) woman's desirability thus incorporates both an aesthetic and moral hierarchy: the hope for the Untermenschen of lifting themselves (by association) and their children (by blood infusion) up to a higher state. (Thus we now appreciate the deeper significance of the aesthetic; it is not just a matter of external physical appearance but the intrinsic normative status it signifies, and the corresponding ontological divide between different kinds of beings). And by the same token, it demands the most strenuous resistance by the >superior</ri>
race, since the social order, indeed perhaps the very moral order of the universe, is being thereby imperilled. Since the white woman is the vessel of reproduction of the white race, >miscegenation

John S. Haller, Jr.: Outcasts from Evolution, pp. 114 ff.

³⁶ George M. Fredrickson: Racism: A Short History.

Bestial Inferiority 33

Even within a monogenist framework, then, as in pre-war twentiethcentury Germany and the United States, social Darwinist assumptions opened the possibility of one's children (and the race as a whole) being dragged down the evolutionary slope. In her >Nazi Empire<, Shelley Baranowski cites »Artur Dinter's spectacularly successful trilogy >Sins against the Blood, the first volume of which appeared in 1917, [which] powerfully reinforced widespread fears of contamination. The story woven by the war veteran, who would become one of the first members of the Nazi Party, melodramatically spun the tragic tale of an innocent German hero who married a half-Jewish woman. Although the hero's wife was a Christian, conversion provided no immunity against disaster as the couple's first child reproduced the hideously Jewish and apelike features of its mother. The legacy of the hero's sexual contact with a Jew follow him despite taking an Aryan woman as his second wife, for even that union produced a monster. >Sins against the Blood went into fifteen editions and reached 1.5 million readers«.37

The 1972 movie >Cabaret<, which depicts the rise of Nazism in the last days of the Weimar Republic through a mirroring of and sardonic commentary on the events in the main characters' lives by the troupe of the decadent Kit Kat Klub, references this history in one of their skits. The marriage of two Jewish characters in the film (the bride open about her identity from the start, the husband previously >passing<) is re-presented on stage by the cynical emcee, Joel Grey, displaying to the audience a veiled bride who, when she turns around, is revealed to be a gorilla. While gently crooning »If you could see her through my eyes«, Grey hands the ape a banana, which she proceeds to eat, and produces a ring, which he puts through her nose rather than on her finger. In the closing line, after the last repetition of »If you could see her through my eyes«, Grey abruptly changes tone: »She wouldn't look Jewish at all!«

But it is arguably when blacks are involved, and in time periods when belief in polygenesis was the norm, such as the nineteenth-century American South, that nonwhite male/white female intercourse will evoke the strongest feelings of disgust and horror. Here it will seem to the racist that inter-species boundaries are being transgressed. In her book on >miscegenation< in the United States, Elise Lemire points out that: >Intra-racial desire was imagined [...] as an instinct to perpetuate

³⁷ Shelley Baranowski: Nazi Empire, p. 102.

what were imagined as distinct biological entities. Blacks were depicted as the near relatives of primates and thus as a separate species from whites so that *inter*-racial sex, on the other hand, could be declared against the biological laws of Nature«.³⁸ Such couplings are almost by definition non-consensual for the white woman, since one would be voluntarily committing an act of bestiality, fornication with a non-human, thus raising questions not merely about one's character but one's sanity. Intercourse is thus always forced, always rape.

Lemire's own literary example is Edgar Allan Poe's short story The Murders in the Rue Morgue. For a contemporary readership, unaware of its historical context, the story's fame will probably be due to its being credited as the first modern detective story. Poe's >ratiocinating. Auguste Dupin solves the brutal and inexplicable murders of a mother and daughter, thereby ushering in the long line of detective masterminds – Sherlock Holmes, Hercule Poirot, and so many others – still with us today. The perpetrator, it turns out, is a gigantic and ferocious razor-wielding orangutan. The reader may complain that by modern standards such a >solution. The reader may complain that by conventions of the genre (albeit yet to be established at the time) by failing to present the ape in the preliminary cast of suspects.

But Lemire's objections run much deeper than this formalist cavil. She situates the text, which originally appeared in a Philadelphia journal in 1841, as a response to white race riots in the city in the 1830s that were "aimed specifically at [free] blacks and at the black centers of community power«, and which may have inspired a series of anti-abolitionist lithographs by Philadelphian Edward Clay that represented "miscegenation" (or "amalgamation" as it was then called) in deeply hostile and caricatural terms. Blacks in Philadelphia in the period were associated with barbering, "the chosen profession of those blacks who wanted to rise«, and the orangutan is depicted in the story as imitating its master, a sailor, by shaving before a mirror. Moreover, the two women had been killed in their night clothes, and their bodies stuffed up the chimney, evoking the spectre of rape.

As Lemire concludes: »But if orangutans were thought to look and act like blacks who had not recently shaved and even to be related to them, nothing made the two seem more similar [...] than the type of

Elise Lemire: >Miscegenation(, p. 3.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 92 ff

Bestial Inferiority 35

desire they each supposedly had for the women above them on the Great Chain of Being. [...] White women were at risk when in proximity to black men because these men were animals who, like the animal to whom they were supposedly related, had monstrous sexual desires. [...] Also like Clay, Poe firmly links the specter of amalgamation to the possibility of black upward mobility when he has the instrument of that mobility for many free blacks, the barber's razor, serve as the means of violating the bodies of two cloistered white women. It seems, then, that Poe's tale is a direct reflection of the same concerns, also seen in Clay's prints, that had earlier fueled riotous whites in the late 1830s«.⁴⁰

So we have seen the simian Jew and the simian black, menacing through their biological drives and upward ontological aspirations the Aryan and white families and their reproductive purity. I want to turn finally to the demonic apeman, in which the biological and theological are fused, modern blackness being infused with a deeper hue by a pre-modern darkness, and perhaps a simian diabolism. My example is another detective story, this one by the British writer G. K. Chesterton. Before the advent of Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot, Chesterton's crime-solving Catholic priest Father Brown was probably, next to the sage of Baker Street, the most famous detective in English-language genre fiction. Unfortunately, though beautifully written and often brilliantly constructed, many of the stories are marred by Chesterton's antisemitism and racism. The most odious example is >The God of the Gongs, published in the 1924 book collection The Wisdom of Father Browns, 41 and the story in which racist portrayal is most integral to the plot rather than incidental to it.

Brown and his former criminal adversary, now friend and sidekick, Flambeau are walking in a deserted seaside Essex town when they come across a bandstand that is the ostensible venue of an impending boxing match between the Italian Malvoli and the black >Nigger Ned<. The bandstand's Japanese design reminds Flambeau of »a little pagan temple«, a theological association reinforced when Brown, with an ironic remark about looking for »the god« of this temple, falls through the platform so that only his head is sticking out, »looking like St. John the Baptist's head on a charger«.42 Though he does not reveal it to

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 106, 109 f.

⁴² Ibid. pp. 229 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. Gilbert K. Chesterton: The God of the Gongs.

Flambeau at the time, he has found a copse underneath the bandstand, a long gold pin with a monkey's head stuck fatally through its heart.⁴³

On the trail of the perpetrator, Brown leads Flambeau to a near-by hotel, whose proprietor is a »dark man«, »rather sallow«, wearing a similar gold pin as a tie-pin.⁴⁴ Brown and Flambeau's conversation with the (presumptively white) owner is interrupted by »a bellowing human voice«, the »voice of an ogre«, that »chilled their blood« more frighteningly than »in all their (often outrageous) adventures«. The owner of this unearthly voice turns out to be none other than Nigger Ned, whose day job is apparently cook in the hotel. »Flambeau had often heard that negroes made good cooks. But somehow something in the contrast of colour and caste increased his surprise that the hotel proprietor should answer the call of the cook, and not the cook the call of the proprietor«.⁴⁵ Clearly, then, something is racially amiss.

A few minutes later, Nigger Ned, culinary duties complete, leaves for town. He is described in the following truly remarkable passage: »He was buttoned and buckled up to his bursting eyeballs in the most brilliant fashion. A tall black hat was tilted on his broad black head – a hat of the sort that the French wit has compared to eight mirrors. But somehow the black man was like the black hat. He also was black, and yet his glossy skin flung back the light at eight angles or more. It is needless to say that he wore white spats and a white slip inside his waistcoat. The red flower stood up in his buttonhole aggressively, as if it had suddenly grown there. And in the way he carried his cane in one hand and his cigar in the other there was a certain attitude – an attitude we must always remember when we talk of racial prejudices: something innocent and insolent – the cake walk. >Sometimes
, said Flambeau, looking after him, >I'm not surprised that they lynch them
>I am never surprised
, said Father Brown, >at any work of hell<

I hope the full and extraordinary depths of the racism revealed here are apparent to the reader. The >uppity nigger< seeking to transgress his assigned place in the racial order, daring to dress in extravagant sartorial splendor rather than in a wardrobe suited to his lowly estate, is a familiar figure of the period, on both sides of the Atlantic. But that this colour-and-caste defying >insolence< (manifest, to Chesterton's ra-

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43 Cf. ibid., pp. 231 f., 238 f.
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⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 232 ff., 236.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 235.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 237 f.

Bestial Inferiority 37

cialized vision, in every possible aspect of Ned's appearance, down to an aggressive boutonnière!) could be taken by one of the most devout and vigorous Catholic apologists of the early twentieth century to justify lynching might seem, even by the norms of the racism of the time, astonishing.

However what needs to be appreciated is that in Nigger Ned we have not merely the simian black (a later passage describes him as »the fashionable negro [...,] his eyeballs rolling, his silk hat still insolently tilted on his head [...,] showing his apish teeth«⁴⁷) but the demonic black. The whiff of brimstone detected by Father Brown is not at all figurative. If one wonders how black skin (no matter how >glossy«) and blackness (the absorption rather than the reflection of light) could possibly »[fling] back the light at eight angles or more«, the answer is, I suggest, that Chesterton is trying to convey, in a naturalistic optics, the supernatural infernal glow of the Ethiopian demons who torture Christ. Nigger Ned, who has »the brains of a European, with the instincts of a cannibal«, is later revealed to be the leader of a secret society, »the Monkey or the God of the Gongs«, practitioners of Voodoo with their origins in Jamaica.⁴⁸

Under Ned's leadership, they have turned to assassination (the corpse under the bandstand being one of their victims), modernizing their traditional practices of »devil-worship and human sacrifice« to the »monkey-god«.⁴⁹ The boxing-match was really going to be the cover for another planned murder.

Moreover, what was thought by the organizer of the event to be an influx into town of Italian fans of Malvoli (»swarthy, savage fellows [...]. You know what these Mediterranean races are like«) was actually, it is now revealed, a dark invasion of »octoroons and African half-bloods of various shades«. The »Monkey or the God of the Gongs« society is apparently especially powerful »among half-breeds, many of whom look exactly like white men«. 50 The »dark« hotel proprietor, who tries to kill Brown once Brown comments on the resemblance of

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 247.

Ibid., pp. 248, 246 f. Chesterton has not done his research properly. It is, of course, Haiti, not Jamaica, which is the home of Voodoo. But from the perspective of the racist colonial mind, such details do not really matter, since it is all one phantasmagoric Blackland/Nigger-country anyway.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 247

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 245, 247.

38 Charles W. Mills

his monkey-headed tie-pin to the murder weapon, was in fact himself one of these sinister mulattoes.⁵¹

Nigger Ned's combination of simian and superhuman powers makes it unsurprising that he is able to »[murder] three policemen with his closed left hand« – just imagine what he would have been able to do with both hands⁵² – and make his getaway: »[F]or a month or two the main purpose of the British Empire was to prevent the buck nigger [...] escaping by any English port [...] Every negro in England was put under special regulations and made to report himself; the outgoing ships would no more have taken a nigger than a basilisk«. Alas, the story ends without his capture; Brown suggests to Flambeau that he has probably concealed himself among »the soot-masked niggers [i.e., minstrels] singing on the sands«.⁵³ The danger may have been temporarily averted, but it is by no means extinguished, hidden even among ostensibly innocent grinning black entertainers and their blackfaced white imitators.

Nigger Ned is thus a theological as well as a political threat, turning his devil-worshiping religion to the task of subverting and overthrowing the British Empire. Inspired by the monkey-god, the monkey-like blacks – created in his image – are organizing their »fearful and vast and silent [...] savage secret society« to destroy the racial order, assisted, even more ominously, by blacks who do not look like blacks, the unnatural products of miscegenation. Biologically hybrid, combining the worst traits of their parent races (white brainpower guiding black savagery), and illuminated by the fires of hell, they are an enemy whose defeat will require not just appropriate military measures but Christ's intervention.

Chesterton may not have been specifically aware of the history of European suppression of indigenous African religions in the enslaved populations brought to work the sugar and cotton estates in the New World, given the (justified) fear that they might become tools of insurrection. But he would certainly have been generally committed to the eradication of black African practices, whether on the home continent

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 238 ff.

⁵² American readers will immediately recognize here the demonic black man who, whether armed or not, needs to be quickly shot down before he can inflict mayhem on vulnerable white police officers. The longevity and transatlantic range of this trope is striking.

Gilbert K. Chesterton: The God of the Gongs, pp. 251 f.; for the following quote see ibid., p. 251.

Bestial Inferiority 39

or in their syncretized New World form, that challenged the civilizing presence of European Christendom. Voodoo was in fact central to the launching of the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), the only successful slave revolution in history. Whether in vague historical recollection of the 1865 Jamaican Morant Bay uprising, or the more recent Mahdist War in the Sudan (1881-1899), or simply moved by a generally uneasy sense of a post-World War I imperial white world under challenge by insurgent populations of color, Chesterton expresses an apprehension in this story that both captures contemporaneous white fears and anticipates the later British diabolization of such anti-colonial struggles as the 1950s' Kikuyu (Mau-Mau) uprising in Kenya, which would justify mass executions and tortures of both the guerrillas and the civilian populations.⁵⁴ The insurgent simian, the revolting (and revolting!) nonwhite under-man, can thus be seen as a menace of the period threatening not merely the white family, white racial purity, and the white social hierarchy, but the white world itself.

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⁵⁴ Cf. Caroline Elkins: Imperial Reckoning

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Racist King Kong Fantasies From Shakespeare's Monster to Stalin's Ape-Man

Wulf D. Hund

Abstract: Comparisons with animals have a long-lasting tradition in the history of social discrimination. In this context, the ape stereotype figures prominently. The transgressions of the simian character perfectly allow the amalgamation of sexism, racism, and classism. In the European imagination, corresponding narratives from the 16th century on affiliated with the image of a tropical Africa that supposedly facilitated relationships of women and apes and generated monsters. The paper follows this obsession from its Renaissance variations via its enlightened manifestations and its modern political, scientific, artistic, and literary phantasmagorias to the scientific endeavours of interbreeding humans and apes in the 20th century. In doing so, it elucidates a connection of long duration between sexist and racist as well as classist insinuations. This affiliation linked pornotropical trash to scientific designs, and produced an ideological setting in which scientists finally tried to validate the possibility of human-simian offspring. Their experimental arrangement easily outplayed the utopias of classlessness and social equality, and put centuries-old sexist and racist defamations into operation.

At the end of 2011 the >Scientific American< made up a sensational story. It was headed >Scientific Ethics and Stalin's Ape-Man Superwarriors< and commented on the attempt of fundamentalist creationists to ascribe the breeding of an ape-man to Stalin. At the same time the media covered the offence of a Tea Party politician who had hit out against President Obama and urged: »Assassinate the f----- and his monkey children«.\footnote{1}

Ascriptions, invectives, and fantasies like these stand in the tradition of European racism and the assumption of biological contiguity, and even interbreeding, of men and apes.² Already in Antiquity,

¹ Cf. Eric Michael Johnson: Scientific Ethics and Stalin's Ape-Man Superwarriors; Huffington Post, 20.12.2011 (>Jules Manson, Failed Tea Party candidate, calls for assassination of Obama, first daughters<).</p>

For the status of apes in European cultures see William Coffman McDermott: The Ape in Antiquity; Horst W. Janson: Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the

monkeys come out badly in comparison to humans. Heraclitus likens the distance between humans and gods to that between monkeys and humans, and Aesop explains in his fables that monkeys could only imitate the humans. Aristotle attests that the monkeys were vicious and stupid.³

Early on, monkeys are used to disparage humans – for instance by the church fathers Gregory of Nazianzus and Isidore of Seville who compare monkeys to pagans and deny both the faculty of reason. In the Middle Ages monkeys and the devil are commonly mentioned in the same breath. Finally, Albertus Magnus uses his hominis similitudines to construct a group of beings which on the one hand belong to the monkeys and on the other to the legendary pygmies. This creates a space on the scala naturae for humanlike beings, who according to classical traditions are located in Africa.⁴

Ideological patterns like these are adopted in the interpretation and organization of reports about Africa which are becoming more frequent due to European expansion. They support the legitimizing requirements that emerged after the commencement of the transatlantic slave trade, and they corrupt the expression of human rights through the construction of human races. After the abolition of slavery they act as an anthropological safeguard of imperialistic politics and racist oppression.⁵

Philosophers and scientists, as well as poets and artists, successfully work on this development and provide the very knowledge that was subsequently popularized and continues to be a virulent part of everyday consciousness even today. The insinuated cross-species relationships play a particularly perverse role. They facilitate inclusion and exclusion in the intersectional realms of gender, class and race by

Renaissance; Raymond Corbey, Bert Theunissen (eds.): Ape, Man, Apemen.

Cf. Heraclitus: Fragments 82 and 83 in Hermann Diels: Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, p. 28; Aesop: The Monkeys and the Pyrrhic Dance, The Monkey and the Fishing-Net – both in: Aesop's Fables, pp. 167, 161; Aristoteles: Physiognomonica, pp. 24 (810 b), 26 (811 a).

Cf. William Coffman McDermott: The Ape in Antiquity, p. 110 (>Gregory<, >Isidore<); Robert M. Grant: Early Christians and Animals, p. 71 (>devil
Ape and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, p. 85 f. (>Albertus Magnus
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See the sections >The >Negro< and the ape< in Gustav Jahoda: Images of Savages, pp. 53-62; >Racist discourse and the Negro-ape metaphor< in Tommy L. Lott: The Invention of Race, pp. 7-13; >Dehumanization in Black and White< in David Livingstone Smith: Less than human, pp. 112-123.

marginalizing women, the lower classes and others labeled as colored and by threatening them with being pushed to the very margins of humanity.

This development can be roughly divided into centuries. In the sixteenth century the tale is modernized and finds classical expression in William Shakespeare's The Tempest. On this base, the seventeenth century piles up narrations by alleged as well as actual travelers, which are then systemized in the eighteenth century and induce natural scientists like Georges-Louis de Buffon and philosophers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau to speculate on intimate relations between apes and humans in Africa. During the nineteenth century the development of evolutionary thinking leads to a broadened discourse on apes which, in the twentieth century, generates the mass-cultural myth of King Kong and the scientific experiment to breed ape-men.

Caliban Revisited

In the second half of the sixteenth century Jean Bodin, doyen of the theory of sovereignty, attributed to people in the southern clime a lack of self-control and a disposition to sexual excess: »Promiscuous coition of men and animals took place, wherefore the regions of Africa produce for us so many monsters«.6 Bodin refers to authorities of Antiquity, but his knowledge is already enhanced by new information on Ethiopia, the Niger region and the Sudan. Furthermore, he notes down his reflections at a time characterized by discussions concerning the recently discovered people of America and the increasing slave trade with Africa.

Aware of the Spanish atrocities in America and the Portuguese slave trading in Africa, Bodin opposes slavery. But at the same time he is equipped with the racist knowledge of his era. On the one side it is traditional, peopled by devils and witches. Satan appears as God's apex and seduces sinners full of carnal desire. Unsurprisingly, in this ambience women mix with apes. Respective evidence dates back to the eleventh century. The cardinal and Doctor of the Church Peter Damian has already told the story about the spouse of a count from Liguria

⁶ Jean Bodin: Method for the Easy Comprehension of History, p. 105.

Cf. Henry Heller: Bodin on Slavery and Primitive Accumulation; Claudia Opitz-Belakhal: Das Universum des Jean Bodin, pp. 86-89.

whose playmate was a monkey as lecherous as herself. Thus the atrocity happened: "">»com femina fera concubuit« – the woman copulated with the animal. After that the monkey, looking on the husband as a rival, mangled him with claws and teeth. On top of that, a child arose from this liaison that was described not as a bestial but as an infernal monstrosity.

On the other side, Bodin is already aware of suggestions containing the first beginnings of a future race concept. One of his sources concerning Africa divides the continent into a northern zone and the southern pland of the blacks. The north is described as the part of Africa, [...] where the white and rational people livew, whereas the part of the land of the blacks are characterized as permitted intellectual capacity who subsist plike brutes. Accordingly, Bodin designates this part of the world as a hotbed of monsters, arising from the sexual union of humans and animals.

This ideological climate yields those constellations which the colonialist and imperialist mind will use as a repugnant legitimization of racism. Gary Taylor has verified an early version of this narrative. Antonio de Torquemada tells of a Portuguese woman exiled to an island of the emerging European colonial archipelago. There she is raped by an ape and has his babies.¹¹

This story is passed on in various forms and is embellished by aggregating tales. To begin with, through its adaptation to the tradition of demonological racism it is alleged that the ape is nothing more than a shape of the devil. ¹² As a result, the rumor gets into the gravitational

- Petrus Damianus: Opera, p. 143; cf. Alfred Adam: Der Teufel als Affe Gottes; Horst W. Janson: Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, p. 268; Samuel G. Armistead, James T. Monroe, Joseph H. Silverman: Was Calixto's Grandmother a Nymphomaniac Mamlūk Princess?, refer to similar motifs in Fernando de Rojas' >La Celestina

 and the >Arabian Nights
 The Greek Anthology records an earlier epigram of Palladas who asserted: >Hermolycus' daughter slept with a great ape and she gave birth to many little ape-Hermeses
- At that time the ape's immortal soul presumably had disappeared which on the way from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas definitely got lost (see Richard Sorabji: Animal Minds and Human Morals, pp. 201 f.). Admittedly an ape may have had the right to court proceedings, but »medieval animals fared badly when facing trial« (Jan Bondeson: Animals on Trial, p. 135).
- Leo Africanus, quoted in Dietrich Rauchenberger: Johannes Leo der Afrikaner, p. 331 (>Weiße<), (>Schwarze<).</p>
- Cf. Gary Taylor: White Like Us (the story was published in Spanish in 1570 and translated into French in 1579, Italian 1590, English 1600 cf. ibid., p. 35).
- 12 Cf. Francesco Maria Guazzo: Compendium maleficarum, p. 29 see Lyndal Roper: Witch Craze, p. 101.

field of the discourse on sin which, at that time, is involved in the justification of slavery by utilizing the legend of Noah's curse. It refers amongst other things to the sodomy of Noah's son Ham, alleging that, as a punishment, he and his descendants were fated to eternal slavery and turned black.¹³ As well as this, more and more news on apes emerges, initially defined as »[m]onster[s] with a human face« and eventually forming a part of »the myth of the Negro-ape connection« and a »Negro-ape mythology«.¹⁴

William Shakespeare adopted elements of Torquemada's relation in the construction of the monster Caliban. ¹⁵ Examined in diverse ways at various times, he was associated with multiple connotations: not only as African, but also as an American Indian, as an Irishman, or as a wild man and repeatedly as a savage and a cannibal. ¹⁶

Shakespeare's »imagined Africa« found expression in a range of prominent figures: »the villainous Aaron the Moor [...], the childlike Prince of Morocco, [...] the noble but ultimately savage Othello, [...] the fascinating Cleopatra [... and] the foul witch Sycorax«,¹⁷ the mother of Caliban, the »quintessential bestial European Other«,¹⁸ a »beast« of a »vile race«, who eats monkeys and fears being transmuted into an ape. A »thing of darkness«, Caliban was enslaved because he tried »to violate | [t]he honor« of his master's daughter.¹⁹

Should this deduction be questioned, >Othello< would supply the required material. In contrast to Caliban, he is constructed as black from his inception. The relationship between him and Desdemona is repeatedly set into the ambience of a bestiary, populated with >old black rams<, >Barbary horses<, >beasts with two backs<, >prime goats<, >salt wolves<—and, not forgetting: >hot monkeys<.20 Hence Arthur Little

- For Noah's Curse cf. David M. Goldenberg: The Curse of Ham; David M. Whitford: The Curse of Ham in the Early Modern Era; for the motif of sodomy see also David M. Goldenberg: What did Ham do to Noah?; Werner Sollors: The Curse of Ham
- Laura Brown: Homeless Dogs and Melancholy Apes, p. 30 (>monster(); Winthrop D. Jordan: White over Black, p. 236 (>myth(); Tommy L. Lott: The Invention of Race, p. 9 (>mythology().
- 15 Cf. Gary Taylor: >White Like Us<, pp. 41 ff.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Alden T. Vaughan, Virginia Mason Vaughan: Shakespeare's Caliban, passim.
- Jeanne Addison Roberts: The Shakespearean Wild, p. 6.
- Raymond Corbey: The Metaphysics of Apes, p.11.
- William Shakespeare: The Tempest, 4.1, 140 (>beast<), 1.2, 361 (>race<), 2.2, 163 (>monkey<), 4.1, 247 (>ape<), 1.2, 311 (>slave<), 5.1, 27 (>darkness<), 1.2, 35 (>honor<).
- ²⁰ Cf. William Shakespeare: Othello, 1.1, 88 (yram(), 1.1, 111 (yhorse(), 1.1, 116 (ybeast(), 3.3, 403 f. (ygoats(etc.).

has concluded that in >Othello< »blackness figures as the ocular sign of a cultural need to [...] destroy monsters [...] so that they may not procreate or multiply«.²¹ Caliban at least admits to no doubt as to what he would have done with Prospero's daughter Miranda: »I had peopled [...] | This isle with Calibans«.²²

Around 1600 the ideological seeds are sown to promote the further development of the trope of sexual relationships between apes and humans and to install it in Africa. All that needs to be done is to assemble the several elements – just as, for instance, the cleric Edward Topsell, who in his history of beasts elaborately referred to apes' >lust for women< and incidentally appended that >[m]en that have low and flat nostrils are libidinous as apes that attempt women«; or the traveler Thomas Herbert who characterized the people at the Cape of Good Hope as >an accursed Progeny of Cham, who differ in nothing from bruit beasts« and whose >language is apishly sounded (with whom tis thought they mixe unnaturally)«.²³

Scarcely one century later the imagination of sexual contact between African women and apes, including human-animal procreation, is added to the portfolio of occidental philosophy.

Ape of Enlightenment

It is in his philosophical opus magnum that John Locke declares: »if history lie not, women have conceived by drills«.²⁴ This is no accidental ideological contamination of sheer philosophical thoughts. The discrediting body-related conjecture is rather a component of a system of supremacy-making whiteness and wisdom, a foundation of the human condition, thereby attaching liberty and human rights to race.

In Locke's assumption these elements are obvious. The women under suspicion are Africans, because the monkeys, from whom they ought to be pregnant, according to contemporary opinion, come from Guinea. Coincidentally, this part of Africa is so much linked to the new colonial wealth that the gold coin, minted at the same time as Locke

Arthur L. Little, Jr.: Shakespeare Jungle Fever, p. 86.

William Shakespeare: The Tempest, 1.2, 353 f.

Edward Topsell: The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes, p. 166; Thomas Herbert: Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique, pp. 16 (>Cham<), 18 (>apishly<).

John Locke: An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, III.vi.23.

writes his essay, was given the name >guinea<. This is not only a reference to the origin of the gold. In the territory, then known as Guinea, the >Gold Coast< and the >Slave Coast< were situated in close proximity. From there stem many of the people whose corporeal being sold off into slavery has enriched the English slave traders and plantation owners, as well as shareholders of the Royal African Company such as Locke.²⁵ He is personally involved in phrasing that portion covering the interest of slaveholders in the constitution of Carolina. While on the one hand declaring the freedom of Englishmen, on the other he approves their right to hold slaves.²⁶ The gendered and racialized phantasmagoria of sexual excesses in the conjectural association of monkeys and women blends in smoothly with this ambiguous image of humankind.

Eventually, even Voltaire does not want to exclude the possibility that, in torrid zones, apes bend young women to their will.²⁷ Natural scientists keep up with the philosophers from the beginning. Edward Tyson intermingles his anatomical investigations with opaque rumors: "hte whole Ape-kind is extreamly given to Venery« and "htey covet not only their own Species, but [...] are most amorous of fair Women«. In this context, he references the story "of a Woman who had two Children by an Ape« descending from Torquemada in different versions. The Comte de Buffon likewise reports on the "appétit véhément des singes mâles pour les femmes« and the "mélanges forcés ou volontaires des négresses aux singes«.²⁸

In the minds of western intellectuals the imagination of sexual contact between apes and humans condensed into a seriously discussed

Cf. Gary Taylor: Buying whiteness, pp. 319, 472 f. (>Guinea drill<); Sam Margolin: Guineas (>Guinea<); Hermann Moll: Negroland and Guinea (map of 1729 – http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/maps/MAPAFRICA-C.HTML) (>Gold Coast<, >Slave Coast<); Wayne Glausser: Locke and Blake, pp. 63 ff. (>African Company<) – for Locke's involvement into colonial and monetary policy see i.a. Peter Laslett: John Locke, the Great Recoinage, and the Origins of the Board of Trade.</p>

²⁶ Cf. David Armitage: John Locke, Carolina, and the two treatises of government; Robert Bernasconi: Proto-Racism; Wayne Glausser: Three approaches to Locke and the slave trade (>Carolina(); John Locke: Two treatises of government, 1, § 1.1 (»Slavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, [...] that 'tis hardly to be conceived, that an Englishman [...] should plead for it«); [id.]: The fundamental constitutions of Carolina, p. 196 (»Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves«).

²⁷ Cf. Voltaire: Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations, p. 9 (»Il n'est pas improbable que dans les pays chauds des singes aient subjugué des filles«).

Edward Tyson: Orang-outang, sive homo sylvestris, p. 42; Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon: Histoire naturelle, p. 692.

hypothesis, which in the context of the emerging racial thinking was predominately directed against African women. At the end of the century an edition of Linnaeus' >System of Natural History(is published in London. The second volume contains a frontispiece with the explanatory line >The orang-outang carrying off a Negro girl(.²⁹ John Chapman, who has manufactured the engraving after a template, is renowned for his portraits and, amongst other things, is also illustrator of the Encyclopædia Londinensis. His signature vouches realism. It is the reality of pictures (see fig. 1, above left).³⁰

Part of this is a triad in the background. It congregates popular ape figures: Nicolaas Tulp's >orang< and a standing ape with a cane which since Bernhard von Breydenbach's >Peregrination in Terram Sanctum< and Conrad Gesner's >Historiae animalium< strolls through European imageries and in the course of this stops off at Tyson's, Linnaeus's, and Buffon's.³¹

In this climate of racist imputations the rumor of relations between apes and humans eventually enters the deliberations of socio-critical philosophy. Even though Jean-Jacques Rousseau does not yet clearly differentiate between >varieties< and >races<, he is sure that »[p]armi les hommes [...] les uns sont noirs, les autres blancs, les autres rouge«. In his reflections on the perfection of mankind, he allocates them differing roles.

The >whites< work their way upwards through the stage of alienation. The >reds< serve them in the form of the >Caribs< in the measuring of their own distance to the unalienated state of nature. The >blacks<, on the other hand, who were located not far from the natural state as well, were said to live there together with creatures which are >véritables hommes Sauvages« in >l'état primitif de Nature«.

- 29 Carl Linnaeus had classified monkeys and humans together as >anthropomorpha
 respectively as >primates
 and declared he did not know, whether to >call man ape
 or vice versa
 (quoted in Lisbet Koerner: Linnaeus, p. 87). But at the same time
 he divided and scaled mankind into color-coded groups and made the >white
 one the fully developed representative of >homo sapiens
 (see Gunnar Broberg: Homo Sapiens).
- For the frontispiece see Londa Schiebinger: Nature's body, p. 97 and http://images. wellcome.ac.uk/indexplus/image/V0021459.html.
- Off. the images in Londa Schiebinger: Nature's body, pp. 106 (White's apes White tells of the apish desire for humans as well; see Andrew P. Lyons, Harriet D. Lyons: Irregular connections, p. 39), 100 (Tulp's ape), 92 (Gesner's ape), 86 (Tyson's ape); Miriam Claude Meijer: Race and aesthetics in the anthropology of Petrus Camper, pp. 36 (Breydenbach's ape), 37 (Gesner's ape), 40 (Tulp's ape), 41 (Tyson's ape), 45 (Linnaeus's ape), 129 (Buffon's ape).

About these vorang-outangs or vpongos with Negroes told each other, as Rousseau gathered from a travel report, that they wforce the women and the girls. Possible offspring from those relations are presumed to be found in the Congo.³²

The crux of these deliberations lies not in the contemporary uncertainty concerning the position of great apes in the animal world. It lies in Rousseau's remarks on how to eliminate doubts in this respect – by an experiment in cross-breeding which admittedly could not be executed »innocently«.³³ Rousseau cryptically uses differing standards to determine humanity. He generally relies on the proof of »perfectibility«, but here it is replaced by »cross-breeding«. While his »état de nature« is otherwise a construction for »hypothetical reflections«, near which at best »the Caribs« are situated, here it becomes an »état primitif« which is supposed to actually exist, namely in Africa.³⁴ There creatures are presumed to be found who are so primitive that they did not by any evidence of perfectibility provide the proof of humanity, which therefore could only be proven biologically, if at all.

This potential experiment is not by chance mentioned in a context which, at least based on the compiled travel reports, is supposed to be that of everyday reality. The openness towards apes turns out to be prejudice against humans which are labeled as members of a separate black race. Discrimination against them develops in the second half of the eighteenth century to an allegedly scientifically proven certainty. After all, Thomas Jefferson, whose verbalizations of the civil liberties can hardly be outdone, states "hat the blacks [...] are inferior to the whites in the endowment both of body and mind". He bases this conception inter alia on "the preference of the Oranootan for the black women". One of his contemporaries in Germany, Christoph Girtanner, a proponent of Immanuel Kant's philosophy, even goes so far as to reference a "very credible writer" and his report "that Negresses"

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Diskurs über die Ungleichheit, pp. 324 ff. (>variété<, >race<), 322 (skin colors), 326 (>homme Sauvage<, >état primitif<), 330 (>force<), 328 (>Congo<).</p>

³³ Cf. ibid., p. 336; see i.a. Roland Borgards: Affenmenschen / Menschenaffen; Francis Moran III: Of pongos and men; Robert Wokler: Perfectible apes in decadent cultures

Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Diskurs über die Ungleichheit, pp. 102 (›perfectibilité‹), 70 (›état de nature‹, ›hypothesis‹), 156 (›Caribs‹), 326 (›état primitif‹).

Thomas Jefferson: Notes on the state of Virginia, pp. 270 (>inferior<), 265 (>preference<).

who consorted with [...] monkeys were impregnated by them and bore monsters«.³⁶

That the story is being circulated despite such references does not surprise. »The circumstance [...] of carrying off Negro girls, and detaining them for years in captivity, was distinctly stated, and has been recently and pointedly averred by gentlemen who have lived in Western Africa«: explains the >Monthly Review« to their readers in a report of Stewart Traill's treatise on the >anatomy of the orang outang« in 1822. And the >American Cyclopædia« assures us in 1868 that »tales« about apes abducting African women which were »long discredited as travellers' exaggerations, seem now to be authenticated, beyond the possibility of doubt«.³⁷

Anthropomorphic Monkeys

As early as in the middle of the eighteenth century Johann Gottfried Schnabel twice presents the colonization of his >Insel Felsenburg (literally: Rock Castle Island). Catholic Spaniards broke the first ground. However, the group rapidly collapsed as some of them chose companions among the she-monkeys native to the island. To be sure, these >>sodomites <</r> miserably perish and the >>ape-whores <</ri> are killed. Long after the death of the last Spaniard, a Reformed Dutchwoman and a Lu-

Christoph Girtanner: Ueber das Kantische Prinzip für die Naturgeschichte, pp. 279 f.; see Wulf D. Hund: >It must come from Europe∢, p. 73. Here, too – as in the context of the entire topic – an indulgent reference to the contemporary restrictedness of knowledge would be misguided. Just as historicisation should avoid the transfer of standards and the measurement of past discourses with later benchmarks, it should likewise refrain from using history as a convenient veil for deliberations which had already been controversial in their own day. When Jean-Jacques Rousseau submitted his experiment of thought, he was aware of its monstrosity. When David Hume (Of national characters, p. 252; cf. Wulf D. Hund: Die Farbe der Herrschaft, pp. 209 f.) disparaged a black scholar by means of an animal comparison, he made conscious use of an offensive insult. When Samuel Thomas Soemmerring (Über die körperliche Verschiedenheit des Mohren vom Europäer, pp. 5, 8 f., 12, 31 f.; cf. Wulf D. Hund: Die Bilder der Körper der Rassen, pp. 14 ff., 35 ff.), a contemporary of Immanuel Kant and Christoph Girtanner, compared Africans to apes, he met with serious criticism. It came, inter alia, from Johann Friedrich Blumenbach who collected information on and books by famous black scholars which were publicly accessible (Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte, pp. 84 ff.). If cynical undertones are perceivable in the analysis of the history of racist discrimination, they do not express a retrospective denunciation but pass on the cynicism of race thinking that had already been identifiable for the contemporaries.

The Monthly Review, 127 (the report literally draws back on its source – see Thomas Stewart Traill: Observations on the anatomy of the orang outang, p. 3); The New American Cyclopædia: Ape, p. 686.

theran German establish an immediately prospering new colony. This is not just because of their chastity and industriousness, but also because they rear the monkeys as »half-intelligent servants« and »slaves«, useful for agricultural work, winegrowing, recovering of stranded goods and as draft animals.³⁸

This is the prologue for a venture as bold as it is vile. It is rooted in that swamp of an exotically charged intersectionality of gender, class, and race, augmented by speciesism and shamelessly displayed as racist self-confidence by the infamous Edward Long.³⁹ Member of the Caribbean planter elite, colonial administrator, brother-in-law of the Governor of Jamaica and widely read chronicler of the island's history, the polygenist Long argued »that the White and the Negroe had not one common origin« but rather should be looked upon as »two distinct species«. 40 Both are differentiated »in respect to their bodies« and »in regard to the faculties of the mind«. Simultaneously, Long upholds the ape discourse to obscure the distinctions between humans and other animals by pairing the asserted completely developed specimen of the latter and the purported mostly backward representative of the former, the male ape and the >black< female. Based on the assertion »[t]hat the oran-outang and some races of black men are very nearly allied« he states that »an oran-outang husband« would be no »dishonour to an Hottentot female«. Conversely, relations between >black« males and >white females are considered as noxious miscegenation. For that,

³⁸ Cf. Johann Gottfried Schnabel: Insel Felsenburg, part 1, pp. 640 (sodomites, whores), 269 (servants), 458 (slaves); Carl Niekerk: Man and orangutan in eighteenth-century thinking, p. 486, has referred to the »anomaly«, that in Schnabel men associate with female apes, while Londa Schiebinger: Nature's Body, pp. 75-114, esp. p. 95, for her deliberations on >The Gendered Ape< only found cases in which male apes were after women; Laura Brown: The orangutang, the lap dog and the parrot, p. 229, provides a similar reference hint at the diaries of Samuel Pepys, who at the sight of an ape wrote: »I cannot believe but that it is a monster got of a man and a she-baboon«.

For Long cf. Robert J. C. Young: Colonial desire, pp. 150 ff. and Silvia Sebastiani: L'orang-outang, l'esclave et l'humain; Sara Salih: Filling up the space between mankind and ape, pp. 96 and 98, has argued what race-thinking is a form of speciesism« and that wLong's speciesism [...] relies on a particular construction of the animal as sub-intelligent, untamed, savage and so on, but [...] is also based upon an acceptance of the proximity and similarity of animal and human, to the extent that Long insists that the orang-utan is human, and that negroes belong to this particular human species«.

Edward Long: The history of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 336; concerning the following see ibid., pp. 351, 353 (›bodies‹, ›mind›), 365 (›allied‹), 364 (›husband‹); the fiction of woran-outangs« enjoying wto surprize and carry off Negroe women« (p. 360) is part of this racist and sexist imagination.

Long primarily blames »[t]he lower class of women in England, [who] are remarkably fond of the blacks, for reasons too brutal to mention«. Their behavior would bring about that »the English blood will become [...] contaminated with this mixture«.41

Such fragility of boundaries between sexist, classist, racist and speciesist imaginations and discriminations finally leads to a monstrous suggestion. It comes from the mouthpiece of common bourgeois interests during the French revolution, Emmanuel Joseph Sieves, who, at its beginning, heralds an encompassing claim to power and, at its end, turns out to be a fussy administrator who declares the revolution closed. In his political theory, Sieyes has to cope with a central contradiction of bourgeois political theory: the contradiction between the pathos of liberty and the contempt of the lower classes. He offers two solutions: the one pragmatic, pleading for a classist state; the other utopian, outlining a racist society.42

Sieves looks on the state as a stock company. Only proprietors can be active citizens. Contributing with their taxes to the »public establishment«, they have to be thought of as the real »actionnaires de la grande entreprise sociale«.43 The ideology of possessive individualism is one of the foundations of this conception. Another one is class racism, discriminating both ways against the top and the bottom. The nobility are accused of originating from a »race of conquerors«. 44 the underclass is suspected to lack the will or even the ability to engage in self-advancement. To think the possibility of a socially and politically integrated underclass, the very author, who had stated that »there is no slavery in France«,45 goes as far as to outline a race republic based on the labor of human-simian hybrids:

»Because a large nation is necessarily composed of two peoples, the producers and the human instruments of production, the intelligent and the workers who have only passive force [...]; would it not be desirable, [...] that there be a species between men and animals, a species capable of serving man for consumption and production? We have [...] three species of monkeys that breed perfectly with ours and with ne-

Id.: Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-État, pp. 12 f.

Edward Long: Candid reflections upon the judgment lately awarded by the court of the King's Bench, p. 48 f. Cf. in detail Wulf D. Hund: Racism in White Sociology, pp. 26 ff.

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes: Préliminaires de la constitution françoise, p. 37.

Id.: Vues sur les moyens d'exécution dont les représentans de la France pourront disposer en 1789, p. 14.

groes [...]. The crossing of these races would furnish: 1. a strong race [...] for hard labor [...]; 2. a middle-sized race [...] for domestic details [...]; finally 3. a small race [...] for petty services and amusement. 4. The negroes would command, train, and answer for them [...]. Thenceforth the citizens, the heads of production, would be the whites, the auxiliary instruments of labor would be the negroes, and the new races of anthropomorphic monkeys would be your slaves«.46

In the course of a few sentences the initially subordinate people(of the pworkers(have metamorphosed into pheads of production(by racist magic. The exploitation of their labor will be replaced by the re-introduction of slavery enabled by the breeding of the sub-human. The former slaves remain degraded as pinstruments of labor(. And the class society turns into a race community, because opposed to pregroes(and panthropomorphic monkeys(even the underclass can be imagined as part of the pwhites().

Simian Rapists

In the wake of the Enlightenment the sexist-racist fantasies of the white intellectual elites were turned loose. The long nineteenth century evolved into a curio arcade of intersectional ascriptions, exhibiting sexually connoted assaults as related to apes, women, ethnics, proletarians, and >colored races in numerous varieties. Not just in France, the topic runs through all sections of culture. In 1837 it shapes a literary attempt of young Gustave Flaubert and is still exploited in 1927 in the bestseller of writing maniac Félicien Champsaur. The protagonist of the one, Ouha, is an orangutan who makes a »négresse« his mistress and then wins a white woman. The heroine of the other, Nora, is the daughter of an antisemitically constructed physician and his ape-concubine and is blatantly laid out as a racist caricature of Josephine Baker. 8

In the novella of Flaubert, a »pretty blonde« with an »appearance [...] as mysterious as those snowy-necked Scandinavian sprites« is raped and killed by a »monster« with »lips like a Negro's or a mon-

⁴⁶ Id.: Esclaves, p. 75 (the translation follows William H. Sewall, Jr.: A rhetoric of the bourgeois revolution, pp. 153 f.).

For an (incomplete) overview see Julika Griem: Monkey business.

⁴⁸ Cf. Brett A. Berliner: Mephistopheles and monkeys, pp. 306 f., 320 ff.; Rae Beth Gordon: Dances with Darwin, 93.

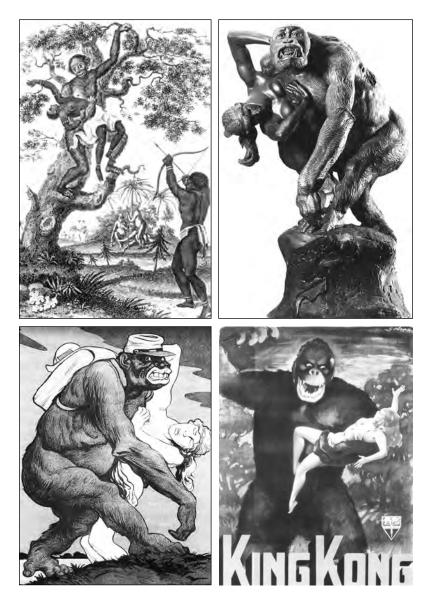


Fig. 1: The evolution of >Kong«

key's« and »thick black skin«. It was the progeny of an experiment, carried out by her husband with a »Negress« and an »orangutan« to

answer the question of the »Academy of Science« whether it would be possible to »crossbreed a monkey with a man«. After the deed, the apeman kills himself and is transferred to the »ministry of zoology« for the preparation of a »magnificent skeleton« from his remains.⁴⁹

The scientific benchmarks of this story have been anything but accidentally chosen. In 1816 Georges Cuvier dissected Sarah Baartman. She was staged as the >Hottentot Venus<, a mixture of pornographic fantasy, racist anthropology, and gimmicky economy, and after her death lay on the morgue slab of one of the most famous anatomists of the epoch, who, over the course of his career, collected more than fifty human skeletons from around the world. He made a plaster cast of her body and extracted her genitalia and brain, which were displayed in the museum together with the skeleton. In his report on that exploit he compared her to apes and pursued the polygenetic dissociation of >blacks< and >whites<.50

In the second half of the century Emmanuel Frémiet produces two sculptures which give shape to the story of the apish raptio. He could have safely tied in with Cuvier who in his >Animal Kingdom
wrote about »Le Chimpansé«: »Il habite en Guinée et au Congo; [...] poursuit les négresses et les enlève quelquefois dans les bois«. ⁵¹ Frémiet's apes are gorillas. The first one from 1859 carries away an unconscious black woman, the second one from 1887 drags along a struggling white woman (see fig. 1, above right). ⁵² The latter is frequently and rightly seen as the precursor of King Kong. ⁵³ In his figure, though, a range of other connotations overlap. The racialized ape-women discourse, dating back far in history, is charged by alarmist warnings about the >colored tide
, by the racism of the reconstruction period in the USA, and, not least, by the different scenarios of hybridization in the context of the Darwin debate.

- Gustave Flaubert: Whatever you want, pp. 77 (>blonde<, >snowy<), 99 (>monster<), 81 f. (>lips<, >skin<), 89 (>negress< etc.), 102 (>ministry<, >skeleton<); cf. Marie Josephine Diamond: Flaubert's >Quidquid Volueris<.</p>
- 50 Concerning the biography of Sarah Baartman cf. Clifton Crais, Pamela Scully: Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus; concerning the discourse on the >Hottentot Venus
 see Sabine Ritter: Facetten der Sarah Baartman.
- Georges Cuvier: Le règne animal (etc.), p. 104.
- 52 Cf. Lorinda S. Dixon: Emmanuel Frémiet's gorilla carrying off a woman; Ted Gott: Clutch of the beast; Marek Zgórniak: Fremiet's gorillas.
- 53 Cf. Thomas Becker: Mann und Weib Schwarz und weiß, p. 351; L. Perry Curtis Jr.: Apes and angels, p. 173; Lorinda S. Dixon: Emmanuel Frémiet's gorilla carrying off a woman, p. 210; Laurie Duggan: Ghost nation, p. 32; Frank Kämpfer: Destroy this mad brute, pp. 216 f.; Nicholas Mirzoeff: Bodyscape, p. 176.

In the evocation of the >colored tide< Australian anxieties of the >yellow peril< coalesce with American worries about the Mexican revolution, European debates on the deployment of colonial troops and other supposedly ominous signs. Lothrop Stoddard brings them together as a threat scenario for the >white-world supremacy<.54 At this point of time France employs colonial troops in their occupation of German territories. This is the trigger for a broad international campaign against the so-called >black shame<. During its course the media disseminates numerous racist pictures. They frequently depict black soldiers as apes violating white women. The satirist weekly >Kladderadatsch< thereby draws straight on Frémiet's sculpture (see fig. 1, below left).55

In the USA the polygenetic discourse cannot be silenced. After the abolition of slavery the Christian fundamentalist Buckner Payne adopts the report of a »recent traveler in Africa, [...] that gorillas frequently steal the negro women and girls, and carry them off for wives«. He declares this as evidence of the notion that »the negro existed on earth before Adam was created«.56 At the turn of the century Charles Caroll maintained – in a »bizarre work« with a »selfhating intention« – that »[a]ll scientific investigation of the subject proves the Negro to be an ape; and that he simply stands at the head of the ape family«.57 Before the backdrop of dehumanizing racist ascriptions, lynching well-nigh becomes a political system. In »Native Son« Richard Wright bundles the connected ideology and causes the state attorney to demagogically allege, that »at this very moment some half-human black ape may be climbing through the windows of our homes to rape, murder, and burn our daughters«.58

This is also a comment on >King Kong<, a movie whose filiations one may read as one will, and which yet at its core »is undoubtedly

⁵⁴ Cf. Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds: Drawing the global colour line (for Australia and beyond); Gerald Horne: Black and Brown (for the US and the Mexican revolution); Christian Koller: >Von Wilden aller Rassen niedergemetzelt (for the European discussion on colonial troops); see Lothrop Stoddard: The rising tide of color against white world-supremacy.

⁵⁵ Cf. Iris Wigger: Die >Schwarze Schmach am Rhein
; for the caricature see Kladderadatsch, 73, 1920, 22.

⁵⁶ Buckner H. Payne (under the pseudonym >Ariel<): The Negro, p. 23; see David N. Livingstone: Adam's ancestors, pp. 192 ff.; G. Blair Nelson: Ethnology and the >two books
, pp. 166 ff.

⁵⁷ Charles Carroll: The Negro a beast, p. 87; cf. George M. Fredrickson: The black image in the white mind, p. 277 (>bizarre work<) and Robert W. Thurston: Lynching, p. 179 (>self-hating<); see also Mark S. Roberts: The Mark of the beast, pp. 81 ff.</p>

Richard Wright: Native son, p. 408; see Robyn Wiegman: The anatomy of lynching.

a drama that operates on the >dangerous< border of miscegenation« (see fig. 1, below right). 59 > King-Kong \(\) originates from a sexist-racist atmosphere in which reports of an »ape-woman«, offspring of an African woman and a gorilla, are spreading and Hollywood in its pseudodocumentary >Ingagi (insinuates sexual relations of African women and apes.60

Modern Chimeras

King Kong is a node of multiple discourses, the debates on evolution counted among them. Already in 1861 > Punch < satirized Darwin's controversial theory of evolution with the sketch of a gorilla, upright and resting on a stick in the tradition of Tyson and others, labeled by a sign with the inscription >Am I a man and a brother<?61 At the time when King Kong was shot, public opinion in the USA was upset with the Scopes monkey trial and the filming of Herbert George Wells's >The Island of Doctor Moreau. In the trial a teacher is accused of teaching evolutionary theory. In the novel and the movie a scientist tries to produce humanized animals.62

Themed in the work of Wells, vivisection is also an issue in the public debates concerning the rejuvenation medicine of Serge Voronoff, physician and member of the Collège de France. Among others things, he experiments with the transplantation of simian testicles into the scrotum of elderly men.⁶³ He figures apes as a depot for human

- Cynthia Erb: Tracking King Kong, p. 89; cf. Tommy L. Lott: The invention of race, p. 10, who draws a line form >Caliban< to >King Kong< and states that the film »trades on the sexual aspects of Negro-ape mythology to set up a symbolic lynching scenario as the dramatic climax«; see also the chapter >Killing the beast: King Kong in black and white in Joshua David Bellin: Framing monsters, pp. 21-47. See also the chapter by Stefanie Affeldt in this volume.
- Cf. Patricia A. Schechter: Ida B. Wells-Barnett and American reform, p. 244;
- Thomas Doherty: Pro-code Hollywood, pp. 236 ff. Cf. Punch, 40, 18.5.1861, p. 206 (>Monkeyana</br> images/darwin-plate-010.jpg).
- Cf. Barbara Creed: What do animals dream of?, p. 68; see i.a. Edward L. Larson: Summer for the Gods (for the >monkey trial<) and Sören Niemann-Findeisen: Weeding the Garden (for Wells).
- Cf. Heiko Stoff: Ewige Jugend, p. 138 and Brett A. Berliner: Mephistopheles and monkeys. Voronoff, who »believed that mutilating and destroying the bodies of animals would solve human inadequacies« (Joanna Bourke: What it means to be human, p. 340), attracted harsh criticism by the anti-vivisection movement (cf. Angus McLaren: Reproduction by design, pp. 87 f.). But anti-speciesism in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century often went along with sexism, classism,

repair parts and makes the case for »ape farms« to serve the purpose of »producing replacements for the human machine«.⁶⁴ And he establishes such a farm at the Côte d'Azur, constantly keeping apes in large numbers. During the course of one of his experiments he implants the ovaries of a woman into a female chimpanzee called Nora. It is exactly this operation which inspires Champsaur to write the ethnopornographic novel whose protagonist is baptized by the same name and whom he constructs not alone as a hybrid being but also sends to Voronoff for surgery.⁶⁵

In this experiment Voronoff collaborates with Ilia Ivanov, who is on a visit to Paris. 66 The Russian zoologist, an expert in the artificial insemination of animals, has pursued the project of hybridizing humans and apes for a long time. After the revolution he receives assent to his plan. But his expedition to French Guinea yields just as little success as the subsequent endeavors with apes in an experimental station at the Black Sea.

In regard to the motives behind Ivanov's ape experiments, there are three differentially accented answers: they should supply evidence for the theory of evolution; provide material for the rejuvenation medicine; and extend the possibilities of eugenics (most certainly they should not serve the breeding of a Stalinist ape-men army). For all these options, various arguments have been joined.⁶⁷ Ivanov worked in a climate characterized by system rivalry and scientific optimism. Aleksandr Bogdanov advocated the idea of vitalization by blood transfusion. Aleksei Zamkov propagated the optimizing of the »Stalinist

and racism. For example, in 1880 the Darwinist W. Lauder Lindsay: Mind in the lower animals, p. 124, concluded: »The moral and intellectual differences, [...] that separate cultured and savage man, or infantile and adult man, or the two sexes in man, are the same in kind [...] as those which separate man from lower animals«. This, simultaneously, was an offer to lower animals and a degradation of women and savages«. »[S]avage races«, »compared with [...] other animals«, show »[m]orbid appetite« including »[c]annibalism«, »filthiness«, »[n]o sense of decency, modesty, chastity, or shame«, »[w]ant of natural affection«, »universality of infanticide«, »[c]ruelty to each other«, »[w]restling for wives«, »the predominance of instinct over reason«, »[i]ncapacity for education or instruction, for progress or improvement; including untamability. Hence their incapability for any work useful to themselves or to higher races of mankind« (ibid., pp. 40-43).

Serge Voronoff: Die Eroberung des Lebens, p. 74.

Cf. Heiko Stoff: Ewige Jugend, p. 138 (\sfarm\) and Brett A. Berliner: Mephistopheles and monkeys, pp. 306 f. (\setNora\).

66 Cf. Alexander Etkind: Beyond eugenics, p. 208; Kirill Rossiianov: Beyond species, p. 294.

67 Cf. Alexander Etkind: Beyond eugenics, pp. 206 f. (>Guinea< etc.), 27 ff. (>options<).</p>

body« by the injection of >gravidan«, a substance won from the urine of pregnant women. Socialist eugenics dealt with hereditary diseases as well as with population policy or the possibilities of Europeans' acclimation to the different climates of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, this policy was culturally supported. Sergei Tretyakov, for instance, wrote a eugenic play, however, letting its protagonists procreate the >new human« the old way.68

Ivanov's insemination experiments could have been related to all these attempts. But above all they are marked by sexist-racist fantasies about ape-human-hybrids. Ivanov initially took for granted his idea to conduct his experiments in Africa. In this regard, he did not distinguish himself from his contemporaries, the Dutch amateur scientist Hermann Marie Bernelot Moens and the German physician Hermann Rohleder. Both are in touch with the social Darwinist Ernst Haeckel, who encourages their plans. Both aim to inseminate female apes with the sperm of black men, but get stuck at the planning stage.⁶⁹

Ivanov however realizes his intent. In this he co-operates with his son but it did not occur to either of the men to use their own sperm. The racist backdrop of this reluctance is underlined by Ivanov's project to also inseminate black women with the sperm of apes. However, he does not find any voluntary female test person. In his diary notes he ascribes this to the imagined social consequences of the old myth of molesting apes: The women raped by ape males [...] are regarded as defiled. Such women are treated as pariahs, as socially dead«.72

Ivanov thereupon plans to inseminate women without their consent in a hospital. When this was prohibited by the French colonial administration and in addition his experiments with female apes failed, he breaks off his sojourn and returns to the Soviet Union.⁷³ He decides to

69 Cf. Piet de Rooy: In Search of perfection; see also Piet de Rooy, Op de zoek naar volmaaktheid (for Moens); Andrea Hommel: Hermann Rohleder; Volkmar Sigusch: Hermann Rohleder.

⁶⁸ Cf. Margarete Vöhringer: Avantgarde und Psychotechnik, pp. 200 ff. (>Bogdanov<); Keith A. Livers: Constructing the Stalinist body, p. 9 (>Zamkov<); Mark B. Adams: Eugenics in Russia, pp. 168 f. (>inheritance<, >demography<); Cassandra Cavanaugh: Acclimatization, the shifting science of settlement, p. 171 (>acclimatization<); Christina Kiaer: Delivered from capitalism (>Tretyakov<).</p>

⁷⁰ Cf. Kirill Rossiianov: Beyond species, p. 299.

Cf. Alexander Etkind: Beyond eugenics, p. 206.

Quoted from Kirill Rossiianov: Beyond species, p. 297; the following quote is from ibid., p. 306.

Back in the USSR, Ivanov was criticized for his plan with the African women by the Academy of Science but got further support by the Communist Academy.

proceed with the sperm of male apes. For this he needs female recipients. They are informed that their commitment will be a service for science and socialism and will not be compensated. At least one volunteer gets in touch and offers to »do a service for science«.

Monsters of the Mind

The racist King Kong fantasies of modernity, as well as their historic predecessors and varied filiations, are not the miserable spawn of paltry misrepresentations. They are not due to the sleep of reason but arise from its dream.⁷⁴ It is dreamt by great minds over many centuries. Its core is characterized by racism.

Unknowingly, Ilia Ivanov put into words this conjuncture when he speculated that African women allegedly raped by apes would be expelled from society and became pariahs and socially dead. These expressions become categories of the critical analysis of racism in the twentieth century. The keyword pariah has been introduced into the analysis of antisemitism by Hannah Arendt with reference to Max Weber. The term poscial death has been poignantly used by Orlando Patterson to discuss slavery and intensely connected with the analysis of racism by Theodore W. Allen. Both categories delineate the social exclusion of alienated others from the social ensemble.

Inclusion and exclusion are common patterns of societalization. In societies characterized by domination, the exclusion of others is a condition for distinction and the formation of social groups. But if the subordinate comply with the morals of submission, the promise of inclusion is offered – to the family, the working team, the ethnic community. By contrast, racist exclusion is a one-way function unaccompanied by any commitment of affiliation. Its othering is all-encompassing, for those affected get no chance to belong. They are constructed as undeveloped

Neither of these institutions had raised objections to the colonial setting of the experiment or to its continuation with Soviet women – cf. ibid., pp. 301 ff.

⁷⁴ Cf. i.a. Laura J. Rosenthal, Mita Choudhury (eds.): Monstrous dreams of reason, p. 13, who emphasize the meaning of Francisco Goya's Capricho 43 (vel sueño de la razon produce monstruos) on the cover of their book by referring to the complex meaning of vsueño, translatable as vsleepo or as vdreamo.

⁷⁵ Cf. Hannah Arendt: The Jew as pariah, p. 100; Max Weber: Das antike Judentum, p. 881.

⁷⁶ Cf. Orlando Patterson: Slavery and social death, p. 38; Theodore W. Allen: The invention of the white race, p. 35.

and inferior humans or subhumans.⁷⁷ Dehumanization is a general instrument of racism. Frequently, it involves animalization, showing up in different forms of comparison in which the animal metaphor has widespread application – from vermin to apes. Particularly, the alleged intercourse with reputed subhuman beings particularly serves to move the discriminated to the borders of humanity and beyond.

This accusation initially started as gender racism. In the eleventh century in Liguria (and the rest of Europe) even a countess was subject to sexism, while, within the scope of this discrimination, she belonged to the ruling family and participated in its sovereignty. However, the ascription of a relationship with a monkey barred her from the realm of virtuous womanhood and made her a follower of the devil, no longer a creature of God, but Satan's evil product. Sexism changed into racism and challenged her social existence as a respectable woman. During the course of the European expansion this disparagement was at first Africanized and then racialized. Initially, the Portuguese transported the assumption of sinful relations to Africa and, subsequently, Europeans blamed African women with unnatural intercourse. Without losing its sexist connotation, this swing from a discourse of sin and damnation to a discourse of race was fairly advanced at the end of the Elizabethan era. Though Caliban was the son of a witch, he was a monster of a vile race as well.

Thereafter, the ape mythology was supported by colorful eyewitness accounts and substantiated by enlightened philosophical deliberations. Searching for the missing link, distinguished minds collated Africans and apes and frequently took sexual relationships, especially between male apes and African women, for granted. Against this backdrop, African men eventually were simianized, and the gorilla became a metaphor for the brutish black. The statues of Frémiet symbolize the figuration of this metamorphosis.

At this stage, the legend has been extended from gender and race to class for quite some time. During early capitalism, the race question and the class question frequently intermingled. Kenan Malik has even assumed that classism was the primary root of racism and Étienne Balibar, Immanuel Wallerstein and Pierre Bourdieu have coined the term

Of. Wulf D. Hund: Negative Vergesellschaftung, pp. 119 ff.; Charles W. Mills: White supremacy as sociopolitical system, pp. 47 f.; for the following see also Jobst Paul: Das [Tier]-Konstrukt and the chapters by Charles W. Mills and David Livingstone Smith, Ioana Panaitiu in this volume.

class racism.⁷⁸ Its threat was a constant intimidation for at least parts of the lower classes, as the Malthusian theory of population exemplifies.⁷⁹ Conversely, the social upgrading and whitening of the laboring poor seemed possible by the racist exclusion of others. As a last consequence, political theory did not flinch from the utopia of a bourgeois society without any contamination of labor by outscoring degrading occupations to hybrid creatures.

Eventually, the Darwinist restoration of racism, the search for an ape-like missing link, the fear of degeneration, the eugenic attacks on the <code>>undesirable<</code>, and the perspectives of the emerging genetics conglomerated to produce an ideological space of possibility. It also opened up monstrous new vistas. Systematized human breeding seemed possible. The control of the <code>>unfit<</code> could be flanked or substituted by biological improvement. Reproductive technologies became an instrument of biopolitics. ⁸⁰ It brought bodies of animals and humans into subjection and tried to optimize the latter at the expense of the former.

Under such auspices, scientists and politicians reflected about the hybridization of apes and humans. The male project required animal and female experimental subjects. In order to accomplish it, the initiators almost naturally decided >Africa< was to be their laboratory. The scientific research likewise was a symbolic action which attested to the validity of racism. For the production of human-animal chimeras it focused on apes and Africans. Thereby it perpetuated and revealed the old legends at once. After the failure of these intentions Africans were substituted with European women. One of the infamies of racist discrimination had come full circle.⁸¹

Cf. Kenan Malik: The meaning of race, p. 82; Étienne Balibar, Immanuel Wallerstein: Race, nation, class, pp. 204 ff; Pierre Bourdieu: Distinction, p. 178.

⁷⁹ Cf. Allan Chase: The legacy of Malthus.

The term was first used by G. W. Harris: Bio-Politics, p. 197 (who asked for the "diminish[ment] [...] of female births« and "a State lethal chamber« for "lunatics«) and was theorized by Michel Foucault: The birth of biopolitics (without treating animal-human relations); for a short overview see Thomas Lemke: Biopolitics.

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STUDIES

Aping the Human Essence Simianization as Dehumanization

David Livingstone Smith, Ioana Panaitiu

Abstract: Representing members of racial minorities as apes or monkeys is a special case of dehumanization and cannot be properly understood outside of a general theory of dehumanization. We argue that to fully understand any particular case of dehumanization it is mandatory to consider the intersection of its psychological, cultural, and political determinants: the psychological component explains the distinctive form of dehumanizing thinking, the cultural component explains the significance of the choice of animal with which members of the dehumanized population are equated, and the political component explains the ideological function of particular cases of dehumanization. We apply this analysis to the special case of the simianization of people of African descent.

»Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination – indeed, everything and anything except me« (Ralph Ellison: Invisible Man)

The representation of racial minorities as apes has been a persistent dehumanizing trope. In this chapter, we discuss white people's simianization of black people, with an emphasis on the North American context. This should not be taken to imply either that black people have been the only simianized group or that whites are the only people that have simianized blacks. Numerous racial and ethnic groups – including Jewish, Irish, and Japanese people – have been simianized at one time or another, and Arab, Japanese, and Chinese people have, at one time or another, been perpetrators of simianization. Although we do not discuss these examples, we present a broad analytic framework which, we believe, is applicable to them.

See the essays of Charles W. Mills, Wulf D. Hund and Silvia Sebastiani (›dehumanizing trope‹) as well as of Steve Garner (›Irish‹) and Susan C. Townsend (›Japanese‹) in this volume.

White people have associated Africans (and people of African descent) with non-human primates since the beginning of the modern era.² Although as early as the mid-fourteenth century Ludolph of Sudheim described Ethiopians as having monkey-like faces, such associations were unusual prior to the enslavement of Africans in the service of the colonial enterprise. During this period, Africans were very often described as ape-like beings, a hair's breadth away from nonhuman primates on the Great Chain of Being. The simianizing trend continued during the 19th century, when Darwinian ideas of humans' descent from a common primate ancestor were misconstrued as underwriting the pre-Darwinian notion of a hierarchy of races that situated Africans as abutting, or undifferentiated from, the great apes. As late as the turn of the twentieth century, Charles Carroll (himself a black man)³ could publish a volume that was ostensibly grounded both in science and Biblical exegesis, which seriously proposed that people of African descent are a species of ape.4

The notion that black people were akin to apes suffused the writings of the intelligentsia as much as it permeated popular culture. During the early twentieth century, scientists made confident pronouncements about the atavistic character of Africans, and racist cartoons routinely represented African Americans – including prominent athletes and entertainers – in simian form. In 1906 the star exhibit at the Bronx Zoo, drawing huge crowds, was a Congolese pygmy (probably Mbuti) named Ota Benga, who was placed on display in the primate house.

The aforementioned points would be of merely historical interest, were it not for the fact that the simianization of people of color is still with us. During the presidential campaign of 2008, there were numerous depictions of Obama as a nonhuman primate. An Ebay auction featured a T-shirt and buttons representing him as a monkey devouring

- ² Cf. David Brion Davis: The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation, pp. 29-34; Gustav Jahoda: Images of Savages, pp. 44-49; for the following see Francisco Bethencourt: Racisms, pp. 53 (\Sudheim\lambda), 94 f. (\Africans and monkeys\lambda).
- ³ Cf. Joel Williamson: The Crucible of Race.
- See Charles Carroll: The Negro a Beast. There were various other publications explicitly arguing that black people were, quite literally, subhuman animals. A good example is William Benjamin Smith: The Color Line. The most nuanced and detailed discussion of the history of the simianization of black people is Gustav Jahoda: Images of Savages.
- For example, the boxer Jack Johnson was referred to by white journalists as a »gorilla« (Al-Tony Gilmore: Bad Nigger!, p. 45).
- 6 Cf. Phillip Verner Bradford, Harvey Blume: Ota Benga.

a banana, and photo-shopped images of a chimpanzee with Obama's face superimposed upon its head.⁷ Even more disturbingly, recent psychological research has demonstrated that white Americans unconsciously associate black people with apes.⁸

Simianization is a special case of the more general phenomenon of dehumanization, and one cannot give a satisfactory account of the former unless one examines it in the context of the latter. Because the term >dehumanization \(\) is used in at least eight distinct ways in scholarly discourse, we begin by setting these out and specifying the sense in which we use the term. Next, we propose that a good theory of dehumanization should satisfy three explanatory desiderata. It should address the psychological, political, and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon, so as to provide a framework for the accounting of how these intersect in any given case. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to addressing the psychological underpinnings of dehumanization, which provides a model for understanding the cognitive processes underpinning the simianization of black people. Our emphasis on these psychological dynamics should not be taken to imply that we think that it should be causally privileged. We devote attention to the psychology of dehumanization mainly because we do not believe that scholars have addressed it adequately. We then discuss the political and social contexts of the simianization of black people and describe how these have, in conjunction with the psychological processes that we describe, eventuated in conceptions of black people as either pliable, amusing apes or as brutal, demonic ones.

Dehumanization: A General Framework

The term >dehumanization< is used in a variety of ways in scholarly discourse. These include subjecting others to indignities, metaphorically likening them to non-human animals or inanimate objects, de-

^{7 &}gt;The Coon Caricature (retrieved from: http://www.authentichistory.com/diversity/african/3-coon/6-monkey/).

⁸ Cf. Phillip Atiba Goff, Jennifer L Eberhardt, Melissa J. Williams, Matthew Christian Jackson: Not yet human; see also the paper of Phillip Atiba Goff and Kimberly Barsamian Kahn in this volume.

There is a substantial social psychological literature on dehumanization – see, for example, Paul G. Bain, Jeroen Vaes, Jacques-Philippe Leyens (eds.): Humanness and Dehumanization. For a critique of this literature, see David Livingstone Smith: Dehumanization, essentialism, and moral psychology.

nying certain of their distinctively human attributes, denying that they experience mental states, treating them in ways that diminish or extinguish some of their distinctively human attributes, conceiving of them as inanimate objects, attributing to them a lesser degree of humanity than oneself.

In this chapter, we use >dehumanization< to denote the act of conceiving of others as subhuman creatures. It is important to differentiate dehumanization, in this specific sense, from the other phenomena that are often referred to as dehumanization.

It is easy to confuse dehumanization with the use of animalistic slurs. But one might refer to a person as a non-human animal without meaning to exclude them from the category of the human. For example, one might call someone a pig in order to denigrate that person by calling attention to certain of his or her characteristics that are conventionally associated with pigs (for example, gluttony) without believing that the object of one's slur is, literally, a nonhuman animal. Likewise, people of color are sometimes referred to as apes purely as a slur, without this having any deep metaphysical implications.

In this chapter, we are not concerned with such cases (even though in practice it can be difficult to distinguish mere slurs from derogatory speech that is motivated by dehumanizing beliefs). Rather, we are interested in cases in which people of color are thought to be subhuman primates rather than human beings. This phenomenon is enormously more perplexing, complex, and dangerous than slurring is, and it requires a more elaborate theoretical apparatus to properly explain. It is equally important to be mindful of the >relation< between what we take dehumanization to be and the other interpersonal phenomena, with which it is often confused. Some of these can be reffects of dehumanization (as we understand the term): when we dehumanize others, this may result in our subjecting them to indignities, likening them to animals, denying that they possess paradigmatically human attributes, or causing them to lose such attributes. These may all be >indicative< of underlying dehumanizing attitudes, but they are not constitutive of those attitudes. By analogy, running a fever may be indicative of having the flu, but does not make it the case that one has the flu.

If dehumanization is a way of conceiving of others – of categorizing them as belonging to non-human kinds – then an account of dehumanization will of necessity be underwritten by cognitive psy-

chology. More specifically, any adequate theory of dehumanization ought to incorporate the results of empirical research into the manner in which we categorize items as members of natural kinds. However, a purely psychological approach to the phenomenon is inadequate. Dehumanization does not occur in a political vacuum: it virtually always occurs in situations of intense intergroup conflict. We are inclined to dehumanize others in circumstances where it seems attractive to do violence to them by oppressing them, exterminating them, or harming them in some other way, and it is therefore not possible to make sense of dehumanization without considering both its psychological and its political dimensions. One needs psychology to explain how political tensions eventuate in the dehumanization of one group by another, and one needs political analysis to explain has occurred.

Our model for the role of psychological and political explanations of dehumanization is an extension of the account of racialization developed by Edouard Machery and Luc Faucher. 10 Machery and Faucher argue that although social constructionist and psychological explanations of our tendency to carve the human family up into a small number of discrete races are often treated as incompatible, this is not the case. Rather, they insist that each requires the resources of the other. Social constructionists provide an account of why it is that certain populations become racialized in response to political forces (paradigmatically, in response to the European colonial enterprise). However, social constructionism is powerless to account for the distinctive characteristics of racializing thinking (for example, its essentialist character). In contrast, psychological approaches can explain how racial thinking emerges out of a set of broader cognitive dispositions, but is unable to account for why it is that certain populations are racialized at certain historical moments.

Machery and Faucher argue that psychology is required to explain the >form< and social constructionism is required to explain the >content</br>
tent
of racial thinking. By the same token, we propose that psychology is required to explain the form of dehumanization and political analysis is required to explain its content – that is, why certain groups of people, rather than others, are dehumanized, as well as why particular episodes of dehumanization occur >when
they do.

¹⁰ Edouard Machery, Luc Faucher: Why do we think racially?

There is also a third dimension that must be addressed to explain episodes of dehumanization, one that also has a counterpart in the analysis of racialization, albeit one that Machery and Faucher neglect. Consider the descriptive privileging of skin color in descriptions of African people as dark or black. Sub-Saharan Africans are not literally black (any more than Europeans are literally white). In characterizing the difference between themselves and Africans in terms of the black-white or dark-light binary, Europeans made use of a culturally entrenched, psychologically resonant, symbolic system, in terms of which black and darkness are associated with ugliness, ignorance, and sin, while white and lightness are associated with virtue and divinity (Jesus is described in the Bible as »the light of the world« and »God is light and in him there is no darkness at all«).11 Furthermore, darkness had long been associated with subservience. »From early antiquity and in various parts of the globe«, observes David Brion Davis, »the elites who lived indoors and sheltered themselves from the sun sharply differentiated themselves from the field workers who were darkened by dirt as well as exposure to the sun«.12 It is reasonable to suppose that both religious and class-related connotations of darkness later became part of the idiom of race.

The choice of such symbolically-rich descriptors lent attitudes towards Africans a certain >character<. In precisely the same way, the character of any instance of dehumanization is fixed by the cultural significance of the kind of animal with which members of dehumanized population are identified. Lynne Tirrell draws attention to the fact that the epithet >snake<, which was used by Rwandan Hutus to characterize Tutsis, has a particular significance in virtue of the role played by snakes in Rwandan life. Representing Tutsis as snakes had the consequence of evoking a set of culturally entrenched attitudes and actions pertaining to snakes. »The derogatory terms used in the propaganda were well chosen«, Tirrell observes, »meshing everyday linguistic and non-linguistic practices, to engender genocidal actions«. ¹³

To fully comprehend the significance of the simianization of people of color, then, one must examine it in the context of the psychological

This is not to imply that these religious connotations of light and darkness were unique to European Christianity, only that they were part of the symbolic system in which the European notion of blackness was situated.

David Brion Davis: Inhuman Bondage, p. 51.

Lynne Tirrell: Genocidal language games, p. 205

processes underpinning dehumanization (its form), the political causes of their dehumanization by Europeans (its content), and the significance of apes in European culture (its character).

The Form of Dehumanizing Beliefs

When we dehumanize others, we think of them as beings that appear human but that are inwardly subhuman. We will show that the peculiar disjunction between humanity on the >outside< and subhumanity on the >inside< is explicable in light of certain widespread psychological dispositions. We will also show that it has some important psychological ramifications: once we categorize a group of people as not really human, this opens the door to their being seen not merely as subhuman animals, but as subhuman monsters.

It is helpful to draw upon an explicit example when teasing out the significant strands of the psychology of dehumanization. The writings of Morgan Godwyn are very helpful in this connection. Godwyn was an Anglican clergyman who wrote about the atrocities perpetrated by colonists against their African slaves in Barbados and Virginia during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and the dehumanizing attitudes that made these atrocities possible. He recorded that he had been told in private »[t]hat the Negros, though in their Figure they carry some resemblances of Manhood, yet are indeed *no Men*«. »They are Unman'd and Unsoul'd; accounted and even ranked with *Brutes*«, »Creatures destitute of Souls, to be ranked among Brute Beasts, and treated accordingly«.

Consequently, Europeans felt empowered to commit »>Inhumanities<, as their >Emasculating< and >Beheading< them, their >cropping off their Ears< (which they usually cause the Wretches to broil, and then compel to eat them themselves); their >Amputations of Legs<, and even Dissecting them alive; (this last I cannot say was ever practiced, but has been certainly affirmed by some of them, as no less allowable than to a Beast of which they did not in the least doubt that it was justifiable)«.14

Godwyn's account illustrates five core components of dehumanization – features that were not restricted to the attitudes of slaveholders

Morgan Godwyn: A brief account of religion [etc.], p. 3, and id.: The Negro's and Indians Advocate [etc.], pp. 3 f.

in colonial Virginia but, we suspect, underpin dehumanization (in the sense that we have specified) whenever and wherever it occurs.

First, when we dehumanize people we grant that they appear human but deny that they are human. Dehumanized people are humanoid. They are simulacra of humans rather than genuine human beings.

Second, this peculiar metaphysical status is explained by the fact that these individuals lack whatever it is that only and all human beings share. In 17th century European thought this factor was identified with the human soul (more explicitly, the rational soul). However, we should conceive of it more generally as the idea of a human essence.¹⁵

Third, nature is arranged hierarchically and humans occupy a higher rank in the hierarchy than those that are occupied by nonhuman animals. Nonhuman animals are therefore >sub</br>

Fourth, in virtue of being identified with animals, dehumanized people are not merely non-human, they are subhuman. They do not merely lack a human essence; they possess a subhuman one.

And fifth, dehumanized people are >beneath< human beings in a specifically moral sense, thus rendering them less morally considerable than humans are. It is therefore morally permissible to treat them in ways that are regarded as appropriate for nonhuman animals but inappropriate (and ethically impermissible) for human beings.

Psychological investigations of dehumanization have, for the most part, stressed the explanatory role of psychological essentialism. The term psychological essentialism refers to the widespread, pretheoretical disposition to divide the world into natural kinds, membership in which is fixed by a pdeep, unobservable property that is possessed by only and all members of the kind. This deep property is called its possessed because it not only determines kind-membership (the explanatory job of essences) but is also thought to be property is called its possessed by only and all members of the kind.

Very importantly, psychological essentialism allows that a thing's essence can come apart from its appearance. A thing might be a member of a certain natural kind while not having the stereotypical appearance

See David Livingstone Smith: Less Than Human, and Justin E. H. Smith: Language, bipedalism, and the mind-body problem.

Although psychological essentialism is often invoked by psychologists wishing to explain dehumanization, it is often misunderstood and misapplied – see David Livingstone Smith: Dehumanization, essentialism, and moral psychology.

of members of that kind. It is not only uncontroversially natural kinds like biological species that are essentialized. Social groups – including races, ethnic groups, and even national or religious groups – are sometimes treated as having a common causal essence. Psychologists Peter Holtz and Wolfgang Wagner point out essentializing the group is tantamount to regarding its members as constituting a natural kind. When we dehumanize such groups, we treat their members as possessing a subhuman essence – an essence occupying a lower-than-human rank on the Great Chain of Being – notwithstanding their characteristically human appearance.

The account of the psychology of dehumanization that we have so far set out tells only half of the story, because the claim that dehumanizers conceive of those whom they dehumanize as nothing but subhuman animals fails to capture the full phenomenology of the dehumanizers' behavior.

It is striking that, although dehumanizers characterize those whom they oppress as brute beasts, they behave towards them in a manner that implicitly acknowledges their humanity. This seeming doxastic rift was first noted by none other than Morgan Godwyn, who noted that European slaveholders often placed slaves in positions of responsibility, but (he rhetorically inquired), why should their Downers, Men of Reason no doubt, conceive them fit to exercise the place of Governors and *Overseers* to their *fellow* Slaves [...] if they were but meer Brutes Putting livestock in such positions would, he added, be a comical frenzie.

Godwyn also pointed out that these people treated their slaves as morally responsible agents who *deserved* punishment in response to moral infractions. But if they are subhuman creatures then why »should they be tormented and whipt almost (and sometimes quite) to death, upon any Miscarriage [...] were they (like Brutes) naturally destitute of >Capacities
equal to such undertakings
? Finally, he pointed out that European masters' sexual abuse of their slaves was inconsistent with their ostensibly subhuman status, remarking that »those >Debauches
that so frequently do make use of them for their Unnatural pleasures and lusts [...]. Sure they would be loth to be endited of >Sodomy
, as for lying with a Beast

Peter Holtz, Wolfgang Wagner: Essentialism and attribution of monstrosity.

Morgan Godwyn: The Negro's and Indians Advocate [etc.], p. 30.

More recently, similar concerns were voiced by Kwame Anthony Appiah¹⁹ who has written that it's »not quite right« to say that the dehumanization of victims accounts for acts of genocidal violence, because this way of looking at things »doesn't explain the immense cruelty [...] that are their characteristic feature. The persecutors may liken the objects of their enmity to cockroaches or germs, but they acknowledge their victims' humanity in the very act of humiliating, stigmatizing, reviling, and torturing them. Such treatments – and the voluble justifications the persecutors invariably offer for such treatment – is reserved for creatures we recognize to have intentions, and desires, and projects«.²⁰

What are we to make of this? The first point to be made in response to these telling observations is that there is an obvious and striking distinction between animals and animals in human form. A being that is regarded as inwardly subhuman but human in appearance evokes a very different response than a being whose essence and appearance cohere with one another. A being that possesses a subhuman essence coupled with a human appearance >transgresses culturally enshrined metaphysical boundaries<. There is, we submit, something uniquely unsettling about beings of this sort.

To cast light on the psychological impact of beings that are believed to violate categorical boundaries, we draw on the writings of three important scholars working in disparate disciplines: Ernst Jentsch (psychology), Mary Douglas (anthropology), and Noël Carroll (philosophy).

Ernst Jentsch was a German psychiatrist best known for his paper >On the psychology of the uncanny<. The German word translated in the title as >uncanny

 in the title as >uncanny
 is >unheimlich
 a term that does not have a precise English equivalent. Something that is uncanny is frightening in a distinctive, difficult-to-specify way. It is creepy, eerie, unsettling, horrifying, and yet fascinating. Jentsch made the suggestion that the feeling of uncanniness is the upshot of a special kind of disorientation: we experience a thing as uncanny if we regard it as belonging to two,

See also Adam Gopnik: Headless horsemen, and Kate Manne: In Ferguson and beyond.

²⁰ Kwame Anthony Appiah: Experiments in Ethics, p. 144. Appiah adds in a footnote that unlike those who are merely indifferent to the well-being of outgroup members, genocidal killers »tell you why their victims – Jews or Tutsi – >deserve< what's being done to them« (ibid., p. 247).</p>

²¹ Cf. Ernst Jentsch: On the psychology of the uncanny.

incompatible kinds. One of his examples concerns the reactions that some people have when viewing lifelike figures in a wax museum. The viewer knows that she is looking at inanimate simulacra of human beings, but nevertheless cannot help responding to them as human beings. Consequently, her mind is pulled in two antithetical directions at once. Categorizing the figures as both human and non-human, she is unable to fully settle on one interpretation to the exclusion of the other. This is Jentsch's paradigm for understanding the uncanny. It is the seemingly contradictory or interstitial character of a thing that imbues it with an aura of \text{VInheimlichkeit}.

The potency of Jentsch's thesis was not widely appreciated until Masahiro Mori, a Japanese roboticist, revived it in 1970. Mori argued that robots that do not look too human will seem familiar and evoke positive reactions (think of R2D2 and 3CPO in >Star Wars<) but that robots that resemble human beings very closely but are not indistinguishable from them will elicit intensely aversive responses in onlookers, who will experience them as uncanny. He called this the »uncanny valley«. The uncanny valley phenomenon presents a formidable psychological obstacle for those wishing to create realistic, sympathetic humanoid robots or computer simulations of human beings.

Similar intellectual territory was later explored from an entirely different but clearly complementary perspective by the British anthropologist Mary Douglas in her celebrated book >Purity and Danger<. Douglas sought to provide an analysis of the cultural construction of what she called >ritual impurity«. Her discussion is very wide-ranging and at times rather diffuse, but her central claim is clear enough: items are regarded as >impure< only if they violate culturally enshrined conceptions of the natural order.²³ The notion of impurity at work here is a normatively loaded one. Something that is impure is not simply dirty or heterogeneous: it is contaminating, disturbing, unnatural, and dangerous – something that is to be avoided or controlled, and that radiates an eerie power. It is defiled and defiling: an abomination.

Douglas does not always clearly distinguish the notion of ritual impurity from that of ordinary dirtiness, but failing to do so is a mistake. An item can be dirty without being impure, and it can be impure, in this sense, without being dirty. As an example of the latter, consider segre-

²² Cf. Masahiro Mori: The uncanny valley.

²³ Cf. Mary Douglas: Purity and Danger.

gated drinking fountains in the American south during the Jim Crow era. White people regarded these as impure in virtue of the fact that black people drank from them (the inherent impurity of African Americans was taken to contaminate the fountains from which they drank). We submit that those who regarded segregated drinking fountains as impure would continue to do so even if these fountains were cleaned and sterilized to a surgical standard. This is because the fountains were felt to be metaphysically (rather than merely physically) contaminated by their contact with metaphysically impure African Americans.

It is obvious that Douglas' notion of impurity is conceptually adjacent to, if not identical with, what Jentsch called >uncanniness<. In both frameworks, the disturbing character of the thing is the upshot of its not being part of the natural order.

Noël Carroll's work on the aesthetics of horror fiction conforms to the same explanatory pattern, and extends our understanding of the psychological consequences of what are taken to be violations of natural categories. ²⁴ Carroll, a philosopher, draws on Douglas' work to elucidate the nature of what he calls »horrific monsters«. Horrific monsters are, as the name implies, monsters as depicted in literary or cinematic fiction. To avoid confusion while staying closer to the vernacular use of the term, we will henceforth use the term »monster« in place of horrific monster« (in Carroll's vocabulary, »monster« has a different meaning which need not concern us here).

Carroll has a clear account of what makes something a monster. A monster is a >contradictory being< combining incompatible natural kinds (typically, fusions of human and nonhuman beings). It is >a composite that unites attributes held to be categorically distinct and/or at odds with the cultural scheme of things in >unambiguously< one, spatio-temporally discrete entity«. The monster's metaphysically transgressive character makes it *cognitively threatening*. Monstrous beings pose >threats to common knowledge [...,] challenges to the foundations of a culture's way of thinking«. But to be a monster, a thing must also be >physically threatenings. It must present a danger to life and limb, to sanity, to morality, to identity, or to the social order.

Monsters are the ultimate outsiders. They are creatures that in virtue of their very nature are segregated from the natural world (includ-

Noël Carroll: The Philosophy of Horror; for the following quotes see ibid., pp. 43 (>composite(), 34 (>threats().

ing the naturalized social world). This idea is succinctly captured in a statement from the medieval >Book of Monsters of Various Kinds<: >Made as they were, the order of creation must keep them on the outside«.²⁵

Although Carroll's account of the monstrous is inspired by Douglas' analysis of impurity, it is important to bear in mind that their two conceptions are not indistinguishable. An impure item, in Douglas' sense, does not have to be physically threatening, whereas on Carroll's analysis physical dangerousness is a sine qua nong for monstrousness. Similarly, the paradigmatic examples of uncanniness offered by Jentsch and Mori do not necessarily involve any element of physical danger. So, combining the three vocabularies, we can say that an entity is monstrous only if it is thought to be physically dangerous in addition to being impure and uncanny. In ordinary usage, the attribute of monstrousness does not always include an element of physical danger (as in, for example, the old expression >monstrous birth(). To disambiguate, we will reserve the term >monster< for entities that are thought to be both contradictory and physically dangerous, and use >chimera< to denote entities believed to be contradictory but not physically dangerous.²⁶ Both monsters and chimeras are cognitively (or metaphysically) dangerous, but only monsters are also physically menacing.

Returning now to the topic of dehumanization, we suggest that dehumanizing others has the consequence of transforming them into contradictory beings. When we dehumanize others we categorize them as subhuman (by attributing a subhuman essence to them) but we cannot escape recognizing their humanity (because of their human appearance and behavior). Consequently, dehumanized people are felt by their dehumanizers to be impure and uncanny, and if they are also regarded as physically dangerous they are pictured as monsters.

It is crucial to keep in mind that, on this account, the uncanniness or monstrousness of dehumanized people is an unintended consequence of their dehumanization. We dehumanize others in order to disable our inhibitions against harming them. It is because we are unable to dehumanize them completely – to entirely banish every reminder of their

²⁵ Cited in David D. Gilmore: Monsters, p. 60.

Wolfgang Wagner, Nicole Kronberger, Motohiko Nagata, Ragini Sen, Peter Holtz, Fátima Flores Palacios: An essentialist theory of hybrids, use the term hybrids for what we are calling himmeras. We prefer the term himmeras because we feel that it has stronger connotations of unnaturalness than hybrids does.

humanity – that they are transformed into chimerical or monstrous beings.

When racialized groups are essentialized, racial mixing is seen as propagating chimeras. This applies both to so-called miscegenation as well as certain forms of the superimposition of national, ethnic, and racial identities. Regarding the latter, Peter Holtz and Wolfgang Wagner draw on research showing that in cases where animals are genetically modified so as to possess genes of two different species »subjects across cultures perceive the organism to be somehow monstrous, that is ugly, strange, and dangerous. The mixing and muddling of genes or essences seems to be perceived as a breakdown of essence-bound identity and category membership, and as a violation of the natural order of living beings«. These authors go on to point out that »given the essentialization of social groups and the breakdown in category membership in genetic hybrids, we expect to find similar effects in openly racist and xenophobic discourse«.27 Their research into how German neo-Nazi groups characterize despised racial and ethnic minorities lends support to this theoretical inference.

We find this proposal immensely plausible, but hold that the phenomenon is much more salient in cases where a racial or ethnic minority is essentialized as subhuman, because, intuitively, there is greater metaphysical distance between human beings and subhuman creatures than there is between different essentialized human populations.

Our analysis of the cognitive *sequelae* of dehumanization explains three aspects of it which might otherwise appear puzzling. First, it accounts for the need to >segregate< the dehumanized population as a consequence of their impure, contaminating nature. In our brief discussion of segregated drinking fountains, we gestured towards the idea that the dehumanized groups are metaphysically contaminating. This may explain why they are characteristically confined to certain areas (ghettos, townships, reservations and the like) and why there are ironclad rules strictly regulating how they are permitted to interact with the dominant population, so as to prevent cross-contamination.

Second, it may account for dehumanizers' need to gratuitously degrade the dehumanized group, and to vociferously assert, in word and in deed, that they are nothing but animals. We hold that this behavior

Peter Holtz, Wolfgang Wagner: Essentialism in racist discourse, pp. 413 (muddling of geness), 414 (ressentialization of social groupss).

may be motivated by the need to remove the disturbing uncanniness of dehumanized people – to render them >wholly and unambiguously subhuman
rather than chimerical or monstrous. Consider the North American practice of feeding slaves from a trough along with the dogs. This seems to make sense only as a means of putting slaves >in their place
— but it is crucial to realize that, if we are right, putting them in their place >meta-physically

Third, in cases where dehumanized people are regarded as physically dangerous, our analysis may explain why they are believed to have superhuman powers to do harm. David Hume was apparently the first person to describe this phenomenon (in the context of the demonization of enemies during war). He remarked that »[i]f the general of our enemies be successful, 'tis with difficulty we allow him the figure and character of a man. He is a sorcerer: He is in communication with daemons [...]. He is bloody-minded, and takes pleasure in death and destruction«.²8 Likewise, the idea that Jews are supremely dangerous enemy, bent on world domination, is a *leitmotif* of European antisemitism, as is exemplified in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and later in Nazi propaganda texts.

This phenomenon was recently addressed by psychologists who have found that when white Americans dehumanize black people, they often attribute greater-than-human powers to them, a phenomenon that they call »superhumanization«.²⁹ The authors of one such study argued that this form of dehumanization was evident in police officer Darren Wilson's confrontation with and fatal shooting of African American teenager Michael Brown in 2014. In his testimony to a grand jury, Wilson described the incident in the following terms: »The only way I can describe it, it looks like a demon, how angry he looked [...]. He turns, and when he looked at me, he made like a grunting, like aggravated sound and he starts, he turns and he's coming back towards me [...]. At this point it looked like he was almost bulking up to run through the shots, like it was making him mad that I'm shooting at him«.

David Hume: A Treatise of Human Nature, pp. 225.

Adam Waytz, Kelly Marie Hoffman, Sophie Trawalter: A superhumanization bias. We are not in favor of the term >superhumanization < because the apparent semantic parity with >dehumanization < (or >subhumanization <) may give rise to confusion. People are dehumanized in a moral sense, but >superhumanized <i in a non-moral sense that is entirely compatible with their being dehumanized.</p>

The authors comment that Wilson seemed to characterize Brown as a >demon< with superhuman powers, and thereby excluded him from the category of the human.30 Whatever one may think about the plausibility of this interpretation, it is unquestionably the case that white Americans have very often thought of black Americans (especially black men) as superpredators31 with praeterhuman strength, insensitivity to pain, superhuman sexual appetites, and so on, as embodied in the iconic racist image of King Kong.³² Carroll addresses such attributes in relation to representations of monsters, noting that monsters are typically »presented as unstoppable, and this seems psychologically acceptable to audiences«, and goes on to observe that »[t]his might be explained by noting Douglas' claim that culturally impure objects are generally taken to be invested with magical powers [...]. Monsters in works of horror, by extension, then, may be similarly imbued with awesome powers in virtue of their impurity«.33 So, if black men are monsters, one would expect them to possess superhuman powers. The superhumanization of black people may additionally explain the results of research indicating that black children are seen by white people as more adult, less innocent, and more deserving of harsh treatment than white children of the same age.34

The Content and Character of Simianization

Recall that we previously distinguished between the form, content, and character of dehumanization. In setting out its psychological dynamics, we have specified its form (later on, we will describe how patterns of simianization are cast in this form). In this section we will briefly discuss the content of the simianization of black people and then go on to discuss its character at greater length.

- Quoted in Adam Waytz, Kelly Marie Hoffman, Sophie Trawalter: The racial bias embedded in Darren Wilson's testimony; the authors go on to remark that in one of their studies, whites were particularly adept processing a set of words including Wilson's depiction, demon, when a black face appeared on the computer screen just before«.
- See, for example, Philip J. Hilts: Federal official apologizes.
- 32 Cf. Fatimah Tobing Rony: The Third Eye; see also the essay of Stefanie Affeldt in this volume.
- Noël Carroll: The Philosophy of Horror, p. 34.
- Phillip Atiba Goff, Matthew Christian Jackson, Brooke Allison, Lewis di Leone, Carmen Marie Culotta, Natalie Anne di Tomasso: The essence of innocence.

The content of any episode of dehumanization is that which supplies it with historical specificity. It does so by citing the political forces that are responsible for the targeting of *a* particular population at a particular historical moment. We will discuss the content of the simianization of Africans and people of African descent only briefly, because this topic has been analyzed in great scholarly detail in the immense literature on slavery, colonialism, and the social construction of race.

It is uncontroversial that the simianization of Africans by Europeans was a product of colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade.³⁵ Prior to this, Europeans did not routinely represent Africans as racially inferior to themselves. Positive images of black people during the middle ages included Mansa Musa, the black king of Mali, who was described in one 13th century text as "the richest and noblest king in all the land", Saint Maurice (legendary leader of the Teutonic Knights, who was depicted as a black African man in armor), the Queen of Sheba, and the black Virgin Mary.³⁶

These attitudes changed when the discovery of the so-called New World made white supremacism profitable for the European colonial powers. There was already a well-established slave economy in West Africa, and the Arab trans-Saharan slave trade predated the trans-Atlantic trade by centuries, but these institutions – brutal though they were – were fundamentally different from the racialized version of slavery at the hands of Europeans during the early modern period.³⁷ It was the enslavement of Africans for the purpose of exploiting their labor in the context of the emergence of capitalism, that enabled Europeans to create and sustain what was, in the words of David Brion Davis, whe world's first system of multinational production for what emerged as a mass market – a market for slave-produced sugar, tobacco, cof-

This should not be taken to entail that European Christians developed anti-black racism >de novo<. James H. Sweet argues that Europeans acquired racist stereotypes of sub-Saharan Africans from the Muslims with whom they interacted in the Eastern Mediterranean; see James H. Sweet: The Iberian roots of American racist thought.

David Brion Davis: Inhuman Bondage, p. 59.

In the Islamic world, where the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans had been established for much longer, their dehumanization began considerably earlier. The 14th century Moroccan explorer Ibn Khaldun wrote that Ethiopians whave little that is (essentially) human and possess attributes quite similar to those of dumb animals« – quoted in Francisco Bethencourt: Racisms, p. 53. Europeans' racist stereotypes of black people may have been borrowed from Muslim slavers; cf. David Brion Davis: The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation, p. 31.

fee, chocolate, dye-stuffs, rice, hemp, and cotton«. This »enterprise depended on the enormous and expandable flow of slave labor from Africa. By 1820 more than 10.1 million slaves had departed from Africa to the New World, as opposed to only 2.6 million whites [...]. Thus by 1820 African slaves constituted almost 80 percent of the enormous population that had sailed toward the Americas, and from 1760 to 1820 this emigrating flow included 8.4 African slaves for every European«.³⁸

These immensely powerful economic incentives created an environment that was hospitable to slavery. Although European slavery had flourished in antiquity and the early middle ages, it had all but disappeared by the 15th century, and whereas Europeans had previously legitimated slavery on the grounds that the enslaved were, in some sense, the (religious or political) enemies of those who enslaved them, this rationale was not applicable in the case of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which very obviously had a purely commercial basis.³⁹ So, for racialized intergenerational chattel bondage to take hold, it moral reservations against doing harm to those whom one wished to enslave had to be disabled.

The proliferation of the belief that Africans were subhuman creatures was a solution this problem. The uncomfortable tension between the demands of morality on one hand, and the seductions profit on the other – a tension that persisted long after the formal abolition of slavery – was eased by the practice of dehumanizing Africans.

It is implausible that European elites >decided< to believe that Africans were subhuman *in order to* profit from their oppression (to belief otherwise would hopelessly entangle one in the paradoxes of self-deception). 40 It is equally implausible to suggest that Europeans' dehumanization of Africans was nothing more than a reflexive response to their >otherness<.

The dehumanization of Africans was, in large measure, an outcome of the clash between the doctrine of natural rights and the growth of capitalism. As such, it provided a solution to a range of moral, political, and economic problems. The dehumanizing ideology gained traction

David Brion Davis: Inhuman Bondage, p. 80.

Orlando Patterson: Slavery as Social Death. An earlier tradition, that was selectively invoked as late as the nineteenth century, legitimated the enslavement of sub-Saharan Africans on the grounds that they were descendants of Ham, who was cursed by his father Noah; cf. David M. Goldenberg: The Curse of Ham.

⁴⁰ See David Livingstone Smith: Self-deception.

precisely because of the benefits that it allowed Europeans to accrue. Just as biological characteristics proliferate to the extent that they provide reproductive advantages to the organisms possessing them, dehumanizing beliefs (and ideological beliefs generally) proliferate to the extent that their advantageous effects (for a critical mass of belief-holders) favor their continued social reproduction.

Understanding the nature of political forces and the psychological processes that sustained (and continue to sustain) the dehumanization of people of color does not explain why they were (and are) >simianized<. To understand the significance of representations of Africans as simians, one must understand the symbolic role of apes in European culture.

The term paped was not always used in its present-day biological sense. Today, the word is conventionally used to denote gorillas, bonobos, chimpanzees, orangutans, and gibbons. But even in the fairly recent past, it was a name applied to any tailless monkey (for example, the Barbary macaque). To make matters even more confusing, pre-modern authors often used paped interchangeably with monkey, and differentiated between tailed and tailless apes. Europeans did not become aware of the existence of what are nowadays called the pareat apesd until the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and for some time they did not differentiate between chimpanzees and orangutans. Several authors have speculated that Europeans' encounters with African apes during the early Modern period importantly contributed to the simianization of African people.

John Sorenson insightfully remarks that »Western images of apes emphasize ideas of identity and purity, but are troubled by transgression and hybridity [...]. [A]pes are especially problematic because they share so much of what we consider uniquely human«.⁴³ This, we suggest, in light of the work of Jentsch, Douglas, and Carroll, is the primary reason why these animals have exercised such a powerful grip on the European imagination for more than two millennia.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. Stefano Perfetti: Aristotle's Zoology.

⁴² Cf. Justin E. H. Smith: Language, bipedalism, and the mind-body problem, p. 294 (\(\right)\)great apes(\(\right)\); David Brion Davis: Inhuman Bondage, pp. 73 f. (\(\right)\)European's encounters(\(\right)\). It is perhaps significant that at least one early sixteenth century account of gorillas and chimpanzees describes them as \(\right)\)monsters(\(\right)\) Dale Peterson, Jane Goodall: Visions of Caliban, p. 15.

John Sorenson: Ape, p. 39.

⁴⁴ Cf. Raymond Corbey: The Metaphysics of Apes, pp. 25-35.

There are many references to the interstitial status of apes, beginning in the ancient world. Generally, in Ancient Greek and Roman thought, the ape was often characterized as a defective, incomplete, or underdeveloped human, an idea that has persisted to the present in the notion of the savage or ape-man. Aristotle described apes as occupying an intermediate position between quadrupeds and humans, 45 and the Roman poet Quintus Ennius gestured to the humanoid character of apes in his couplet »simian quam similis turpissima bestia nobis« (»the ape, how similar to us is this ugly beast«).46 This tradition continued through the Middle Ages, and by the 14th century the ape had become a »stock symbol of the uncanny«.47

In line with this, the ancients also believed that apes were prone to mindlessly imitate human beings. Solinus and Pliny the Elder both claimed that apes are inclined to imitate humans.⁴⁸ Sorenson tells us that the Roman writer Claudius Aelianus »describes an ape watching a hunter putting on boots; the hunter leaves the boots, weighted with lead, in the forest, the ape puts them on in imitation and is captured. In versions by Pliny and Solinus, hunters pretend to wash their eyes in water spiked with quick-lime and the imitative ape blinds himself by actually doing so«. Similar accounts of hunting apes by duping them in such ways persisted at least until the mid-17th century.

The conception of apes as intermediates between animals and humans comes easily to us, because of their very obvious behavioral and morphological similarities to human beings. Because of their uniquely interstitial position, apes are ideally suited to represent dehumanized human beings, and have often been used as such. Given this we can say that the simianization of Africans has a two-fold character.

On the one hand, Africans have been dehumanized as apes – that is, they have been conceived as having an ape-like essence. On the other hand, their dehumanized status has been represented as their being apes«. Put succinctly: black people were thought to be apes because they are subhuman, and they were thought to be subhuman because they are apes. The coexistence of these two logically distinct dimensions of simianization differentiates it from other forms of dehumani-

Cf. Aristotle: The History of Animals, p. 103.

Quoted in Horst W. Janson: Apes and Ape Lore, p. 14. 47 Chester Linn Shaver: Chaucer's >Owles and Apes(, p. 105.

Cf. John Sorenson: Ape, p. 44; for the following see ibid., pp. 44 (vape watching a

zation (for example, the conceiving of Jews as disease-ridden vermin) and stamps it with a special character.

With the rise of Christianity, apes acquired a demonic character and began to be associated with Satan, who was sometimes described as having the form of an ape, and was called >simia dei<, the >ape of God<.49 The intermediate, interstitial, character of apes was given a new twist in a Greek bestiary, the Physiologus, in which it is written that »[t]he monkey [i.e., ape] represents the very person of the devil since he has a beginning but has no end (that is, a tail).

In the beginning the devil one of the archangels, but his end has not been found. It is fitting that, in addition to not having a tail, the monkey lacks beauty also. And he is quite ugly in the region where he lacks a tail. Just so the devil has no good end«.⁵⁰ In his commentary on this passage, Isidore of Seville reminded his readers that God declared in Leviticus that the tail is an essential part of every beast, and consequently that those creatures that lacked a tail are unfit for sacrifice. Isidore argued that the possession of a tail meant that God had determined the animal's >end< (purpose), but that humans lack a tail because they are free to determine their own end.

In the later medieval period, apes were sinfulness more generally, as is exemplified in a popular fable about a female ape with twin offspring (it was widely believed that Apes give birth to twins). According to this story, the ape is destined to love one of her twins and reject the other. Her safety threatened, she flees with her precious infant in her arms, and leaves the rejected one to cling to the fur on her back. Eventually, she becomes tired and abandons her loved one, while the rejected twin continues to cling to her back. The loved twin was said to represent the Christian virtues, so easily abandoned, and the despised twin was said to symbolize vice. Stories like this circulated widely and became part of the common cultural currency of Europe, reinforcing the association between apes and sinfulness, lust, and degeneracy.

This brief survey shows that apes had a uniformly negative cultural valence in Europe. Although similar to humans in appearance, they were thought to lack a rational soul. Consequently, although they could imitate humans, they did so mindlessly. Apes were associated with Sa-

⁴⁹ Cf. Anthony Ossa-Richardson: The Devil's Tabernacle, p. 63.

⁵⁰ Cf. Michael J. Curley: Physiologus, p. 39; for the following see John Sorenson: Ape, pp. 45 (>Isidore of Seville<), 39 (>twin offspring<).</p>

tan, and therefore the uncanny and they were imbued with evil, impurity, and sin. As we will now show, all of these attributes later came to infuse Europeans' conceptions of Africans.

Varieties of Simianization

One can understand the historical pattern of the simianization of African Americans in terms of a tension between the conception of black people as primitive though innocuous creatures – essentially, as trained monkeys – and the conception of them as dangerous, hyperpredatory apes. These images varied as a function of their changing social and legal status.

Central to the ideology of slavery was the idea – ultimately derived from Aristotle's theory of natural slavery – that enslaving Africans civilized and humanized them by lifting them out of the condition of savagery and bringing them under the firm but benign control of their white masters. Once tamed, the African was thought to conform to the Sambo archetype, described by Stanley Elkins as »docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; his behavior full of infantile silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration. His relationship with his master was one of utter dependence«.⁵¹

However, many southerners believed that the Sambo persona was merely a veneer concealing a violent, bestial core. The trained monkey concealed a brutal, sexually rampant gorilla, and would revert to that menacing, atavistic state if left to its own devices.

This is not mere conjecture. The point was often stated quite explicitly. For example, South Carolina congressman Benjamin Tillman proclaimed, on the floor of the United States Senate, that »the poor African has become a fiend, a wild beast, seeking whom he may devour, filling our penitentiaries and our jails, lurking around to see if some helpless white woman can be murdered or brutalized. Yet he can read and write. He has a little of the veneer of education and civilization«.⁵²

⁵² Congressional Record, p. 2564.

Stanley M. Elkins: Slavery, p. 82. As Gustav Jahoda: Images of Savages, p. 9, points out, there is a connection between representations of childishness and apishness: »Both [children and apes] were viewed as being closer to nature than adult Europeans, imitative and lacking reason and morality«.

Sambo could imitate humanity but could never hope to attain fully human status.⁵³

After slavery was abolished, black people were increasingly demonized. Whereas previously they had been, when dehumanized, regarded as >chimeras< once freed, they were thought to revert to their primal state as untamed >monsters<. White writers routinely described black people (especially, black men) as »fiends«, and characterized the black male as »the most horrible creature upon the earth, the most brutal and merciless«, »a monstrous beast, crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demoniacal. A mad bull or tiger could scarcely be more brutal«. 54 Black men, it was supposed, obsessively craved sex with white women, whom they savagely raped at every opportunity. These alleged assaults were described as »indescribably beastly and loathsome [...,] marked [...] by a diabolical persistence and a malignant atrocity of detail that have no reflection in the whole extent of the natural history of the most bestial and ferocious animals«. 55

What species of brute did these commentators have in mind? On the occasions when it was specified, black people were usually described as predatory apes. We find this, for example, in Thomas Dixon's novel >The Clansman<, from which the notorious film >The Birth of a Nation< was adapted. The novel, which was part of a Ku Klux Klan Trilogy, portrays black slaves as reverting to their essentially violent, bestial nature once freed. Gus, a former slave who rapes a white girl, is described in unmistakably simian terms. He has »gleaming apelike« eyes and his »thin spindle-shanks supported an oblong, protruding stomach, resembling an elderly monkey's, which seemed so heavy it swayed his back to carry it. The animal vivacity of his small eyes and the flexibility of his eyebrows, which he worked up and down rapidly with every change of countenance, expressed his eager desires«.56 As

- In minstrel shows, the Sambo stereotype was embodied in the character of Jim Crow, the carefree slave, whereas the free black man with the audacity to think of himself as the equal of whites was ridiculed as the grotesque character of Zip Coon the negro who put on airs. The notion that black people could never do more than ape humanity was by no means restricted to American racists. The 16th century Flemish humanist Nicholas Cleynaerts purchased three African boys whom he taught Latin and used as teaching assistants. However, despite their academic proficiency, he referred to them as his pronkeys. see Francisco Bethencourt: Racisms, p. 95.
- 54 Charles H. Smith: Have negroes too much liberty?, p. 181, and George T. Winston: The relations of the whites to the negroes, pp. 108 f.
- Phillip Alexander Bruce: The Plantation Negro as a Freeman, p. 86.
- Thomas Dixon Jr.: The Clansman, p. 249; for the following quote see ibid., p. 234.

Gus approaches the unfortunate object of his lust, his »thick lips were drawn upward in an ugly leer and his sinister bead eyes gleamed like a gorilla's. A single fierce leap and the black claws clutched the air slowly as if sinking into the soft white throat«.

The language of >The Clansman< echoed the language of everyday life in the American south. It was the language of mobs bent on wreaking vengeance on their former slaves.

The conviction that black men were murderous, sexually rampant apes both motivated and justified the epidemic of lynching. This is illustrated by the 1893 case of Henry Smith, a mentally handicapped ex-slave who was accused of murdering the daughter of a Paris, Texas policeman. The local clergyman, one Bishop Haygood incited the locals with fabricated descriptions of how the girl was »[f]irst outraged with demoniacal cruelty, and then taken by her heels and torn asunder in the mad wantonness of gorilla ferocity«. A ten-thousand-strong crowd looked on while Smith was tortured, dismembered, and burned alive. A primitive gramophone recording was even made of his agonized screams. In the aftermath of these atrocities, Haygood claimed that »the people of Paris were driven to insanity by learning that the little child had been viciously assaulted, choked to death, and then torn to pieces by a demon in human form«.⁵⁷

Conclusion

We began this paper with Ralph Ellison's remark, in >Invisible Man, that >When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination – indeed, everything and anything except me«. We have tried to present an analysis of why and how >they« (white people) have misperceived >me« (black people) as a simian creature. We have argued that simianization is a form of dehumanization, and have proposed a theoretical model of dehumanization consisting of psychological, political, and cultural explanatory vectors. Applying this apparatus to the special case of the simianization of black people by whites yields a nuanced analysis that clarifies the role of a number of phenomena that would otherwise be difficult to explain within a single theoretical framework. This leads us to be

⁵⁷ Ida B. Wells: A red record, p. 92; see also David Brion Davis: The Problem of Slavery in an Age of Emancipation, p. 18.

cautiously confident that our approach will prove equally useful for the analysis of other cases of racialized dehumanization.

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Challenging Boundaries Apes and Savages in Enlightenment

Silvia Sebastiani

Abstract: Defining the boundaries between the animal and the human is a recurrent concern for the Enlightenment science of man. My chapter explores this question from a specific and situated context – that of Britain in the 1770s and 1780s – and by dealing with a particular object: the orang-utan. I shall argue that the uses to which comparative anatomy – appropriated in different disciplinary frameworks, such as natural and philosophical histories – was put had a deep impact on the British debate about slavery. My enquiry will focus on two cases that emphasize the historical and epistemological relationship between apes and slaves: the Scottish judge James Burnet, Lord Monboddo (1714-99), who saw the orang-utan as exemplifying primordial man, and the English planter Edward Long, who stressed the resemblance between the orang-utan and the African. Within this context, the humanization of the orang-utan went hand in hand with the animalization of the very heart of Europe, the wild boys and girls found in the forests, or the poor. Law, medicine, natural sciences, and politics, while reshaping the boundaries between humans and apes, also contributed to increase the distance between man and man.

»While some philosophers [...] have endeavoured to level man to the rank of quadrupeds, others have attempted to elevate certain of the brute creation to the same class with their reputed lords«²

The article on >Comparative Anatomy in the third edition of the >Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1797, encapsulated, in a single paragraph, the philosophical debate about the man/ape relationship,

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Comparative Anatomy, p. 250. The definition of comparative anatomy was borrowed, without any indication of the source, from the Edinburgh professor of anatomy Alexander Monro (primus): An Essay on Comparative Anatomy, pp. 1f. The part on the orang-utan was instead taken from a review of Zimmerman's Geographical History of Man, published in 1789 in The Monthly Review, vol. 80, pp. 678-690; vol. 81, pp. 633-641.

106 Silvia Sebastiani

which had animated the whole eighteenth century. While asserting the utility of comparative anatomy, the entry scorned those theories which annihilated the divide between humankind and beasts, either by imagining man as a quadruped by nature, or by attributing human characteristics to animals, or even by considering the orang-utan as the progenitor of the human race: the struck Adam.

By contrast, the Encyclopaedia Britannica welcomed the new anatomic proofs that the physician of Groningen, Peter Camper, had delivered to the public in the Philosophical Transactions in 1779, finally dissolving the Fantasies of the Partizans of the orang outang, such as Carl Linnaeus, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, or James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, who had "done their utmost to bend the stubborn neck of man down to the earth".

This chapter aims to historicize the boundaries of humankind within a specific and situated context, and around a particular object: the orang-utan, or rather the chimpanzee, according to our current classification. While the study of this ape dates back to the seventeenth century, I would like to show that the orang-utan is at the heart of the British debates on slavery in the 1770s-1780s, in the very moment in which England and Scotland approved antislavery laws. In order to justify their political positions – I will argue – advocates of slavery often employed theories that led to the assimilation of orangutans and Blacks (or the poor).

My hypothesis is that the stances in favour of the animality or the humanity of the slave drew on the repertoire of facts and proofs offered by comparative anatomy. This is why I will seek to trace the uses to which the work of the anatomist Edward Tyson was put. His dissection of an orang-utan in London in 1698, and his point-by-point comparison with the human body, marked a shift in medical practices that affected the philosophical and historical definition of man all through the eighteenth century. The similitude, both in the body and in the brain, between apes and men led the anatomist to suggest a possible continuity between the animal and the human world, raising doubts about their classical distinction. After this experience, the comparison between apes and >savages< — a category embracing Blacks and Amerindians, and, at the very heart of Europe, the wild boys and girls found in the forests, as well as the poor — became a

³ Ibid., vol. 80, p. 686; see Camper: Account of the Organs of Speech.

recurrent feature of comparative anatomy, fuelling the Enlightenment science of man.⁴

This chapter focuses on two cases that raised the question of the historical and epistemological relationship between the orang-utan and man, albeit from different positions and for distinct purposes, while meshing together law, medicine, natural science, classics and politics.

James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, was a Scottish philosopher and an erudite philologist, who saw the orang-utan as exemplifying primordial man, following in the footsteps of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and at the same time defended Aristotle's idea of natural slavery. Trained at the University of Aberdeen and then in Groningen, where he completed his studies in Roman law, he was the author of two monumental works, widely discussed in the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment: >Of the Origin and Progress of Languages< (1773-92) and >Antient Metaphysics< (1779-99).

Edward Long was an English planter, the brother-in-law of the Governor of Jamaica, where he resided between 1757 and 1769, and a member of the West India committee. In the >History of Jamaica (1774), published upon his return to England, he stressed the resemblance between the orang-utan and the >Negroe <, in order to defend the practice of slavery within the British Empire.

Despite their different profiles, they were both anti-abolitionist judges: Long was a judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in Jamaica, the court that, in the British colonies, dealt with local legislation; Monboddo was a judge of the Court of Session in Edinburgh, the supreme civil court in Scotland.⁵ It was from these judicial positions that they opposed the laws about the abolition of slavery in Britain; Monboddo was even one of the judges who sat in a decisive ruling regarding the rights of slaves, >the Knight case<, which ended in 1778.

According to Monboddo, the ape-man was the man of the woods, and he focused on the historical distance between the savage and the

From an extensive literature, see the classical study by Sergio Moravia: La scienza dell'uomo; for the Scottish context, see Peter Jones (ed.): The >Science of Manc; Paul B. Wood: The Science of Man.

With the 1707 Union, Scotland maintained its legal system based on Roman Law, in contrast to England's legislation, founded on Common Law. For more on Scottish jurisprudence regarding slavery, see John Cairns: Slavery and the Roman Law; id.: Stoicism, Slavery, and Law; Iain Whyte: Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, pp. 9-40.

108 Silvia Sebastiani

civil man. For Long, instead, the ape-man was the >Negroe<, who had to be enslaved by virtue of his animality. From this specific angle, my chapter aims to show the complex, plural and conflicting views feeding the eighteenth-century debate on the human/animal divide: this was a central concern of the Enlightenment science of man, as it had major implications for the nature, character and history of man as such.

Comparing the Orang-Utan

»To render this Disquisition more useful, I have made a Comparative Survey of this Animal [Orang-Outang/Pygmie], with a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man«⁶

The major epistemological tool adopted by the Enlightenment science of man was comparison: between animals and humans, as well as among the different peoples of the world, in terms of physical features, customs, manners and ways of life. According to Monboddo, man was, first of all, »a Comparative Animal, (that is, an animal, who has the faculty of Comparing)«, and from this faculty he derived every operation of the human mind. The comparative method made it possible to reduce the infinite variety of characters to a limited and controlled number, thus permitting classifications. Within this framework, new attention was paid to comparative anatomy, a branch of medicine in full expansion at the time, which included in its agenda the dissections of apes.

The dissection of apes was not a new phenomenon as such,8 but Edward Tyson, by developing a systematic and comparative method, set the agenda of the philosophical and historical debate until the end of the eighteenth century. A member of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians in London, in 1699 this leading anatomist published Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Mank. The title of his work is highly relevant: Tyson employed, and compared, six different terms, thus showing the uncertainty of the vocabulary between modern anatomy and ancient philology – a tension further stressed by

- ⁶ Tyson: Orang-Outang, Preface, page unnumbered.
- Monboddo: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 4, pp. 14 f.
- 8 Cf. Richard Nash: Tyson's Pygmie; id: Wild Enlightenment, ch, 1; Giulio Barsanti, L'uomo dei boschi.

A Philological Essay Concerning the Pygmies, the Cynocephali, the Satyrs, and Sphinges of the Ancients, which closed the volume.

Orang-outang, a term of Malaysian origin, literally meaning >man of the woods<, was the exact translation of the Latin >Homo Sylvestris<. Tyson considered it as a synonym of the >Pygmy<, 10 the mythological figure of the ancients, also called, in the subtitle, >Cynocephalus<, >Satyr< and >Sphinx<. Its body was compared, on the one hand, to that of a >Monkey< or an >Ape<, regarded as equivalent, according to the current usage, 11 and, on the other hand, to that of a man. It is worth underlining once again that, on the basis of the modern classification, the dissected animal was not an orang-utan, from South East Asia, but an Angolan chimpanzee, though no distinction was made between these two species of apes until the end of the century. This is a not insignificant point, as eighteenth-century sources often betray a shift from the geographical proximity between the African and the ape to a typological and essential similitude, which justified combining them.

In his highly detailed comparative survey, Tyson arrived at the conclusion that the orang-utan presented more anatomical similitudes with man than with the monkey: he counted 48 points in common, as against 34 points of divergence. Even its brain, in contrast to what might have been expected, proved very similar to the human one. Described in an erect position, supported either by a stick or by a rope, the orang-utan epitomized the »intermediate Link between an Ape and a Man«, appearing as »a sort of animal between both«.¹²

These similitudes were highlighted by the plates accompanying the text, which helped to fix the anthropomorphic dimension of the orangutan, described as a biped (fig. 1).¹³ Furthermore, Tyson attributed human characteristics to the pygmy and endowed it with emotions: it ap-

- The >Philological Essay<, comprising four treatises that critically discuss and compare different ancient authors, is separately paginated from the rest of the narrative: an aspect that further stresses the complex and composite character of Tyson's book.</p>
- In the definition of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, >Pygmy(was »A dwarf; one of a nation fabled to be only three spans high, and after long wars to have been destroyed by cranes«.
- Half a century after Tyson, Johnson's Dictionary still described the >Monkey< as »[a]n ape; a baboon; a jackanapes. An animal bearing some resemblance of man«; conversely, the >Ape< was >A kind of monkey«.
- Tyson: Orang-Outang, pp. 5 and 94. Cf. Stephen Jay Gould: To Show an Ape; Franck Tinland: L'homme sauvage, pp. 104-119.
- The plates were produced by the Flemish engraver Michael van der Gucht, after the drawing of William Cowper, also an anatomist and member of the Royal Society.

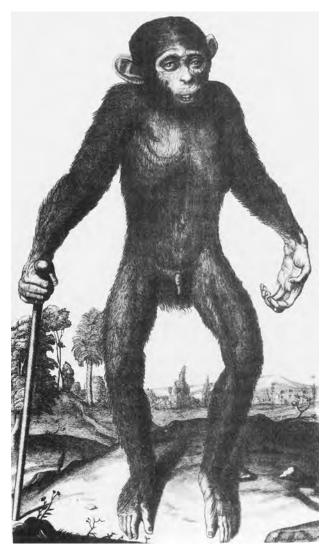


Fig. 1: A >gentle< creature

peared to be a »mild«, »modest«, »gentle and loving« creature, which, like a child, cried and made noise with its feet in order to express its »passions of joy and grief«.¹⁴ Tyson also reported, on the basis of »in-

¹⁴ Tyson: Orang-Outang, pp. 7, 52, 57, 25.

finite Stories«, orang-utans' attraction for »fair women«, and their prolific acts of intercourse. 15

At this stage of the comparison, however, the physician reintroduced the classic distinction, dating back to Aristotle and reasserted by Descartes, between rational man and the sensitive animal, between the soul and the body: »The Organs in Animal Bodies are only [...] Pipes and Vessels, for the Fluids to pass through, and are passive [...]. Those Nobler Faculties in the Mind of Man, must certainly have a higher Principle [...]. If all depended on the Organ, not only our Pygmie, but other Brutes likewise, would be too near akin to us«. Despite having organs of speech, the orang-utan could not speak; and while they had a brain almost identical to that of man, they were unable to think. In short, they were equipped with useless organs: if mere organs meant »actions«, »then our *Pygmie* might be really a *Man*«. ¹⁶

Tyson became the direct source of Buffon's examination of apes in his >Histoire Naturelle<, published in 36 volumes between 1749 and 1788. In the >Discours sur la nature des animaux< (>Discourse on the nature of animals<), which opened, in 1753, the fourth volume of the >Histoire naturelle<, Buffon explained that the study of the physics, organization and economy of animals was instrumental to grasping the noblest of all the sciences: the science of man.¹⁷ In his volume on the >nomenclature of monkeys<, which came out in 1766, Buffon meticulously translated Tyson's list of the differences/similitudes between >men«, >orang-outangs« and >monkeys«. On the basis of this, he acknowledged that >if we were forced to judge by the external appearance [forme] alone, the ape might be taken for a variety in the human species«. Like Tyson, however, Buffon stated that the divide between them was immense, as it depended on the mind and on the soul, not on the body: the ape was >in reality, no other than a real brute, wearing

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 42. On this aspect, see Londa Schiebinger: The Gendered Ape, as well as Wulf D. Hund's chapter in this volume. Tyson, however, specified at the outset of his work: »Yet by no means do I look upon it as the Product of a mixt Generation; 'tis a *Brute-Animal sui generis*, and a particular *Species* of Ape«, cf. Tyson: Orang-Outang p. 2, emphasis in the original.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 55 – emphasis in the original. It was the use, and not the form, of organs which marked an essential difference between man and the orang-utan, as stressed by Robert Wokler: Tyson and Buffon.

Buffon: Histoire naturelle, vol. 4, Discours sur la nature des animaux, p. 3; the following quotes are from ibid., vol. 14, Nomenclature des Singes, pp. 62-66, in footnote (men etc.), 32 (happearance), 41 (human masque); all the translations from Buffon are mine. See Robert Wokler: Tyson and Buffon; Claude Blanckaert: Contre la méthode.

externally a human masque, but internally destitute of thought, and of every other attribute which constitutes man«.

Tyson's analysis was also central to the definition of the *»Homo Nocturnus*« by Linnaeus, who, with the 10th edition of his *»Systema Naturae*« in 1758, invented the *»Homo Sapiens*«, and placed him alongside the *Troglodyte* or *Orangutan*, under the same genus *»homo*«.¹8 In recent years, historiography has abundantly discussed *»the peremptory gesture*«¹9 by which Linnaeus assigned man to the order of the *»Primates*« (called, before 1758, *»Anthropomorpha*«, that is, *»manlike*« animals), under the class of *»Mammals*«, alongside *»Simia*«, *»Lemur*«, and *»Vespertilio*« (the bat). In so doing, Linnaeus dismissed the Cartesian system: he opposed both Descartes' definition of man, based on the *cogito*, and his conception of animals, considered as *»automata mechanica*« in his *»Discours de la méthode*« (*»Discourse on Method*«, 1637).

As Linnaeus wrote in a footnote to his >Systema Naturae<, >Cartesius certe non vidit simios«, namely, >it is certain that Descartes has never seen an ape«. By contrast, he could recount his own experience, acquired during early studies in Amsterdam, one of Europe's leading cities for the trade in exotic animals. Linnaeus stressed how difficult it was to identify the marks that separated the ape and man, from the point of view of natural science alone (in contrast with morality and religion): the only visible sign, for the naturalist, was that apes had an empty space between their canines and the other teeth. The rest belonged >to another forum«.20

While, in his >Fauna svecica< (1746), Linnaeus asserted that it was impossible to distinguish a man from an ape on the basis of scientific principles and measurable data, in a well-known letter of 1747 to the German explorer in Russia, Johann Georg Gmelin, he even asked whether a naturalist should »call man ape and viceversa«.²¹ This is why Buffon's anthropology stood as a severe criticism of Linnaeus's

Linnaeus: Systema Naturae, vol. 1, p. 24. Linnaeus distinguished the Troglodytes, or >Homo Nocturnus<, from the species of >Homo Sapiens< (>diurnus<), but even more from the apes, which belonged to the second genus of the order of the Primates</p>

¹⁹ Giorgio Agamben: The Open, p. 24.

Linnaeus: Menniskans Cousiner, pp. 4 f. Cf. Lisbet Koerner: Linnaeus, pp. 87 f.; Agamben: Open, chap. 7.

Linnaeus: Fauna svecica, pp. 3f.; Linnaeus to Johann Georg Gmelin, 14.2.1747, in Gmelin: Reliquias, p. 55. Cf. Gunnar Broberg: Homo sapiens.

system. Not only had the Linnaean classificatory nomenclature established the variety of nature in an arbitrary way.²² It had also engendered ambiguity and confusion between the human and the animal: the *»Homo Nocturnus«*, in Buffon's eyes, had cast serious doubts on the boundaries of humankind.

When dealing with savage« peoples, however, not even Buffon rigorously maintained the principle of separation between man and the animal: in this case, he considered that the physical features of the Hottentots and the way of living of the Amerindians brought them close to being beasts. In Buffon's words, Amerindians formed »less a nation than a tumultuous assemblage of barbarous and independent men, who obey to nothing but their own particular passions«: with neither rules nor laws, they lived »*en troupeau*«, as animal herds, at an irreducible distance from life »in society«.²³

The frontiers became even more uncertain when Buffon tried to address Rousseau's provocative suggestion, in his Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les homes (1755), that the orang-utan belonged to the human species, literally being the man of the wood.²⁴

Buffon conceded to Rousseau that it was unjust to compare »le singe des bois avec l'homme des villes«, that is, the ape living in the forests with the civilized man who resided in polished and urban societies, and that it was more appropriate to use the case of the ›savage‹, with no education for such a comparison. In Buffon's picture, ›savages‹ lost all the noble traits traditionally attributed to human beings. They appeared to him as poor creatures, their heads »covered with bristly hairs, or curled wool«; faces »hid by a long beard«; long hair at the front, surrounding the eyes, and covering the ears, body and limbs; »lips thick and projecting«; the »nose flat«; the »nails long, thick, and crooked«; the »aspect wild or stupid«; the »breasts of the female long and flabby«; the children crawling on their hands and feet.²⁵ Buffon specified that the description was drawn from the portrait of the Hot-

²² Cf. Phillip R. Sloan: The Buffon-Linneaus Controversy; Giulio Barsanti: Linné et Buffon

Buffon: Histoire naturelle, vol. 3, p. 491; for the comparison between »l'homme en société« and »l'animal en troupeau«, see Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 90 ff. Cf. Duchet: Anthropologie et histoire, pp. 264 ff.

Rousseau: Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité, note 10. I'll come back to Rousseau's note in the next few pages.

Buffon: Histoire naturelle, vol. 14, pp. 30 f.

tentot.²⁶ In order to grasp the real similitudes between man and the ape, it was however, necessary to go even lower than this state, and to add: »the affinities of organization, the agreements of temperament, the vehement appetite of the males for the females, the same conformation of the genitals in both sexes; the periodic emanations of the females, and the forced or voluntary intermixture [*mėlanges*] of the Negress with the apes, the offspring [*produit*] of which entered either in one or in the other species«.²⁷

The intercourse between orang-utans and humans was conceived in gender terms, between black women and male apes, while the uniformity between human and animal females was stressed through the identity of their reproductive organs. By focusing on physical features, it was possible to move easily from the savage to the Black, to the orang-utan.

In reality, this was only a partial concession to Rousseau. Buffon concluded his reasoning by stressing a strong dissociation, and even an opposition, between man and the ape: »whatever resemblance there is between the Hottentot and the ape, the interval between them is immense, since the former is endowed with the faculties of thinking and speaking«. Through his portrayal, however, Buffon showed how apes and savage men could be close to each other both in appearance and in their mode of life. The divide was immense, but for the Hottentot the boundaries appeared to be weaker.

Monboddo's pro-slavery argument: the Man-Ape

»We ought to decide that the Oran Outangs are men. And, indeed, it appears to me, that they are not so much inferior to the Americans in civility and cultivation, as some nations of America were to us, when we first discovered that country. «28

Linnaeus' and Buffon's descriptions of the orang-utan, drawn from the work of the anatomist Tyson, were at the heart of the massive research conducted by Monboddo. While traditional histories of science dealing with the search for >the origins
have focused on his evolutionary and pre-Darwinian views, I would like to try to sketch a different framework, one which connects his erudite production to his pro-slavery

²⁶ Cf. Winthrop D. Jordan: White over Black, p. 229. It is worth remembering again that Tyson's and Buffon's orang-utan came from Africa.

²⁷ Buffon: Histoire naturelle, vol. 14, pp. 31 f.; there, p. 32, also the following quote (>interval<).

Monboddo: Origin and Progress of Language, vol. I, 2nd ed., pp. 347-348.

stance as a judge. My aim is to stress that it was within the debate on slavery and the slave trade across the British Empire that the question of the resemblance between man and the ape especially developed.

The ruling on the Somerset case by the Court of King's Bench in England in 1772 marked a turning point of this history. Without entering into the details of the ruling, the judgment established that a master could not force a slave to leave England against his will. By extension, the Somerset case led to the banning of slavery in England - although slaves continued to be present, and notices of slave sales occupied considerable space in the newspapers of the period. A similar, but more radical, ruling was pronounced in Scotland six years later, in 1778, by the Court of Session: the case brought by the black Joseph Knight against his Scottish master John Wedderburn, who had built his fortune on the sugar trade and become one of the largest landowners in Jamaica, resulted in the suppression of slavery in Scotland.²⁹ It was not until 1807, however, that the slave trade was banished in the British Empire by an Act of Parliament, and only in 1833 was slavery as such abolished by the Slavery Abolition Act.

The decision taken in Edinburgh to ban slavery, in the wake of the London one, was not unanimous. Monboddo, who was one of the judges called to deliberate on the Knight case, opposed the sentence, asserting the legitimacy of slavery on the basis of Roman law: »Unless it can be proved that slavery is contrary to the jus gentium, there can never be turpitude in it«.30

The master of a black servant, Gory,³¹ he also maintained that the principle of slavery was supported by religion and had contributed to the greatness of the Ancients. My point is that his pro-slavery stance as a judge was not totally disconnected from his work as a scholar: apes and slaves were associated as two human conditions of Monboddo's inclusive definition of man.

In his two major works, Of the Origin and Progress of Languages and Antient Metaphisics, each consisting of six volumes, published

See John W. Cairns: After Somerset; id.: Stoicism, Slavery, and Law, pp. 224-230;

Emma Rothschild: The Inner Life of Empires, pp. 91-96.
See Hailes: Decisions of the Lords, vol. 2, pp. 776-779. Eight judges, against four, voted in favour of Knight. Besides Monboddo, the dissenting voices were those of Lord Covington, Lord Elliock and the Lord President. Cf. John W. Cairns: The Definition of Slavery.

Boswell and Johnson met Gory in Monboddo's residence during their tour of Scotland in 1773. Cf. Boswell: The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, pp. 82 ff.

almost in parallel between the mid-1770s and his death in 1799, Monboddo developed an apology for the Ancients (Greeks especially), in contrast with a fierce contempt of modernity and his contemporaries – including the celebrities of modern philosophy, Newton and Locke. This was a first argument in defence of slavery, whose theoretical foundation rested on Aristotle's definition of the natural slave³² – a position that distanced him from the mainstream of the Scottish Enlightenment. Monboddo also differed from his Scottish contemporaries in endorsing Rousseau's point of view about the existence of a pre-social state of humankind, and devoted considerable attention to the question of the humanity of the orang-utan. In his work on the origin of languages, he took up and developed the arguments advanced by Rousseau in Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality among Men<, which Adam Smith had extensively discussed and rejected since the 1750s.³³

In the long note ten of the Second Discourse, Rousseau argued that orang-utans were nothing other than a variety of the human species, exemplifying men in their primitive savage stage. Travelers, ignorant of human nature, had confused them with wild beasts, either due to a few external characteristics or because they did not speak. In the space of a note, Tyson's orang-utan and Linnaeus's Troglodyte thus became the pre-social man of Rousseau. According to him, apes were »savage men«, whose race, dispersed in the woods a long time before, had not been able to develop any of their potential faculties, and therefore had not reached any degree of perfection. He presented the orang-utan or pongo (following Buffon's nomenclature) as a being that was still in the state of nature and had not yet had the opportunity of developing his faculties. There were surprising conformities between man and the orang-utan, while the differences appeared smaller than those between man and man. The »stupidity« and mutism of the orang-utan could not be an argument for refusing the name of *homme sauvage*. Rousseau explained that »although the organ for speech is natural to man« – and Tyson had shown that orang-utans were provided with such organs – »speech itself is nonetheless unnatural to him«.34

In several parts of his work, Monboddo quoted the ancients, in particular Aristotle, in order to maintain »that a great part of mankind are by nature doomed to be slaves«. See id.: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 4, pp. 171 f.; id.: Origin and Progress of Language, vol. 2, p. 450.

³³ Cf. Smith: Letter to the Edinburgh Review.

Rousseau: Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité, note 10, p. 208; the translations from Rousseau are mine. Cf. Claude Lévi-Strauss: Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Wok-

It was the innate capacity for perfection that made human progress possible, by "raising" the "civil man above his original state"; all the other faculties derived from this. The perfectibilité was, then, the essential and distinctive characteristic of man, which allowed even the stupid and silent savage to act as a free agent.35 However, such progress did not occur autonomously, but only in certain circumstances, which could not, and did not, always come about. To exclude orang-utans from humankind on the grounds of their inability either to think or to speak also meant excluding the >savage< boys and girls encountered in European forests. Rousseau reported the case of the boy found in 1694 among the bears of Lithuania, who walked on all fours, had no language, and produced sounds that bore no resemblance to human ones. By linking wild children, natural men and orang-utans, the question Rousseau raised was: what would happen to wild children if they were entrusted to ignorant travellers rather than to philosophers? The answer was simple: instead of teaching them language, uncultivated voyagers would treat them like wild beasts, hunting or placing them in zoos. The consequence of Rousseau's reasoning was his suggestion that only a test in cross-breeding, which he himself acknowledged to be too dangerous to be put into practice, would definitively resolve the issue of orang-utans' humanity or animality.36

Monboddo closely echoed Rousseau: according to him, orangutans belonged to the human species, as they shared with men the same physical characteristics, including the organs of speech (larynx, pharynx and tongue). They walked in an erect position, instead of on all fours, as many feral children did; they used sticks as arms, built huts, knew the use of fire and the value of iron (in contrast with Amerindian peoples, for example), and burnt their dead: in a word, they lived in society. They were modest, sensitive and friendly, as Tyson had stated. In addition, they carried off black women, using them as slaves and as instruments of pleasure. To think that beings so similar to each other could belong to different species contradicted every law of nature. The second edition of the first volume of the Drigin and Progress of Languages, published in 1774, which was enriched by two chapters

ler: Perfectible Apes.

Rousseau: Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité, pp. 142, 162; id.: Essai sur l'origine des langues, pp. 210 ff. Cf. Duchet: Anthropologie et histoire, pp. 329-335.

³⁶ Cf. Rousseau: Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité, note 10, p. 211. See also the chapter by Wulf D. Hund in this volume.

on orang-utans, stated that »we« – that is, modern philosophers – must declare that orang-utans are human, as Pope Paul III had done with the Amerindians in his famous bull in 1537.³⁷

Monboddo was dealing with different theories: he used and discussed Tyson's findings; he responded to Buffon, he dialogued with Linnaeus and took Rousseau as his model. Like Rousseau, Monboddo defined humankind through perfectibility: the capacity to acquire superior mental faculties. According to the hierarchy proposed in the third volume of Antient Metaphysics (1784), primordial men were Brutes and Tailed Men (Including Wild Men)«. Orang-utans, the speechless savages«, followed: the first marks of civilization and social life were perceptible among them, as they were already gregarious. The Savages proper« then came along, and with them arts and sciences were invented.

Ancient Greeks brought progress to the acme of development. With Rome, decadence began, leading to modernity. By analysing the same phenomenon from the perspective of language, >The Origin and Progress of Language

 gress of Language
 showed that, first, >language is not natural to man

 both because ideas have to be formed before, and because articulation is not natural to humans. Second, it showed that >the Political State was necessary for the invention of language
 and that >such state is not natural to man, any more than Language, to which it gave birth
 — in this way, Monboddo proposed a solution to Rousseau's open dilemma, opting for the primacy of society over language. Third, >the first Beginning of Language
 occurred in ancient Egypt. A slow historical transformation of human nature took shape, in which the ape-man became, through time, a civil man.

In this reasoning, the relationship between orang-utans and wild children played a crucial role. Monboddo made it clear in several parts of his work. He twice met Peter, the wild boy: found in the woods of Hanover in 1724, he was brought to the court of George I and entrusted (unsuccessfully) to one of the most famous physicians of the time, John Arbuthnot, Member of the Royal Society and physician to the Queen. His failure in learning, despite all the attention he had received, suggested that »[n]othing but Vanity can hinder us from being

Monboddo, Origin and Progress of Language, vol. 1, 2nd ed., chaps. 4 and 5, esp. pp. 347 f. The phrase used as the epigraph of this section immediately follows this statement

³⁸ Cf. Alan Barnard: Monboddo's Orang Outang.

convinced of the Orang Outang being a Man. If the Orang Outang be not a Man, Peter the Wild Boy is not one«.³⁹ The polemic reference to Buffon then became direct: »For, if Mr Buffon's Orang Outang was not a man, because he had not learned to speak at the age of two, it is impossible to believe that Peter who, at the age of seventy, and after having been above fifty years in England, has learned to articulate but few words, is a man«.

Linnaeus, who made the »Homo ferus« a taxonomic category, described as »four-footed, mute, hairy« and classified as a variety of the homo sapiens, included in his >Systema Naturae< the cases of Peter (»Juvenis hannoveranus«) and Marie-Angelique, the wild girl found in Champagne in 1731 (»Puella Campanica«). As the function of taxonomy is precisely that of building classes, Linnaeus did not refer to their specific histories, but recorded only their sex, and the place and year of their discovery. 40 Monboddo, instead, moved from these cases to track the progress of the human species. He referred often to »Peter the Wild Boy« in his book on the origins of languages, while he carefully described Marie-Angélique, the »Savage Girl of Champagne«, in the English translation of the >Histoire d'une jeune fille sauvage trouvée dans les bois a l'âge de dix ans (1755) attributed to Charles-Marie de La Condamine. Unlike Peter, who never succeeded in articulating a language, Marie-Angelique became a civil woman: she learnt to speak French, became Catholic and ended her life in a convent.⁴¹

The >savage girl< became an experimental laboratory for studying the universal progression of the human species, from its primordial and savage condition through to civil society. Monboddo completed the French edition with details gleaned from direct conversations with Marie-Angélique, whom he met in Paris in 1764 – when he also saw for the first time an orang-utan (chimpanzee) in Buffon's *jardin des plantes*. He then meticulously transcribed his interview with her in the Appendix of the fourth volume of >Antient Metaphysics<, published in 1795 and dealing with >the history of man«. Monboddo presented himself at once as a witness and a philosopher. Through the description of the savage girl, he could explain the progress of language since the

Monboddo: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 3, Appendix, pp. 336 f.; the following quote is from p. 367. Cf. Nash: Wild Enlightenment, chap. 5.

Linnaeus: Systema Naturae, vol. 1, p. 28.

Monboddo: Preface; id.: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 4, Appendix, pp. 403-408. Cf. Julia Doutwhaite: Rewriting the Savage; id: The Wild Girl, pp. 11-69.

first screams and guttural sounds, and demonstrate the inseparable connection between the capacity for speech and the progress of the human mind. If the »vulgar« reader would only find entertainment in the story of the »savage girl«, reading it as the novel of Robinson Crusoe, the philosopher could draw much more important conclusions: he could trace, from her case, the amazing progress of the entire human species. The speculations of modern philosophers, who claimed that man was the same animal, even if he passed through various stages and conditions, were not only absurd, but even »contradicted« by the whole whistory of man«. In other words, there was a discontinuity in human nature, and this discontinuity depended on history.

The history of humankind needed, thus, to be read as the progression of »our species from an animal so wild, to men such as we«: from mere animality – the »*mutum et turpe pecus*« of the ancients Horace and Diodorus Siculus (quoted by Monboddo all the time) – to full humanity. Monboddo made of this discontinuity the very characteristic of humankind: »Man himself was originally a wild savage animal, till he was tamed, and, as I may say, *humanized*, by civility and arts«.⁴²

By stressing the parallel between the animal features of the savage and the human characteristics of the orang-utan, capable of *perfectibilité*, Monboddo explained the necessity of an inclusive definition of man. ⁴³ As an ardent advocate of ancient meritocracy, however, he saw in the orang-utan not the egalitarian society of Rousseau, but rather »a natural gentleman emerging from the undifferentiated herd«. ⁴⁴

Monboddo was not only a fierce opponent of the Scottish anti-slavery law of 1778, but he even argued in favour of a return to slavery in Britain for the poorer classes, according to the testimony of his political and philosophical adversary from Aberdeen, James Beattie. 45 Beattie also reported that Monboddo used to say without shame that win men, as well as in horses, nothing can be *great* but what is *noble*«

Monboddo: Origin and Progress of Language, vol. 1, 2nd ed., p. 144, emphasis in the original; see also id.: Preface, p. xvii.

44 Aaron Garrett: Human Nature, p. 183.

Far from dissolving the boundaries of humankind, Monboddo felt it necessary to include the orang-utan in the human species precisely in order to preserve the clarity of the human/animal divide – an aspect that has been all too often dismissed both by his contemporaries and by subsequent scholars. But see Dror Wahrman: The Making of the Modern Self, pp. 136 ff.

James Beattie to Beilby Porteus (bishop of London and active abolitionist), 17.12.1779, in William Forbes: Account of the Life of James Beattie, vol. 2, pp. 64 f.

- a point that the fourth volume of >Antient Metaphysics < reinforced, noting that »the qualities of mind as well as of body descend to the race«.46 That men were »different by nature« and were fitted for diverse tasks was, for the Scottish judge, an »undeniable« reality: very few were suited to rule, whereas the great majority had to »be governed by fear and dread of punishment, that is like slaves«. The reference to Aristotle's definition of the natural slave was direct, and led on to the conclusive statement: »therefore, there is nothing contrary to nature in the state of slavery«.

In 1775, while the antislavery legislation was taking shape, Scotland also engaged with the question of servitude, adopting a first Act in favour of the emancipation of colliers and salters from their semi-servile condition.⁴⁷ Looking at the questions of slavery and servitude together, as they were discussed in the same period by the same intellectual and political milieus, and were part of the same reflection on political economy,48 it is possible to shed new light on Monboddo's pro-slavery position.

Aristotle and the *jus gentium* were instrumental in his attempt to solve the question of manpower and poverty: in line with his aristocratic vision of society, this was a further reason for maintaining servitude and slavery. Instead, the colour of the skin played no role in his pro-slavery argument, as this was an accidental mark, which made »no distinction« among men.49 > Antient Metaphysics« clearly opposed the idea of an inherent inferiority of Blacks, grounded on their physical features: »I hope the reader will not believe that the qualities of the mind depend on the features of the face, any more than upon the colour of the skin or the nature of the hair«.50

- Beattie: On the Lawfulness of Slavery, p. 6; Monboddo: Antient Metaphysics, vol.
- IV, p. 177 there also the following quote.

 In 1606 an Act of Parliament bound Scottish colliers and salters to the coal mines and salt pans for life, in an attempt to find a solution to the scarcity of manpower in crucial industries. Their definitive emancipation would come about in 1799, more than 20 years after the 1755 Act. Cf. Baron F. Duckham: Serfdom; Christopher A. Whatley: Collier Serfdom
- Adam Smith and John Millar, for example, discussed slavery and servitude in their university lectures, maintaining that in no instance was bondage cost-effective, as free labour was cheaper. Cf. Whatley: The Dark Side of the Enlightenment?; Cairns: John Millar and Slavery.
- Negroe Cause, 15.1.1778<, MŠ p. 12. I thank John Cairns for having drawn my attention to these manuscript notes, which extensively record Monboddo's argument
- Monboddo: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 3, pp. 144 f., note.

Monboddo was taking on David Hume, who, in a well-known passage of his essay on >National Characters<, had labelled >Negroes< as inferior, while opposing slavery.⁵¹ The violent philosophical attack on Hume's scepticism that Monboddo developed throughout his work converged in this opposite stance vis-à-vis the issue of slavery and Blacks. Monboddo reminded Hume that the Egyptians, who had been the source of Greek knowledge, were »a nation of Black men with wooly hair«,⁵² whom modern Europeans haven't been able to equal yet.

Slaves and Apes in Edward Long's History

»If he [the our an-outang] is a creature sui generis, he fills up the space between mankind and the ape species. 53

Monboddo's concerns related, as we have seen, to the question of the savage origins of man and of the invention of language, and his pro-slavery arguments were, first of all, based on Aristotle's conception of natural slavery, and not on the idea of an inherent inferiority of Blacks. By contrast, Edward Long, a planter in Jamaica, focused on black slaves, associating them with apes.

The *History of Jamaica*, published in London in 1774, came to public attention for the amount of detail and information it provided about a pivotal colony in the British imperial system. This work should be placed more firmly within the context of the Somerset case than has been done by historiography to date, as Long, before becoming the historian of Jamaica, had distinguished himself as the author of an anonymous pamphlet against this judgment. The Candid Reflections upon the Judgement Lately Awarded by the Court of King's Bench, in What is Commonly Called The Negroe Cause was published in 1772, in the same year of the ruling it opposed, and was signed "by a Planter". The choice of a self-designation by economic activity stressed the author's experience in the field, so legitimizing his criticism of Lord Mansfield's judgment, which went as far as to invent "the art of wash-

- Hume: Of National Characters, pp. 208 and 629 f. The passage on the inferiority of Negroes was added in 1753, and revised in the posthumous edition of 1777. Cf. Silvia Sebastiani: The Scottish Enlightenment, chaps. 1 and 4. On Monboddo's criticism of Hume's philosophy, see esp. id.: Antient Metaphysics, vol. 1, book 2, chap. XXI; vol. 2, book 1, chap. 1 and 7; book 2, chaps. 2, 3 and 6; book 4, chap. 1; vol 4, book 2, chap. 6.
- ⁵² Negroe Cause, 15.1.1778<, MS p. 12.
- Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 358.

ing the Black-a-moor white«: after Somerset's ruling, »the thing that Solomon thought impossible when he said, ›Can the Æthiop change his skin? [...] has, in the present wonder-working age, ceased any longer to be miraculous«. 54 This led to a paradox: »As soon as a Negroe comes into England, he becomes Free. A man may be a Villein in England, but not a Slave«. But such a distinction was a »rather laughable« legal cavil, in Long's reply: »a planter would be glad to know wherein a Negro slave differs from the English Villein, except in being far better provided and taken care of, and essentially happier in every respect«. Like Monboddo, Long maintained that a slave-society was not just more functional in terms of political economy, but even fitter for the poorer classes.

I will refer here to just one aspect of this pamphlet: it used Common Law to assert that the legal status of `Negroes was that of a `merchandize a product, a property. This was established not only by colonial codes, but also by the very principles of British trade, approved by British kings, with the consent of the whole kingdom: slavery was an integral part of the English constitution itself. Long called for an intervention of Parliament in order to regulate Mansfield's "law dictum", and to "render it more conformable to the principles of British commerce".

In his argument, American slavery was nothing other than the a continuation of the English *villenage*, which has grown »into desuetude by the gradual extension of our national commerce«, and a response to the changing requirements of the market: »On the decline of villenage within the realm, a species of it sprang up in the remoter parts of the English dominion, the *American plantations*; clearly introduced by the very same enlarged commerce which had extinguished it in the mother state«. Because of the nature of the climate on the other side of the Atlantic, »Negroe labourers« and »Negroe slaves« (both terms are constantly employed as synonymous) were necessary in order to cultivate the soil: those who asserted the contrary were »entirely ignorant« of the situation and preferred to »deal in reveries«. Long's pro-slavery argument ended on the note that Africans were instrumental to the colonization of America.⁵⁵

Long: Candid Reflections, p. iii, emphasis in the original. The following quote is from ibid., p. 55.

⁵⁵ Ibid., passim; quotations pp. 3, 14, emphasis in the original.

In order to relegate >Negroes< to the lowest level of the human scale, Long employed the conceptual scheme of the Great Chain of Being, on the basis of a hierarchy of colours, in a descending gradation from white to black, and from the human to the animal. In addition, he contended that the Africans belonged to a different >species< of men. The Chain of Being and a polygenetic credo shaped the general system of Long's world, universalizing the principle of hierarchy, precisely when the debate over the emancipation of slaves was questioning such a principle. ⁵⁶ While the divide between the human and the animal decreased, the mark of separation between man and man increased and hardened.

The >History of Jamaica sharply attacked those who opposed slavery on the basis of philanthropic principles, wrongly exalting the abilities of black people, and playing down their physical monstrosity. In countering this »philanthropy«, Long spoke in the name of the economic prosperity of the British Empire. He devoted a long chapter to the physical characteristics of >Negroes <, presenting and discussing the different anatomical theories then available, including Tyson, as well as classical sources. At the same time, he quoted at length the natural and philosophical histories of Linnaeus, Buffon and Monboddo, and a vast travel literature. This system of references served to establish his credentials as a respectable member of the >Republic of Letters <, who founded his argument on a solid scientific approach. At the same time, he emphasized his experience as a man in the field.

Referring to the authority of Tyson, Buffon and Hume, without mentioning the latter's anti-slavery stance, Long considered the Africans as an exception in humankind, standing out as the only species not to have even one positive quality, or capacity for »making any progress in civility or science«. The inferiority of Blacks was based on a combination of physical and mental traits: dark skin, wool for hair, round eyes, flat nose, thick lips, large female nipples, a bestial smell, an appetite for any kind of excess. They had no genius, »no plan or system of morality«, »no moral sensations«, »no taste«, and »their barbarity to their children debases their nature even below that of brutes«, making them »the vilest of the human kind«. These characteristics were given and original. Africans were everywhere »a brutish, ignorant, idle,

As stressed by Winthrop D. Jordan: White over Black, p. 228.

Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, chap. 1.

crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievish, mistrustful and superstitious people«.58

This system, hierarchically organized, gave a special position to the ape, which constituted the »palpable link which unites the human race with the quadruped, not in exterior alone, but in the intellectual quality«: »Through a gradation of apes, we come to the *ouran-outang* species, who have some trivial resemblance to the ape-kind, but the strongest similitude to mankind, in countenance, figure, stature, organs, erect posture, actions or movements, food, temper, and manner of living.«⁵⁹

Long used Buffon's descriptions against Buffon's conclusions, while acknowledging his debt to Monboddo, considered as one of the most ingenious modern writers for having shown the animal origins of men and revealed the humanity of the orang-utan. By referring to Monboddo, Long was able to challenge Buffon, who described the orang-utan with human organs, while claiming, against all logic, that they were useless. It was simply absurd to portray the orang-utan as an animal who »has the eyes, but sees not; ears has he, but hears not; he has a tongue, and the human organs of speech, but *speaks not*, he has the human brain, but does not *think*, forms no comparisons, draws no conclusions, makes not reflections, and is determined, like brute animals by a positive limited instinct«.60 Yet, as Long wrote in the margin of his own copy of the >History<, which he annotated heavily with a view to a second edition: »But how can we be sure of this fact«?

A naturalist should know that »we« still lack information about the brains of apes, and on their ability to be educated. Undertaking a complete role reversal, Long put himself in the position of the observer and of the experimental scientist, in contrast to Buffon, who based his argument on pure conjectures: »For my own part, I conceive that probability favours the opinion, that human organs were not given him for nothing: that this race have some language by which their meaning is communicated; whether it resembles the gabbling of turkies like that of

Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 353 f. Long's verbal violence was so strong that the abolitionist William Wilberforce mentioned it in his speech to Parliament as an example of a lack of compassion and humanity, morality and religious piety. See Anthony J. Barker: The African Link, pp. 46 ff., 163-177.

Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 358.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 369, emphasis in the original; the following quote is in the copy of Long's History of Jamaica, hold in the British Library, Additional Manuscripts 12405 f. 284. His History had no other editions.



Fig. 2: ›Madame Chimpanzé‹

the Hottentots, or the hissing of serpents, is of very little consequence, so long as it is intelligible among themselves α .

Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 369; for the following quotes see ibid., pp. 370 and 371. Cf. Miles Ogborn: Discriminating Evidence.

The reference to the Hottentots was in no way accidental. Through this, Long could reach the climax of his reasoning: »nor, for what hitherto appears, do they seem at all inferior in the intellectual faculties to many of the Negroes race«. If it was possible to find men unable to speak – as Rousseau and Monboddo had shown – then it also became possible, according to Long, to find speakers who were not fully human.

In this way, he closed down Buffon's »immense divide« between the animal and the human, in order to establish another »immense divide« across human races, between »the Negroe race« and »white men«. This involved a double operation: while animalizing the Hottentot, Long humanized the orang-utan – as the use of the pronoun >he< underlines: »He [the orang-outang] has in form a much nearer resemblance to the Negroe race, than the latter bear to White men«.

Long described the orang-utan as a creature *sui generis*, which showed »a great degree of social feeling«, a »sense of shame, and a share of sensibility«, a clear capacity for expressing grief, compassion and other passions »by modes entirely resembling the human«. The descriptions and the images of the educated and modest behaviour of apes in high society contributed to the diffusion of this picture: ›Madame Chimpanzé«, from Angola, exhibited in London in 1738, became a real celebrity for her good table manners while drinking tea (fig. 2).

The Hottentots were instead »more like beasts than men«: the flat noses »like those of a Dutch dog«, the long, irregular, sharp teeth protruding from their mouths »like boars tusks«, and a long list of negative attributes, including their dark complexion and their black and curled hair »like wool«, made them »one of the meanest nations on the face of the earth«. They were not only »very disagreeable in their persons«, but also »a people certainly very stupid, and very brutal«. Long declared, on the basis of the work of what he presented as »the most credible writers«: »Ludicrous as the opinion may seem, I do not think that an Oran-Outang husband would be any disgrace to an Hottentot female«.63

Long's discourse mixed racial distance between Blacks and Whites with social and gender distance. This is what he had already stated in his >Candid Reflections< on the Somerset case, in different though

⁶² Cf. Londa Schiebinger: Nature's Body, pp. 75-114.

⁶³ Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 364.

equally disgusted terms. In a passage of his pamphlet he had made it clear that the rapes of black women by orang-utans were much less shocking and had much less dangerous consequences than the attraction of white English women to black men. Here Long stressed the monstrosity of a sexual act contrary to nature, which could provoke the corruption of the English blood: »The Lower class of women in England are remarkably fond of the blacks, for reasons too brutal to mention: they would connect themselves with horses and asses, if the laws permitted them«.⁶⁴

Such an assertion was not unique in this period. Long, however, went a step further when he stressed that between orang-utans and Blacks there was whe most intimate connexion and consanguinity«: wThe amorous intercourse between them may be frequent; the Negroes themselves bear testimony that such intercourses actually happen; and it is certain, that both races agree perfectly well in lasciviousness of disposition«. The consistent result of this reasoning led Long to raise the crucial question: whas the Hottentot from this portrait, a more manly figure than the oran-outang?«. Tyson and Buffon had established all the evidence for a structural alliance between man and ape, without teasing out the consequences of their own reasoning. Long made of the divide between man and the beast a constantly permeable boundary.

Applied to the question of slavery, these theoretical and empirical constructs had major implications: the slave trade system, once rationalized and released of its most cruel aspects, as Long wished, found its justification in the white civilizing mission. In the English colonies it was a benevolent institution, which helped to release Africa from barbarism, ridding it of its »vilest criminals« and making it part of the world trading system.

Furthermore, slaves were »far happier and better provided for than most of the poor labourers, and meaner class, in Britain«. At the same time, slavery offered Africans the best chance of education they could possibly have, that of work, starting them on the road to civil society. 66 Combining in this way traditional stereotypes and the new science of man, Long abolished all the distinctions between the ape and the black

Long: Candid Reflections, pp. 48 f.

66 Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, pp. 390-393 (on criminals); 402 (on slaves vs. English poorest classes). For more in general, see Book 3, ch. 2 on >Guney Slaves<.

⁶⁵ Long: History of Jamaica, vol. 2, p. 370 (it is here that Long expressed his appreciation for Monboddo); the following quote is from ibid., p. 365.

Africans, and laid the foundation for a vulgar racist philosophy in support of the slave system.

Epilogue: Adam vs. the Orang-Utan

»Who was our progenitor? Adam, according to the ancient creed? Or the orang outang, according to the new system?«67

In 1779, when the first volume of Monboddo's >Antient Metaphysique came out, the physician and anatomist of Groningen, Petrus Camper, published the results of his dissections of several (Asian) orang-utans. Eighty years after Tyson, in the same >Philosophical Transactions<, an >Account of the Organs of Speech of the Orang Outang< debunked the >medical< solution to the question of the supposed structural identity between man and the ape.

Camper showed that not only was the erect position unnatural to the orang-utan, which was instead a quadruped, but that the voice organs were also far from being identical to the human ones, as Tyson had imagined, and everybody else had repeated. Orang-utans *did not* speak, because they *could not* speak, and the reason lay in the »texture of their organs«, in their larynx.⁶⁸ At the end of the century, the >Encyclopaedia Britannica« was thus able to acclaim Camper as the »professor« who had »completely decided« this point, while the >Monthly Review« openly laughed at the advocates of the orang-utan, who spoke in »his« name, as »the old gentleman himself either *cannot*, or *will* not utter a word on the subject«.⁶⁹

By maintaining that the orang-utans' organs of reproduction were more similar to those of dogs than to those of men, Camper also contradicted the accounts of sexual intercourse and reproduction between humans and apes, mentioned by Buffon as a possibility, postulated by Rousseau as a plausible hypothesis, and defended by Monboddo and Long as a reality. His conclusion was simple: the observable differences between the orang-utan and man were evident, and they set the

Monthly Review, vol. 80, p. 685, emphasis in the original.

⁶⁸ Camper: Account of the Organs. In Antient Metaphysics, vol. 3, p. 44, Monboddo explained away Camper's different conclusions, by arguing that Camper's orangutan came from Borneo and not from Angola, like Tyson's one, which was therefore of a different species, closer to »us«. Cf. Franck Tinland: L'homme sauvage, pp. 118-122.

⁶⁹ Comparative Anatomy, p. 250 and Monthly Review, vol. 80, p. 685 (this assertion followed the question in the epigraph to this part).

limits that God wanted to establish among the different classes of animals.⁷⁰

While asserting a radical discontinuity between the human and the animal, Camper also »pointed out the degree of similarity between a negroe and the ape«. In a series of drawings, he traced a facial line manifesting a progressive increase of the jaw angle, descending from the ancient Greek or the Georgian to the African and to the orang-utan (see fig. 3). This »discovery« formed the basis of his »edifice«, and provided the principle of organization for his »cabinet«: »It is amusing to contemplate an arrangement of these [skulls] placed in a regular succession: apes, orangs, negroes, the skull of an Hottentot, Madagascar, Celabese, Chinese, Moguller, Calmuck, and divers Europeans. It is in this manner that I arranged them in a shelf of my cabinet, in order that those differences might become more obvious«.

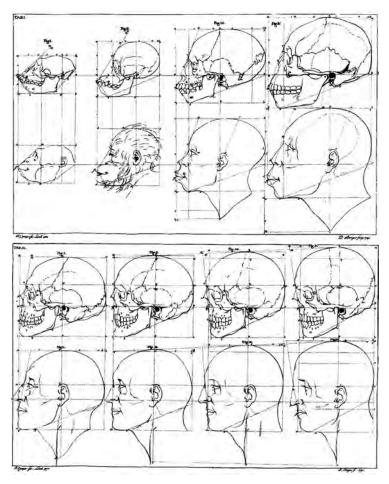
A fervent Christian and convinced monogenist, he considered this arrangement only as an »amusing« aesthetic curiosity, Nowadays it is difficult not to raise doubts about the innocence of such an aesthetic curiosity, aware as we are of the role that the Apollo of Belvedere, seen as the perfect realization of human beauty, and the measure of the facial angle played in determining the differences among human races in the nineteenth century and beyond. But for considerations of length, I would rather conclude with another eighteenth-century reading of Camper's work: his refusal, as an »extravagant notion«, of the assimilation of the human to the animal: »The striking resemblance between the race of Monkies and of Blacks, particularly upon a superficial view, has induced some philosophers to conjecture that the race of blacks has originated from the commerce of the whites with ourangs and pongos; or that these monsters, by gradual improvements, finally become men«.⁷²

Camper's argument in favour of the incommensurability between man and the ape, no longer based on Tyson's and Buffon's dualism, but on >objective<, that is structural and measurable, data, was considered decisive by British activists of the anti-slavery movement in

Camper: Works, p. 32; the following quote is ibid., p. 9.

⁷¹ Cf. Claude Blanckaert: Les vicissitudes de l'angle facial; David Bindman: Ape to Apollo.

⁷² Camper: Works, pp. 50 (\succession <) and 32 (\seemblance <). Cf. Miriam C. Meijer: Race and Aesthetics. Meijer strongly insists on the necessity of situating Camper in his historical context, which allows a more nuanced reading of his work.</p>



 $Fig. \ 3: An \ {\it >} amusing {\it <} \ arrangement$

the 1770s and 1780s. The orang-utan became, then, a polemical and ironic tool for contrasting the philosophical speculations of Rousseau and Monboddo, and the political pronouncements of Long, who – as Blumenbach wrote in 1775 – were »ill-instructed in natural history and anatomy«, though they were »not ashamed« to say that the ape was »very nearly allied, and indeed of the same species with themselves«.⁷³

Blumenbach: De Generi humani varietate nativa, pp. 94 f. Within this framework, the wild boys and girls were also seen in a different light, becoming human excep-

In Aberdeen, where the abolitionist movement was particularly active and had, in the lectures of Moral Philosophy, one of its principal academic tribunes, the defence of the Black was also furthered by way of a >re-animalization< of the orang-utan, which lost its privileged status as Adam. In the criticism of James Dunbar, who, like Beattie, was a member of the >Philosophical Society< and professor of Moral Philosophy, the arrogance of modern Europe marked a new phase in the relationship between colonizers and colonized: »She [Europe] affects to move in another orbit from the rest of the species. She is even offended with the idea of a common descent; [...] and, by imagining specific differences among men, precludes or abrogates their common claims«.74

Following Dunbar's reasoning, European contempt towards the idea of a common origin of humankind was a »modern invention«, which had no precedent in the past: whereas in the sixteenth century it was only possible to »usurp the sovereignty, not the pedegree, of nations«, eighteenth-century Europeans fragmented humankind into distinct »species«, by »imagining« insurmountable and original differences between them. This was a new context, in which the oppression of a »meaner race« could no longer appear so hideous or shocking. Dunbar also referred to the pope's »infallible edict«, but only to mock the anti-human proposal of >Antient Metaphysics<: if Paul III had raised the Amerindians above animals, Monboddo, Long and other modern philosophers had lowered the origins of nations to the level of the orang-utan: »Such is the illustrious pedegree of mankind!«⁷⁵ Against this, Dunbar pled for the restoration of clear boundaries between man and the ape, in the way in which Camper, Blumenbach and others were doing. The »fabulous career« of the orang-utan seemed now to decline, with the ape retrogressing to its bestial life – though this remained a controversial issue, before and after the advent of evolutionism.⁷⁶

By historicizing the question of the boundaries of humankind within the 1770s-80s British debate on abolitionism, this chapter has presented the multiple and controversial discourses at work within a broad European and imperial framework. Supported by different actors – some of whom were also involved in the development of British

tions that had nothing to disclose about the >normal< functioning of man.

Dunbar: Essays, pp. 161 f.; there, pp. 162 ff., also the following quotes. Cf. Silvia Sebastiani: The Scottish Enlightenment, chap. 4.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 202n.

⁷⁶ Cf. Claude Blanckaert: >Produire l'être singe<.

imperial policies – anatomy, antiquarianism, law, philosophy, history, as well as political economy prompted controversies and polemics, giving rise to a new legal context in which slavery and servitude were no longer accepted. This complex, multifaceted and transnational configuration was the stage on which the boundaries of humankind were investigated, the stage of the Enlightenment science of man, where apes, gender, class and race were conflated.

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Exterminating the Brute Sexism and Racism in >King Kong«

Stefanie Affeldt

Abstract: Since its first screening in 1933, >King Kong has been interpreted from a multitude of perspectives. Based on the original movie, this analysis is focussed on the superimposition and conjunction of racism and sexism in the narration and integrates its socio-historical contextualization into the investigation. This makes obvious that the film is far from being a >Beauty and the Beast fairy tale but launches a double attack on emancipation and self-determination. The movie sacrifices a >new woman to an old stereotype, the simianized exaggeration of a black man. This is a direct answer to the liberation and civil rights movements of the time, and also one which propagates existing counter-strategies as well. By the sexualisation of the plot, it connects the story to the eugenically shaped racial hysteria and the politics of lynching. By embedding the story in a history of discovery, it also links the narrative to the history of imperialism and colonial oppression. In view of this twofold threat, it suggests a solution that had already found its literary phrasing: >Exterminate all the brutes <

Even though not everyone has seen the movie, the story of >King Kong is familiar to almost everybody: a giant ape takes possession of a white woman, runs amok in New York City, climbs the Empire State Building, and, after being attacked by airplanes, eventually topples to his death 1

Mind you, the plot of the original 1933 picture has more depth to offer. The narration takes the audience to a depression-plagued 1932 New York, where film director Carl Denham has hired a ship and crew

There are innumerable variations of the Kong motif – not least the sequels made by the original Kong makers (Son of Kong, 1933; Mighty Joe Young, 1949) – that confront Kong with Godzilla and other monsters, are animated films, musicals or theatrical pieces, put him into other contexts or into video games, dime novels or songs. This essay takes for its main focus only the Kong trilogy, consisting of Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack's original King Kong of 1933 and its two remakes by Dino de Laurentiis and John Guillermin in 1976 and by Peter Jackson in 2015. For the exact information regarding the respective copies of the film, see the literature.

140 Stefanie Affeldt

to >discover<, and cinematically colonize, an unknown island. Searching the streets for an actress, he runs into a blonde white woman, Ann Darrow, and recruits her for the lead role, promising her »money, and adventure, and fame«.² This is actually the opposite of the classical repertoire of female stereotypes. It indicates already, at the beginning of the narration, that the film deals with a representative of the >new women<, who confused the male world because they chose to shape their own lives.³

The role intended for her amounts to one of the innumerable variations of >taming of the shrew<. This is hinted at during the sea voyage when she falls in love with the first mate, John Driscoll. It also becomes obvious that the previously announced adventures will demand a great deal of her. For a start, the director tells her about his plans to shoot a movie addressing the topic of >Beauty and the Beast< and prompts his >star< for the test takes to scream at her highest pitch. In the real-case scenario, this very scream will be aimed at a substantial menace — as the audience knows even before the actress. The ship has on board ammunition, explosives, and several of >these new gas-bombs powerful enough to knock out an elephant<.4

Eventually, the mysterious island is sighted and turns out to be an ideological manifestation of the racist >knowledge< of the world that has been accumulated during the European >history of discovery<. According to this knowledge, large parts of the world were inhabited by people who had never left the state of >savagery<; or they showed indications of culture, but their >development< had either come to a standstill or had even retrogressed. On the newly discovered >Skull Island<, these strands are not only united but also completed by a prehistoric jungle born from the mind of Joseph Conrad. An enormous wall, so »[c]olossal« that »it might almost be Egyptian«, separates the jungle from the living space of the island population, depicted as primitive dark-skinned savages. These natives have no inkling as to where the wall originated from and are incapable of bringing nature under their control. Instead, they are dominated by it, trying to appease it with human sacrifices, which — in the film's sexist-racist linkage — are

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<sup>2</sup> >King Kong (1933), 08:48-08:49.
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³ Cf. i.a. Jean V. Matthews: The Rise of the New Woman.

King Kong (1933), 3:21-3:23.

⁵ >King Kong (1933), 23:50-23:53.

orchestrated as female sacrifices offered to a giant ape. The inevitable happens: the savages see a valuable potential sacrifice in the white woman, kidnap her and offer her to the apish monster. Kong disappears into the jungle with Ann Darrow to deal with her at his leisure. Driscoll follows and eventually rescues her. The giant ape is furious because of his loss of the white woman, pursues the escaping couple, but finally succumbs to the American crew's superior weapons. They take him on board the ship and back to New York, where he is exhibited as the reighth wonder of the world.

When Kong breaks free from his chains, once again kidnaps the blonde actress, and begins to devastate New York, the cinematic audience needs no tutoring in discriminatory images to easily recognize the distinctive iconography of the racism of the period. The climate of lynchings, in particular, made inevitable a reading of a film about Beauty and the Beast which connected it to the »black beast rapist discourse that »rationalized white lynchings of black men as a moral duty to protect white womanhood de. 6 When Kong is eventually killed by machine gun fire, Ann Darrow sinks helplessly into the arms of her lover Driscoll.

As one would expect of a film that has attained classic status, >King Kong offers numerous starting points for analysis. It is therefore no surprise that since its premiere in 1933 >King Kong has been interpreted from a multitude of angles and approaches, which fall roughly into five main categories.

The first approach sees the film as narrating a romance and a »brilliant cinematic fairy tale about a monstrous giant gorilla found on a prehistoric island who falls in love with a beautiful young woman«.7 It »invites consideration as a retelling of Marie Laprince de Beaumont's >Beauty and the Beast« (1756)« since »Kong is like the Beast in that he also reveals himself to be a kindly soul at heart, inviting sympathy because of his genuine affection for Ann Darrow and his gentle treatment of her«, but »[u]nfortunately, this fairy tale has an unhappy ending«.8 This reading also flounders on the fact that Kong can hardly be seen as a handsome prince inside an ugly outside but is constructed as a human-like being with sinister intentions.

- 6 Karlos Hill: Resisting Lynching, p. 90.
- 7 Ray Morton: King Kong, p. 1.
- ⁸ Rick Klaw: King Kong, p. 1123.

142 Stefanie Affeldt

Secondly, the movie's self-referentiality is not far to seek – two filmmakers making a film about a filmmaker. Here, the movie is »about seeing«, and, in drawing the attention to the process of making things seen, tends to point the camera to itself and its history of production. The film also refers to the film historical >gun/camera
trope, 10 in particular by having Denham explain how on a previous cinematic safari he took over both the control of the rifle and the camera.

Thirdly, the story has been read as a tale about civilization's intervention into nature and its treatment of >untouched< fauna and flora. On this interpretation, the film provides an insight into >the animal as a Darwinian being
with emotions and communicative abilities. Kong >presents a critique of civilization, animal captivity, zoos and exhibitions
11 In particular the second film of 1976 caters to this reading by having the expedition party, led by a representative of an oil company, search for oil deposits at an uncharted location in the midst of the Indian Ocean and by presenting Kong >instrumentalized
as a means for promoting the company's advertising event.

Fourthly, Kong has been identified as a metaphor for the US-American working class. The 1933 film poster, showing Kong on top of the Empire State Building, reminds »both in form and content« of the draft for the Stalin-influenced Palace of the Soviets. Moreover, »Lenin has in common with King Kong the fact that both are symbols *of* the masses, displayed as spectacles *for* the masses«.¹² The »verticalized landscape furnished the setting for a fantasy of class rise«, and Kong's rampage is seen as symbolizing the »national resentment against New York City« as the »scene« of the Great Depression.¹³

Lastly, a variety of psychosocial approaches exist. Despite its location as part of the horror genre and as founder of the preat monster subgenre, these analyses represent pKing Kong as appealing to children. Its viewing has also encouraged an interpretation of Kong as

⁹ Jay P. Telotte: The Movies as Monsters, p. 390. See also Rick Klaw: Thirty-Three.

Cf. Cynthia M. Erb: Tracking King Kong, pp. 65 ff.

See Barbara Creed: What Do Animals Dream Of, in particular pp. 60 (Darwinian), 62 (captivity). See also Terry L. Maple, Bonnie M. Perdue: Zoo Animal Welfare, p. 91.

Susan Buck-Morss: Dreamworld and Catastrophe, pp. 174 (>form<), 176 (>masses<, emphasis in original).</p>

Cynthia M. Erb: Another World or the World of an Other, p. 58.

See Adam Roberts: Why Does my Daughter Love King Kong So Much, p. 136; the author also wants »the film to be more than a racist libel« and therefore renounces the »most common critical interpretation« as being »about the racial anxiety

a representative of Freudian theory or the claim that »Kong is us«. 15 The movie is said to narrate stories about the »struggle for survival on the primitive, fog-enshrouded, tropical Skull Island« between the Americans, the Islanders and the insular fauna, about »unrequited love and the frustration and repression of violent sexual desires«, and about a »giant ape« struggling against »the forces of urban civilization and technology«. 16

Undoubtedly, however, the story of Kong is also about the interrelations of race and gender. This becomes increasingly apparent over the course of the whole movie and is carried to the extreme, in the truest sense of the word, in its final scenes. The (black) gorilla – representative of natural savagery – has risen up against (white) civilization and eventually has to be hunted down by its (war) technology. The woman – representative of a new type of women striving for their autonomy – lies prostrated on the floor and will in the near future irreversibly disappear into the arms of her manly (white) saviour.

This ending symbolizes two decisive defeats – Kong's revolt ends with death, Ann Darrow's insurrection ends with marriage – that constitute the respective closures to the discursive strands of racism and sexism which are running like red threads through the entire film. The real-world diegetic reference is the latent threat to society posed by rebellious non-whites inside the country (former slaves and recent immigrants) as well as outside the country (global uprisings at the colonial periphery) and the newly emerged movement of progressive women demanding their share in self-determination and autonomy.

This essay considers the intersectional connections of racism and sexism in the narration of >King Kong<. Its first section unmasks the offering of the white woman to the ape as a sexist-racist sacrificial ritual in which a >new woman< is victimized by the directors who draw on allegedly close associations between >the woman and the ape<. The following section considers >Skull Island's< topography of racism and identifies Kong and the Conradian jungle as signifiers of >savagery< while making the connection to the staging of >black menaces<. The

Tim Dirks: King Kong (1933).

of white America of the 1930s«. Though, in his eyes, »this reading« may have been »plausible« at the time of its creation, »it has much less purchase today« since »only the most moronic racists would actually insist upon the identification of >black man and >ape«« – ibid., p. 138.

Richard A. Lupoff: Kong is Us. For an analysis of Skull Island as a cerebral metaphor see Joseph D. Miller: Darwin, Freud and King Kong.

144 Stefanie Affeldt



Fig. 1: ... seducing apes

last section analyses how the black Kong, as a metaphor for the global colonized and subjugated, revolts against >white society< and, in the staged race war, must therefore be punished by annihilation.

\rightarrow Pretty Soon Now You Be Same Sailor \leftarrow

Ann Darrow is a complex character. Her depiction is not just stereotypic since it unites classic ascriptions of femininity with elements of a

new feminist self-confidence. In the course of the plot, the former are being denounced, while the latter are held up to ridicule. It thus seems too simplistic to see the movie as merely "reflect[ing] the social stereotypes of the time: the woman as helpless object« or as depicting one of the common "female-in-distress roles«.17 Such a one-dimensional view understates the act of de-emancipation in her being saved. Her rescue by her white lover from her black companion is justified as a protection from both Kong and herself.

She has to be protected from herself in two respects: as a >classical< woman, from her unbridled urges, and as a >new< woman, from her unlimited self-confidence. Hence, it is far too facile to understand the dichotomy of Ann Darrow's character as >serv[ing] a contradictory racial function«, being both >san icon of white womanhood« and >sa partner to [...] jungle creatures«. 18 Her relationship to Kong is indeed more-dimensional but actually also functions completely without a racist dimension. The thereby indicated trope of >the woman and the ape< has a history that reaches far back and imputes a sex life to the women that dangerously transgressed the boundaries of the human. 19

At the time of the Enlightenment, Voltaire still related the story with sexist delight. In >Candide<, the protagonist and his valet witness two women being chased by apes – a scene which was engraved with chosen lewdness by Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune (fig. 1). To save the women, Candide fires his gun and kills the apes. His self-praise stops dead when he notices »these two girls tenderly embrace the two apes, melt into tears as they held their bodies, and heard them fill the air with the most heart-rending cries«. His valet then informs him that he has »killed [...] the women's lovers«.²⁰

Racially biased movies of the story had been shown before the production of >King Kong<. One is Renoir's film about the Charleston that tied in with Josephine Baker's success in France.²¹ It shows a warravaged France in which a white woman amuses herself with a big ape. One day, the two are visited by an African traveller, who approach-

Karen Haber: Kong Transcendent, p. 20; Christopher Priest: Fay Wray, the Pulp Tradition, and the Moral Minority, p. 47.

Rhona J. Berenstein: White Heroines and Hearts of Darkness, p. 315.

For further information, see the contribution by Wulf D. Hund in this volume.

Voltaire: Candide and Related Texts, pp. 32 f. (xembraces, xloverss). See Mary L. Bellhouse: Candide Shoots the Monkey Lovers, pp. 741 ff.

Cf. Jean Renoir: Sur un air de Charleston (the film can be watched here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3ap6haM0ds).



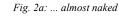




Fig. 2b: ... biased shower



Fig. 2c: ... romantic aura

es them in a futuristic flying object. That he is played by an African American actor in blackface is anything but comical in the light of the further course of action. The wild white woman takes pleasure in the interaction with the civilized African man and successfully enchants him with her exotic dance. As a consequence, the two waft away to Africa, and the frustrated ape tearfully remains behind.

A year before >King Kong<, Joseph von Sternberg's >Blonde Venus< was screened. The ape that appears in this scene is actually a white woman – namely one who, during a performance in the cabaret and after having peeled off her ape costume, lets her >inner ape< run free. Surrounded by wild female dancers in blackface, she sings: »Hot voodoo, I'm aflame, | I'm really not to blame: | That African tempo | Is meaner than mean. | Hot voodoo makes me brave, | I want to misbehave, | I'm beginning to feel like an African queen! | Those drums bring out the devil inside me«.²²

As even the contemporaneous cinema shows, the story of the woman and the apek needs no brutal protagonist. This is definitely insinuated in King Kongk. On board the ship to Skull Islandk is also a little capuchin ape named Iggyk, who is shown winning Ann Darrow's affections. She, petting the monkey, rejoices that Iggy is nice to mek. When faced with Kong, such dalliance turns into panicked terror; the directors of the 1933 version graciously let her pass out while the giant ape performs a strip search — which, following the demands of the film's screenplay, does not stop until the girl is almost nakedk; this, at the very least, turned out to be so thorough that, in a short time, it fell victim to the board of censors and was not reinserted until the reissue of 1971 (fig. 2 a).

The 1976 >King Kong (shot in the age of sexual libertinage) is more explicit in its sexual undercurrent. Not only does it replace the unconscious female protagonist with one allowing Kong to give her a shower under a waterfall (fig. 2 b), but the degree to which she voluntarily and increasingly favourably interacts with Kong is much more pronounced. Darrow's agency is already indicated here. The 2005 version carries this one step further: arriving in Kong's lair, a well-nigh fearless Darrow fends for her survival and deflects his alleged murderousness by entertaining him with the performance of a vaudevillian interlude – a >blonde Venus of the 21st century. After these advances, the film depicts the two in a romantic perspective as a couple in a contre-jour shot (fig. 2 c).

Were it only about the intimidation and rebuke of a >new woman<, this sexist plot would have been totally sufficient. Without a doubt, this

For the video, see https://vimeo.com/24008320.

²³ >King Kong (1933), 13:13-13:18 (>Iggy <).

Screenplay of >King Kong<; cf. Ray Morton: King Kong, p. 84; Joshua D. Bellin: Framing Monsters, p. 21.</p>

is also one of the dimensions of her role.²⁵ She is living on her own and able to »get by in good clothes«. She has no family and claims not to fear anything.²⁶ On board the ship, she shows steadfastness and adapts so much to the life at sea – even learning how to do sailor's knots – that the Chinese cook Charley tells her: »Pretty soon now you be same sailor«.²⁷ This, sure enough, is a deceitful compliment because it is voiced by a racistly labelled figure in a corrupt language. It is thus conveyed to the audience that they are seeing a representative of the very self-confident >new women<, who advocated their electoral rights, as well as their right to work, and were rather sceptical towards the traditional >three Ks< (Kinder, Küche, Kirche – children, kitchen, church).²⁸ Because she is lauded for this by a feminized Chinese cook, the audience can be sure that with this attitude the heroine will not succeed.

She must not do that, if only because the movie is concerned with decisively more than the discrediting of the >new woman<. For she is also a representative of the >white woman< and the potential mothers of the >white race<. Their endangerment points to what is – from a racist perspective – a eugenic threat. Against this ideological backdrop, >Skull Island< proves to be a symbolic setting of an epochal confrontation. Taking the island as stage, the Islanders as culprits, and Kong as executive, it seems that it is the >savages< of an >uncivilized< island who sacrifice the >white woman< in favour of their apish god. A close reading of the movie, however, debunks this as a pretence. With the movie >undoubtedly [being] a drama that operates on the >dangerous
border of miscegenation«,29 the role of Ann Darrow as a >white victim

Of course, this status is neither assigned to her by the savages on imposed on her by the ape. In the same manner as the latter is a product of animation techniques, the former are the creation of costume design and both originate from the fantasy of the filmmakers Coop-

²⁵ Cf. Cynthia M. Erb: Tracking King Kong, p. 14.

In response to Denham's question whether she is "the sort of city gal who screams at a mouse and faints at a snake«, she self-confidently answers: "I killed a snake ... once«—Delos W. Lovelace: King Kong, p. 15. The novelization of 'King Kong follows the plot very closely but further fleshes out the dialogues and intentions of the character. It was published before the premier of the movie. These lines are also part of the pre-recording screenplay—cf. screenplay of 'King Kong «.

²⁷ King Kong (1933), 11:32-11:33.

²⁸ Cf. Mary Todd: Women and Lutheranism, p. 311.

²⁹ Cynthia M. Erb: Tracking King Kong, p. 89.



Fig. 3: ... propaganda of race hate

er and Schoedsack. They are the ones who throw their white female protagonist to the ape and, in doing so, prove to be the high priests of a sexist-racist sacrificial ritual. The thus celebrated ritual is not new to the community of cinemagoers. The knowledge they bring to the cinematic ceremony has been fed by copious contemporaneous sourc-

es. They include, amongst others, the racial anti-miscegenation law in many states of the USA and the international campaign against the so-called black horrors.

At the time of the production of >King Kong<, the alleged rape of white women by black men was a familiar issue. Its racist insinuations found expression in publicly presented lynchings as well as scandalous verdicts of the judiciary. Dehumanization is part of the ideological tools of the trade, which included the ape stereotype. The connection between this and >King Kong< was obvious, needing no analytical subtlety. In the language of the images, this is shown immediately after the premiere of the movie in a volume with linocuts dealing with the arrest and conviction of the >Scottsboro Boys<.30

Eight of the nine young men who were accused of the rape of two white women were sentenced to death in the first trial (though in the end none were executed).³¹ The pictorial story locates the judicial crime in the history of slavery, racial oppression, and the system of lynching; it comments on the campaign with, inter alia, an image letting rise out of the fog of racist propaganda an apish black monster — obviously inspired by Kong — that drags with it a defenceless white woman (see fig. 3). The image is placed over an article depicting >the fiends< under the heading >Guilty Rape<.

In the same way as this depiction critically drew on >King Kong<, the movie offered an extensive reservoir of pejorative images depicting African Americans as rapists or associating them with apes. A >classic< of this genre is >Birth of a Nation<, which introduced the motive of racist female sacrifice into cinematography. In this case, the death of the white woman was an integral part of the plot and legitimated the ideology of there being worthless human races as well as the establishing of racist organisations, like the Ku Klux Klan, masked as necessary resistance to the black threat. The southern beauty, who had to lose her young life for this cause, gives herself to death in the full knowledge that, according to the rules of racism and sexism, she would have been deemed socially dead anyway after having had sexual contact with a man of a >lower race<.

³⁰ Cf. Lin Shi Khan, Tony Perez: Scottsboro Alabama; see Dora Apel: Imagery of Lynching, esp. chap. 2 (>Scottsboro, the Communist Party, and the NAACP<).</p>

For the further course of the proceedings and its legal significance, see James A. Miller: Remembering Scottsboro; James R. Acker: Scottsboro and Its Legacy.



Fig. 4: ... most sensational

Apart from that, a movie shot shortly before >King Kong< added to Hollywood's record of reproducing in the world of film what racist science and art had conceived. In >Africa<, the genuine victims of apish assaults were said to be, naturally, black women. Presented as a documentary film, a pornotropic movie titled >Ingagi< transposed this fantasy into moving imagery. The story, set in the >Congo<, was produced by a company that cynically called itself >Congo Pictures Ltd<. It deals with a white scientist saving a black woman who has been sacrificed by her >tribe< to a gorilla in order to appease the latter. The film poster unembarrassedly shows what the audience should attune to, and the advertisement did its bit, promising »Gorillas! Wild Woman! Apparently Half Ape! Half Human!« (fig. 4).32 The transgression here

Quoted in Gregg Mitman: Reel Nature, p. 51.

addressed was put into pictures at the end of the movie when it depicted the perceived ramifications. A »semi-nude woman emerges from the jungle thicket holding a human baby – but its skin is covered in fur. The infant is described as >a strange-looking child, seemingly more ape than human(«.33

The audience heading off to see >King Kong< was thus manifestly prepared to understand that this movie was not merely a horror film version of >Beauty and the Beast<. They were easily able to relate images of a white woman being threatened by an ape to the discriminatory discourses of their racial society. This was by no means a mere discursive atrocity. In the year of the premier of >King Kong<, the banner >A man was lynched yesterday< — displayed at the headquarters of the >National Association for the Advancement of Colored People< in New York each time another news story of someone being lynched arrived — had been shown sixteen times.³⁴

>The Darkest Man in Hollywood<

At the end of 1931, when Edgar Wallace started work on the screenplay of King Kong, Hannah Arendt toyed with the thought of emigration. Shortly after, she had to flee from the Nazis, leaving Germany to go to France and then, a few years after, to the USA. Here she began work on a project she called »Elements of Shame: Antisemitism – Imperialism – Racism«.³⁵ The book that eventually resulted from it explained to its readers that the race concept originated in the experiences of Europeans in the »Dark Continent«: »Race was the emergency explanation of human beings whom no European or civilized man could understand and whose humanity so frightened and humiliated the immigrants that they no longer cared to belong to the same human species«.³⁶ The author also provided a historico-philosophical explanation for this thesis: »The word race« has a precise meaning only when and where peoples are confronted with such tribes [...] which do not know any history of their own. [...] What made them different from other human beings

Robin R. Means Coleman: Horror Noire, p. 39.

Cf. Margaret Canovan: Hannah Arendt, p. 28.

For the banner see Ashraf H. A. Rushdy: American Lynching, p. 75; for 1933 see the A NAACP Crisis Timeline: 1909-1954, in: The Crisis, 106, 1999, 4, p. 40c-40f.

Hannah Arendt: The Origins of Totalitarianism, p. 185; for the following quotes see ibid., pp. 192 (\(\gamma\)race(), 194 (\(\gamma\)horror().

was not at all the colour of their skin but the fact that they behaved like a part of nature, that they treated nature as their undisputed master«.

For illustration, Arendt repeatedly drew on references to the >Heart of Darkness< and eventually also used the term with which Conrad's protagonist sums up his experiences in Africa: >the horror<. In her writing, this became the >great horror which had seized European men at their first confrontation with [...] human beings who apparently were as much a part of nature as wild animals
. Difficult not to notice, this judgment was anything but a critical rejection of the intellectual assumptions of race theory. Instead, the latter was embedded in the very philosophy of history that was employed by the Enlightenment to justify the message of the relation between human progress and the hierarchy of races.

Arendt could also have found such a message in ›King Kong‹ – albeit literarily reduced from the literary heights of ›Heart of Darkness‹ to a Hollywood level. Nevertheless, the links between the two remain obvious enough. In the original version, these connections have not only found expression in the name of the monster but also in Kong unambiguously being a gigantified gorilla. As such he is native to a region approximately located in the Congo, though the film island is located somewhere <code>>way</code> west of Sumatra« in the Indian Ocean. In the third instalment of <code>>King Kong‹</code>, the <code>>night</code> of first ages« – including the hint that <code>>there you could look</code> at a thing monstrous and free« – are directly quoted from the <code>>Heart</code> of Darkness‹.

While Conrad's Congo at least pretends to have an actual geographic location, the journey to Kong's island is an altogether imagined travel, leading directly into the racist fantasies of a world designed by whites and shaped by colonialism and imperialism.

It is a journey to an ideological location in which the racist knowledge accumulated during European expansionism is put into action. The setting is either pre-historic or its history is forgotten. The people inhabiting it have seemingly never left the stage of >savagery<. Over the course of the >King Kong< remakes, this impression is additionally amplified by having the natives forfeit their communicational skills.

^{37 &}gt;King Kong (1933), 14:57-14:58; for the name see the rumour that Merian C. Cooper came up with the name >Kong (was a result of having unconsciously internalized stories [...] about the exploration of the Congo (Clifford T. Manlove: An Image of Africa, p. 127

³⁸ King Kong (2005), 54:47-55:20. Cf. Joseph Conrad: Heart of Darkness, p. 35.

While the original film allows for a relatively verbose and unambiguous conversation between the Islanders and the ship's captain, the second instalment at least has the Islanders converse with the expedition crew via gestures. The third movie, however, permits no mediation between the natives and the >whites<, moreover, the abundance of human skulls on the way into the village leaves hardly any doubt that the inhabitants of >Skull Island< are both sanguinary and cannibalistic. In 1933, the audience had to add this message to the filmic images with the help of their own racist knowledge or by referring to the cartoon that was produced to promote the movie.³⁹

Travelling to >Skull Island< thus also becomes travelling back to the alleged >lower stages< of the human race. Its population might have once been a culture capable of architecture. This is emphasized by the giant wall that bisects the island. It was »built so long ago that the people who lived there have slipped back, forgotten the higher civilization that built it«. Its comparison with »Angkor« which is »bigger than this one, and nobody knows who built it«, 40 constructs the current Islanders as more than mere stand-ins for >primitives< – it locates them in a broader racist discourse of socio-historical development between savagery, stagnation and regress that denied the possibility of higher culture outside of Europe.

Kong's island is shaped by the topography of racism; its variations have contributed diverse components. This includes – besides notions of savagery and degeneration or progress and whiteness – the reversal of the human-nature relation that is thought to be a relationship of dominance. >King Kong<, in contrast to >Heart of Darkness<, gives the interconnection a definite reversal. The latter allegorizes power and the temptation of the »immense wilderness« by the »wild and gorgeous apparition of a woman«, who, »like the wilderness itself«, glances at the intruders.⁴¹

In >King Kong<, the eyes of wilderness glance at a woman still linked to it by her sex but at the same time far removed from it by her whiteness. This holds true also for the eyes of the film-savages as well as their apish emperor: they are focussed, as desirous as tragic, on

See the middle image on the cover and the information in the editorial.

41 Joseph Conrad: Heart of Darkness, pp. 60 (>apparition<, immense<), 61 (>wilderness<).</p>

^{40 ›}King Kong‹ (1933), 16:08-16:13 (>slipped back‹), 23:59-24:04 (>nobody knows‹); for >Angkor‹ see Charles Higham: The Civilization of Angor.

humanness that is denied them due to their ascribed primitiveness and animality.

The actual wall in >King Kong< – the movie leaves no doubt about this – divides >white civilization< and >dark savagery<. This is no retroactive interpretation but a deliberate intention: the film's screenplay describes the members of the expedition party (with the exception of the Chinese cook) as whites, 42 while the casting made sure that the >natives< of the movie were represented as a sort of universalized non-whites. The two leading figures of the >savages<, the chief and the witch doctor, were played by an African-American (Noble Johnson) and a Mexican-American of Yaqui origin (Steve Clemente). 43 Other >natives< were also cast with African Americans; in this process, actors with >dark complexion, big lips, and kinky hair
 Were sought after. 44

 Since the movie, at the same time, purported that its island was located somewhere near Sumatra, its >savages
 Were multilaterally compatible in the colonialist-imperialist context.

In the context of the USA, this holds true for the dimensions of the white man's burden« in Latin America, the Caribbean and the Philippines, but it could also be applied with regard to the African Americans within the country. James Snead has described it as part of the »political plot« of the »coded black« and points out the ambiguity of the answer Cooper gives his white female protagonist when questioned about her partner: it was the »tallest, darkest leading man in Hollywood«. Hence, the film's characterization of »Kong as >neither beast nor man« might serve as a racist's description of a black person«. 45 As an »overdetermined racist cultural fantasy«, Kong was the simianized apotheosis of a long tradition of stereotyped associations, or even equations, of black people with apes. 46

An especially vicious campaign operating intensively with these visual tools occurred in the not too distant past of the shooting of >King Kong<. It was directed against the deployment of colonial troops dur-

⁴² See Screenplay of >King Kong<.</p>

⁴³ Cf. Fatimah Tobing Rony: The Third Eye, p. 177. See also Orville Goldner, George E. Turner: The Making of King Kong, p. 84.

Robin R. Means Coleman: Horror Noire, p. 42 (>dark complexion<). One of the black actresses, Sul-Te-Wan, had already acted in >Birth of a Nation<, see the chapter on >Madame Sul-Te-Wan< in Charlene Regester: African American Actresses, pp. 19 ff.

⁴⁵ James Snead: White Screens, Black Images, pp. 17 (>plot<), 8 (>coded black<), 20 (Cooper's answer, >description<).

Elisabeth Young: Here Comes the Bride, pp. 128-142, p. 140.

ing the first world war in Europe and the subsequent occupation of German territories in France. In the context of attempts to discredit the



Fig. 5: ... >freely adapted from Frémiet«

so-called >black shame<, the ape stereotype had been widely utilised.⁴⁷ One of the illustrations shows a large, dark ape, marked as a colonial

⁴⁷ Cf. Iris Wigger: Die Schwarze Schmach. The campaign was also launched internationally, for example in the USA, where it not only found white supporters, it also had to face >black< critique (see Jonathan Wipplinger: Germany), though the dissemination of racist pictures could not be prevented.</p>

soldier by the French military cap, carrying away a naked white woman who is desperately defending herself (see fig. 5).⁴⁸

In this campaign, sexism and racism are multiplicatively interlocked. Certainly, the main focus was the denunciation of <code>>black< sexuality</code> and the dehumanization of French colonial soldiers, who were simultaneously marked as beasts, carriers of diseases, and a danger for the German <code>>racial body<</code>. But the latter definitely also seems endangered by those white women who forgot their <code>>racial honour<</code> and spent their time with African soldiers, had babies with them, or even married them. At the same time, racist agitation was not only nationally oriented, it also aimed at the mobilizing of international solidarity by portraying the deployment of colonial troops in Germany as a problem for the whole <code>>white race<</code>. After all, the soldiers' affiliation with the occupying power would give the impression that they were capable of exercising domination over whites.

With this in mind, the >Notbund gegen die Schwarze Schmach (>Emergency Association for the Combat of the Black Shame () warned the German Reich Chancellor of the impending >race war which would be advanced by »installing coloureds as masters of whites and »virtually educating them to impertinent disdain of the whites 4 In this context, they referred to the »Ethiopian movement and Marcus Garvey, who reclaimed »Africa for the Africans The campaign was thus given a geopolitical dimension, and it was made clear to potential sympathizers that an attack against the whole (>white <) civilization was taking place. It was not least because of this that the white woman, appropriated by the simianized colonial soldier, became a symbol of the defeated Germany and the degradation inflicted on it. In the racist discourse of the time, they represented the menace to the >white world in general.

The message of >King Kong < takes up this racist agitation not just iconographically. By setting the film not only in a prehistoric, as well as wild, >Heart of Darkness <, but by also having a second, likewise important, location in the >Heart of Civilization < – in which Kong ele-

See Simplicissimus, 9.6.1920, p. 168. With the addendum >Frei nach Frémiet
(>freely adapted from Frémiet<), the artist has furthermore noted from where he took the inspiration for his malice – cf. the paper by Wulf D. Hund in this volume and the corresponding fig. 1 (above right). See also Ted Gott: Clutch of the Beast.</p>

⁴⁹ Quoted in Iris Wigger: Die Schwarze Schmach, p. 142; there also the following quote.

vates himself even above its highest building – the film unmistakably puts into the limelight the endangerment of >white supremacy<, conveyed by the endangerment of the white woman.

>Gas Bombs Bring Down Anything<

The narrative of >King Kong< connects two extreme spaces – Kong's arrival in New York puts the imperial metropolis in direct contact with the colonial periphery. Formerly, those living in the colonies were the >savages< who were yet to be (discovered and) civilized. In contrast, those who had already arrived in the metropolis (as slaves, migrants or the like) had been violently assimilated to civilization but were still under suspicion of latent >savagery<.

The contemporaneous discourse, however, makes obvious that the parameters presupposed in this construction – the racist optimism of the Enlightenment and the racist pessimism of Social Darwinism – could no longer be sustained. When the original >King Kong< was shot, day-to-day politics were informed by uprisings of anti-colonial movements in the colonies and internal dislocations in terms of class, >race<, and gender caused by, inter alia, the >Red Scare< after the October Revolution in Russia and the emancipation movements of both the >New Woman< and the >New Negro<.50

After the movie has already solved, in a chauvinistic manner, the women's issue, its second part deals with the race question. This is made especially obvious by having black Kong arrive in an entirely >white< city. The film metropolis has no African American people roaming the streets, riding the train, or attending the exhibition of Kong. By this exclusion, blackness is not just emphasized as a marker of savagery (and thus constructed as the opposite of civilization), it also represents the banishing of all non-whites to the outskirts of the colonial empire, placing them outside of an allegedly purely >white
American society. The narration thus seems to provide a »fantastic way to talk about white fears« and depicts »a comforting Manichean reality for colonial/racist fantasists«.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Cf. Amber Harris Leichner: Harlem and the New Woman; Charlotte J. Rich: Transcending the New Woman; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Gene Andrew Jarrett (eds.): The New Negro; Theodore Kornweibel Jr.: Seeing Red.

Marianna Torgovnick: Gone Primitive, p. 53.

As the sole black entity in New York, Kong is explicitly marked as the intruder that brings a diametrically alien and highly violent threat into white society.⁵² An exchange between two members of the Kong audience is indicative of the actual intentions behind this pointed representation. Asked by his female seatmate what they will see on stage tonight, the man answers: »I hear it's a kind of a gorilla«. The woman grumbles in return: »Gee, haven't we got enough of them in New York?«⁵³ The ›King Kong‹ audience, too, was well aware that the film city was a racially sanitized utopian space, highlighting the alleged racial threat of the present situation.

In the year of the movie's premiere, the percentage of the African American inhabitants of New York had increased almost ninefold.⁵⁴ The >Great Migration from the South to the North had commenced in the mid-1910s and went along with continued segregation, increasing racism and lynching campaigns as well as lack of job opportunities. Nonetheless, the perceived chances for upward social mobility, education, and political activity were welcomed as »a decisive step toward personal autonomy« and encouraged African Americans to move to the urban areas of the North.⁵⁵ The numerical growth of the black population fostered demands for >white preference in employment and housing segregation to counteract white fears of being overrun by the new urbanites.⁵⁶ In this racistly charged atmosphere, the movie caters to the fantasy of an exclusionary urban landscape that offers distraction from the Great Depression.

Other than the actual ethnographic films of the time that were shown in cinemas, Kong is presented to a rather restricted audience. His exhibition is, nonetheless, evocative of the presentation of real natives in artificially erected villages, the so-called human zoos, that, like freak shows, continued to be an ongoing event in the USA and

Following the successes of the civil rights movements, the two remakes of >King Kong
did not perpetuate this segregation and furthermore included one >black
member in the respective expedition parties. The 1976 >King Kong
shows African-Americans partaking in the normal life and events on the streets, riding the train, attending both Kong's premier and demise; the third film presents both white and African-American victims of the Great Depression, showing them as performers and passersby (though none can be spotted in the theatre).

⁵³ King Kong (1933), 1:18:02-1:18:09.

Alan Rice: Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic, p. 194 f.

Joe William Trotter Jr.: Black Migration in Historical Perspective, p. 6.

See Leonard S. Rubinowitz, James E. Rosenbaum: Crossing the Class and Color Lines, p. 19.

were visited by people from all social milieus. The year of the premier of >King Kong<, for instance, saw Chicago hosting a world's fair with the motto >A Century of Progress<. 57 Its guests could, besides enjoying all the technological sensations, still visit >native villages< and a >Darkest Africa< show.

More than being an allusion to these events – and maybe also allowing for some brief reflection on the iniquitousness of uprooting someone from their original life circumstances – Kong's coming to New York is discussed by many current interpretations in the light of the middle passage from Africa to the New World. In this reading, the gorilla becomes an explicit reminder of the injustice done to those brought as slaves to the Americas. The tale of King Kong is then understood as »an allegory of the slave trade«: comprised of a ship »leaving with dangerous >cargo<« that returns »with tamed >cargo<«, 58 his being exhibited to the public, shackled and manacled on a platform, is consequently seen as »a symbol of American slavery«.59 Though in this reading the narration might be considered a >guilty plea< that acknowledges the repercussions of the colonialist and imperialist cause, the subsequent fate of Kong is, in actuality, not a liberation story but emphasizes the threat caused by the unleashing of those brought into the country against their will.

With the movie's careful composition of Kong as being not only a metaphor for the >black man< but also a representative of all >non-white
people, he comes to embody the revenge of the colonized and subjugated: the racialized antagonist to >white
civilization. >King Kong
*takes literally
*the *minplicitly monstrous character
of an *mindigenous person who does not remain in his or her proper place
fo and turns an abstract political danger into an, if only visually, immediately graspable experience. With Kong continuing his rampage despite having already retrieved what he wants, the film convinces its audience that the >black threat
does not stop with the appropriation of the white women – rather, the >beast
aims at the total destruction of society.

⁵⁷ Cf. Robert W. Rydell: World of Fairs; Cheryl R. Ganz: The 1933 Chicago World's Fair; Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Nanette Jacomijn Snoep: Human Zoos.

James Snead: White Screens, Black Images, p. 17; see also id.: Spectatorship and Capture in King Kong, pp. 64, 67.

Alan Rice: Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic, p. 190. See also Steven Rubio: Not the Movie, p. 33; David N. Rosen: King Kong.

⁶⁰ Fatimah Tobing Rony: The Third Eye, p. 155.

Kong thus becomes »the projection of Anglo-America's worst nightmare, the race riot«.⁶¹

Such developments seemed not too implausible, given that the contemporary political climate at the time of >King Kong< was informed by both uprisings in >colonial< settings as well as civil right movements on the northern US-American doorstep.

All over the world, European colonizers and settlers found themselves confronted with challenges to their claim to supremacy. The victory of Japan over Russia in the battle of Tsushima in 1905 had already challenged the allegedly decisive >white superiority< and >>galvanised colonised people everywhere, from Africa, to Asia, to the Americas«.62 Scholars like Charles H. Pearson, Lothrop Stoddard and Madison Grant warned against the >rising of the coloured tide< and the waning of >white supremacy(.63 Grant, in particular, would have been quite well suited as a co-director of >King Kong(. A passionate big game hunter, he would have been the ideal comrade in the jungle of >Skull Island. As the co-founder and president of the Zoological Society, he had already gained experience with racist simianization and human zoos: in his Bronx Zoo, Ota Benga had been exhibited as >African Pygmy in a monkey cage - along with an orang-utan, a parrot, and suggestively scattered bones. As a member of several eugenic societies, he represented the fears about the endangerment of the >white race (not least by the >white woman(), which he also disseminated through his alarmist book about the >coloured peril<.64

The actual global developments of the time seemed to further substantiate Grant's and Stoddard's >warnings<. The first decades of the 20th century were ripe with examples of anti-colonial uprisings and fights for independence. Amongst others, commencing in 1919, the >Great Arab< insurrection fought against colonialism and ended eight years later with the independence of Iraq. The 1920s, too, saw waves of anti-colonial resistance in the Western Pacific (Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Nauru), and in the Rif War of Moroccans attempting to free themselves of Spanish colonial rule. At the time of the shooting of >King Kong<,

⁶¹ Alan Rice: Radial Narratives of the Black Atlantic, pp. 194 f. See also James Snead: White Screens, Black Images, p. 196.

⁶² Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds: Drawing the Global Colour Line, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Cf. Charles Pearson: National Life and Character; Lothrop Stoddard: The Rising Tide of Colour; Madison Grant: The Passing of the Great Race.

⁶⁴ Cf. Jonathan Peter Spiro: Defending the Master Race.

the Saya San Rebellion in British Burma had just ended.⁶⁵ The dissatisfaction with the status quo, in addition to the shared »identity born out of a common experience of Western domination«, »transcended the confines of a single colony«, and its occasional paroxysms had »sufficient force to be of concern to the colonial powers«.⁶⁶

Besides these struggles in the colonies, the contemporary US political landscape was informed by news and national discussions concerning the South-North migration of African Americans, civil rights movements in favour of African-American equality, and questions of eugenics pertaining not only to immigration but also to the population already in the USA. An uprising of African Americans was the ultimate white nightmare, bringing up memories of past slave insurrections and contemporary fears of a black urban revolt. Fresh in the mind of the King Kong audience was the memory of black involvement in the national hunger marches of 1931 and 1932 that were lauded as minterracial solidarity by the Communist Party. The number of black colleges surged in the early 1930s and gave further pressure to the demand for equalization, also supported by sections of the labour movement.

Moreover, the threat of eradication was substantiated by the continuation of lynching campaigns against Blacks. One case was still in the process of unfolding its full significance when >King Kong< was shot and screened. In August 1930, a lynch mob abducted three African American men who had been arrested, inter alia, on charge of the rape of a white woman. Two of them, Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, after having been violently beaten, were hanged from a tree. The photograph of their lynching was widely circulated as an act of celebration; but this inspired Abel Meeropol, a communist and union-linked Jewish teacher from New York, to write a critical poem that later became a famous song: >Strange Fruit

⁶⁵ Cf. Barrie Macdonald: Britain, p. 173 (Western Pacific); Spencer D. Segalla: The Moroccan Soul, pp. 172 f.; Sunil S. Amrith: Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia, p. 94 f. (Saya San).

Frank Füredi: Colonial Wars and the Politics of the Third World Nationalism, pp. 22 f.

⁶⁷ Mark Solomon: The Cry Was Unity, p. 153.

⁶⁸ Cf. Doug McAdam: Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, pp. 100 f.

⁶⁹ Cf. Dora Apel, Shawn Michelle Smith: Lynching Photographs, pp. 39, 45; Wulf D. Hund: Negative Vergesellschaftung, p. 7.

In this context, Kong in New York is a rather worrisome depiction of the arrival of the >black danger< in the >white< metropolis. But before Kong can be put on display in New York, he had to be hunted down on his island. For this, the expedition party utilizes gas. Its impact has previously been tested by them when combating the dinosaurs on the island, and the expedition leader assures his team: »I told you those gas bombs would bring down anything«. 70 This weapon is also deployed against Kong and enables them to capture him alive.

This scene had a significant allusion. After the experience with chemical weapons in World War I, the >Geneva Gas Protocol< of 1925 banned the first use of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases. Nevertheless, in colonial contexts, Great Britain dropped gas grenades on rebelling Afghans and Iraqis, Spain used chemical weapons during the Rif War in Morocco, and Italy utilized gas against the Libyans in the 1920s. Winston Churchill, serving as Great Britain's Secretary of State for War at that time, laconically noted: »I do not understand this squeamishness about the use of gas. I am strongly in favour of using poison gas against uncivilised tribes«.71

The bringing of Kong to the metropolis is therefore precisely not a sign of a civilizing mission; rather, it lays the foundation for the annihilation of the beast. The alleged necessity to take down the ape is, of course, a highly exterminist message – the inevitability of which is blamed on the uncontrollability of the >beast< itself. Kong is a >monstrous rampaging other«, who could only be subdued >by the utilization of Western knowledge and weapons technology«. To the end, Kong climbs the (at the time only recently finished) Empire State Building to rebel one last time. The gas bombs were sufficient to take down Kong in order to ship him to New York. But his presence in the midst of >civilization< and his demonstration of uncontrollable violence require the deployment of heavier artillery – the war against the >apish terror< eventually becomes a national matter.

The film's final showdown makes more obvious than ever before that the directors' insinuation that >Beauty killed the Beast< is a menda-

⁷⁰ → King Kong (1933), 46:02-46:03.

⁷¹ Quoted in Dominik J. Schaller: Genocide and Mass Violence in the >Heart of Dark-

Alan Rice: Radical Narratives of the Black Atlantic, p. 189.

cious attempt of justification.⁷³ Cooper and Schoedsack – who were the ones initiating the whole journey into the >Heart of Darkness<, including the subsequent threat to >white< civilization by a ferocious black monster – are now taking care of the problem they have stylized as a race war. Its first battle against the >savages< of >Skull Island<, they had left to celluloid creatures; the final battle against the black beast in rebellion, they tackle in person.





Fig. 6: ... exterminating the brute

In this process, their action is by no means second to Kurtz's famous injunction »Exterminate all the brutes«.⁷⁴ For its realization, the directors literally put themselves into the picture – specifically into the fighter plane – to take down Kong: Cooper acts as pilot, Schoedsack mans the machine gun (fig. 6).⁷⁵ Here, only the stubbornest of minds can miss hearing the voice resonating from the archives of colonialism. It comes, once again, from Winston Churchill and celebrates the colonial deployment of the machine gun as »the most signal triumph ever gained by the arms of science over barbarians«.⁷⁶

- Nonetheless, this statement has been repeatedly maintained without being questioned in numerous interpretations see, for example, Dagmar C. G. Lorenz: Transatlantic Perspectives on Men, Women, and Other Primates, p. 162; John C. Wright: 'Twas Beauty Killed the Beast, p. 205; Mike Phillips: Sex with Black Men, p. 936; Adam Roberts: Why Does My Daughter Love King Kong So Much, p. 136; David N. Rosen: King Kong.
- ⁷⁴ For the broader significance of this quotation of Kurtz's, see Sven Lindqvist: Exterminate all the Brutes. For the following quotation by Winston Churchill and its historical context, see Berny Sèbe: Justifying New Imperialism, p. 62.

See Ray Morton: King Kong, pp. 6 f., 33.

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The Yellow Monkey Simianizing the Japanese

Susan C. Townsend

Abstract: As the only Asian country to remain free from Western domination in the 19th Century, Japan was unique. The gunboat enforced signing of the >unequal treaties
in the 1850s was considered a price worth paying for independence. So impressive was the Meiji government's program of reform after 1868 that (in the >West<) the Japanese became known as the >Englishmen of the East
However, Japan's military victories over China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05) simultaneously posed a threat while Japanese immigration to North America and Australia caused a racist backlash. Japanese were described as >yellow monkeys
and, during the Pacific War, simian imagery was rife in Allied media. Although using a rather narrow framework, John Dower's analysis of the extent and impact of racism in the Pacific War was ground-breaking at the time. However, this article seeks to re-examine anti-Japanese simianization and Japanese responses in the light of recent scholarship on constructions of race in East Asia and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's study of monkey symbolism in Japanese culture.

In a letter to the Times on 7 October 1905 the manager of the newspaper's Publications Department criticized the Bishop of Tokyo for suggesting that »a Japanese would value the promise of an Englishman more than the bond of a Japanese«. On the contrary, Japanese customers who had purchased sets of the Encyclopaedia Britannica on instalment plans had proved much more punctilious than its English customers in paying up, even in the midst of war. He continued: »When I see a Bishop of the Church of England, who has lived in Japan since 1898, write with so little appreciation of the Japanese, I wonder whether some of our countrymen are not as blind as the Russian statesman who, in the early days of the war, described the Japanese as yyellow monkeys««.1

Times, 7.10.1905 (The Character Of The Japanese People).

172 Susan C. Townsend

The Russo-Japanese War astonished the »White World« by ending in Japanese victory in September 1905, marking an important turning point in Japanese self-perception and redefining the relationship between Japan and the West.² The ›Times‹ letter encapsulates the ambivalence of Westerners towards the Japanese; admired by some for their state-sponsored progress towards ›civilization and enlightenment‹, on the one hand, and derided as ›inferior‹ on the other. Although anti-yellow propaganda has a much longer history in denigrating the Chinese, the war was instrumental in linking Japanese immigrants to the ›Yellow Peril‹ in the United States.³

Moreover, in describing the Japanese as >yellow monkeys(a racial paradigm based on skin-colour combined with one based on Darwin's theory of evolutionary development. In the 19th Century, British and American periodicals used Darwinian theory to simianize the Irish. Charles Kingsley was apparently >haunted(by the sight of >white chimpanzees(in Ireland; had the chimpanzees been black it would not have been so >dreadful(...4 Even in simian imagery the importance of a racial hierarchy based on skin colour is unmistakeable with >white(Caucasians at the top and >black(Africans at the bottom and >yellow(Asians somewhere in the middle. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, in December 1941, simianization of the Japanese, particularly in visual media, played an important role in Allied propaganda.

This article aims, firstly, to locate anti-Japanese simianization within the broader historical context of Western representations of Otherness. Although not always overtly >simian<, a wide variety of racial stereotypes of the Japanese feed into the categories of >inhuman<, >subhuman< or >superhuman< signified by the >monkey< or >ape< analogy. The second aim is to re-evaluate the function of the simian metaphor as a two-way process in which the Japanese are not merely the Orientalized other — >something to act upon
, as one Japanese philosopher put it⁵ – but in which they are active, reactive and sometimes complicit.

The terms >White World< and >post-White Power< are widely used by the >enfant terrible< of the Japanese history of ideas, David Williams. For a critique see Kenn Nakata Steffensen: The Kyoto School, American empire and the post-white world.</p>

See Yellow Promise/Yellow Peril (>Chinese<) and David Wells, Sandra Wilson: Introduction, p. 23 (>Japanese<).</p>

⁴ Martin Forker: The Use of the >Cartoonist's Armoury in Manipulating Public Opinion, p. 60; see also the chapter of Steve Garner in this volume.

Keiji Nishitani, 26.11.1941, cited in David Williams: The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance, p. 116.

(Mis)perceptions of the Other: East and West

Europeans' first encounter with Asia in the 16th century was relatively colour blind. Portuguese and Spanish visitors to Japan invariably described the inhabitants' skin colour as white. The Chinese too were described as white and, like the Japanese, as civilized. The identification of East Asians (a term invented by Europeans) as yellow-skinned appeared shortly after notions of a Mongolian race gained currency. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach was the first to describe the Mongolian race as wyellow and rather olive-tinged in 1795.

It was only in the late 1800s that the increasing visibility of East Asians in the West led to animosity and blatant racist stereotyping based on physical characteristics. Anti-yellow propaganda was initially directed towards immigrants arriving in increasing numbers in the United States and British White Dominions. Chinese, Koreans, Japanese and other minorities were regarded as one undifferentiated syellow races.

The term >Yellow Perila arose after the Treaty of Shimonoseki ended the first Sino-Japanese War on 17 April 1895. The terms of the treaty posed a considerable threat to Germany, prompting Kaiser Wilhelm II to make a sketch >Against the Yellow Perila. He was apparently influenced by Australian Charles Pearson's views in >National Life and Characters.

Germany also joined with France and Russia in the so-called >Triple Intervention(which forced Japan to renounce some of her claims, a deeply humiliating and bitter reminder that they were on >unequal(terms with the West. Anti-yellow propaganda led to increasing racial tensions in countries where Japanese immigrants and their descendants had settled.

In Canada and Australia, as well as the United States, anti-immigrant campaigns, while not overtly simianizing the Japanese, stereotyped them in other ways. Attitudes towards East Asians in Australia were encapsulated by the >Keep Australia White< campaign.8 However,

⁶ Cf. Walter Demel, Rotem Kowner: Early Modern European Divisions of Mankind and East Asians, 1500-1750, pp. 46, 48; for the following (>Blumenbach<) see Walter Demel: How the Mongoloid Race Came into Being, p. 68.

Of. Rotem Kowner: Between Contempt and Fear, p. 117 and Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds: Drawing the Global Colour Line, pp. 289 f.

⁸ Cf. Stefanie Affeldt: Consuming Whiteness.

174 Susan C. Townsend

anti-yellow sentiment, originally directed at the Chinese, was most virulent in the United States, despite the fact that, between 1881 and 1930, Japanese >issei< (first generation settlers) constituted just one percent of immigrants. A voluntary restriction on the immigration of Japanese male labourers in 1907, the so-called >Gentlemen's Agreement<, was mutually agreed between the United States and the Meiji government, but did little to defuse racial tensions. Japanese immigrants became scapegoats for a variety of social ills and were accused of spreading disease and burdening the health service. In Los Angeles, public health officials routinely used four racial categories in their reports, white, Mexican, Japanese, and other. Yet according to a 1917-18 health report, out of a total county population of 975 709, only 10 000 were Mexican and 7 500 Japanese.

The perceived threat posed by Japanese immigration was illusory, but while the views stated above were not supported by every American, ¹⁰ the consequences were dire. The 1924 Immigration Act prevented all Japanese immigration, causing further humiliation after the failure of Japanese delegates to insert a racial equality clause into the League of Nations Charter in 1919. ¹¹

Many Japanese believe that the Act contributed to the outbreak of the Pacific War which led to the internment of 112 000 Japanese-Americans after President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 in February 1942. Harry Kitano, who was interned in Utah, little doubted »that the primary cause of the wartime evacuation was West Coast racism«. While simian imagery was largely absent from racialized anti-immigrant discourse, Japanese-Americans were nevertheless dehumanized, corralled and imprisoned.

The anti-immigration issue caused deep resentment in Japan, but intellectuals such as Ryutarō Nagai turned Western racism back on itself by countering with discussions about a >White Peril in 1913.¹³ The generally enthusiastic adoption of Western racial worldviews made the

9 Natalia Molina: Fit to Be Citizens?, pp. 54 ff.

On 1 July 1924 Japan observed a National Humiliation Day«; see Naoko Shimazu: Japan, Race and Equality.

Harry H. L. Kitano: Japanese-Americans, p. 43.

Nagai's >The White Peril (first appeared in English in 1913 – reproduced in Sven Saaler, Christopher Szpilman (eds.): Pan-Asianism, pp. 164-168.

Protestant missionaries consistently and vocally defended the right of free movement as a constituent part of Christian belief; see Jennifer C. Snow: Protestant Missionaries, Asian Immigrants and Ideologies of Race in America, p. xiv.

Japanese both unique and complicit, since they also applied Darwinian racial theories to subjugated peoples in their empire and occupied territories. By the 1930s, intellectuals justified their government's policies in China through sophisticated debates about race. In this respect the Kyoto School of Philosophy¹⁴ has courted considerable controversy. During a series of three symposia, held between November 1941 and November 1942, discussion turned to Japan's position in the Western racial hierarchy. Iwao Kōyama encapsulated the sophistication of their response to Western racism: »[The temptation] to conclude that one civilization is superior when in fact it is merely different only arises when that civilization exerts its powers outside its natural sphere or homeland. The values at work in judging the relative superiority or inferiority are created from the encounter between civilizations«.¹⁵

Japanese travelling abroad became aware, firstly, that they were virtually indistinguishable from the Chinese and, secondly, that their own self-perception of being an advanced nation was undermined by the supposed >taint< of yellowness. Ayu Majima describes how some Japanese developed a type of >skin color melancholy«.

The eminent Meiji novelist Sōseki Natsume stated: »We Japanese are like small monkeys with an earth-like skin color, so it is understandable that the Westerners deride us«.¹6 In the 1930s, the author Jun'ichirō Tanizaki was obsessed by the skin of the »yellow races«, particularly in women. No matter how much Japanese women try to appear white »they could not efface the darkness that lay below their skin [...;] when one of us goes among a group of Westerners it is like a grimy stain on a sheet of white paper. The sight offends even our own eyes«. The fact that both Natsume and Tanizaki were able to empathise with white attitudes to »colored persons« demonstrates the extent to which they internalized Western racism in a kind of »moral masochism«.¹7

A network of young philosophers founded by Kitarō Nishida and Hajime Tanabe in the 1920s. In Western scholarship debate rages around the issue of whether Nishida and his followers resisted or colluded in the >fascism< of the wartime period. For an overview, see John C. Maraldo: The War Over the Kyoto School.

Cited in David Williams: The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance, pp. 120,

Söseki Natsume: London Shosoku (1901), cited in Ayu Majima: Skin Color Melancholy in Modern Japan, p. 396.

Jun'ichirō Tanizaki: In Praise of Shadows, pp. 48 ff. (>skin<, >persons<), Marquerita Long: This Perversion Called Love, p. 37 (>masochism<).</p>

The Monkey as Mirror in Japanese Culture

»Monkeys and Apes have a privileged relation to nature and culture for Western people: Simians occupy the border zones between those potent mythic poles«.¹8 Donna Harraway argues that primatology in the West is a type of »Simian Orientalism«. Since Western constructions of self utilize the »raw material of the other«, Orientalism creates representations of the peoples of the ›Near‹ and ›Far‹ East which mirror the Occident. Similarly, since the production of culture appropriates nature, discourse around primates is constructed in such a way that they are considered to mirror humans.

However, primate observers in Japan view the relationship between human and ape differently. While Western primatologists tend to see primates and humans as sharing an animal nature, in Japanese culture nature itself is a social object and monkeys are able to cross the nature/culture divide. Thus, the Japanese see humans and apes as existing in unity. Indeed, some Japanese scientists believe that animals have souls and hold memorial services for monkeys who have died in their care. ¹⁹ Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's argument about the function of the monkey metaphor is based on Shinto and Buddhist concepts of unity between human and animal, as well as Japanese notions about the double-sided relationship between individual and society. The monkey is key to the fundamental question of »who are we as humans vis-à-vis animals and as Japanese vis-à-vis foreigners«?²⁰

In the West, Greek philosophers used the monkey to gauge man's relationship to all other beings.²¹ However, whereas the monkey was not native to Europe, the Japanese macaque lives in close proximity to humans and is unique among animals in featuring so strongly in Japanese deliberations about themselves. Observers noted that the monkey is a profoundly social, group-oriented animal. The trait of interdependence rather than independence is one which is recognised as being particularly strong in Japanese social structure.

Donna Haraway: Primate Visions, p. 1; for the following see ibid., pp. 11 (vorientalist view), 245 ff. (Japanese view).

Pamela J. Asquith: The Monkey Memorial Service of Japanese Primatologists, p. 3. Kyoto University's Primate Research Institute holds an annual >sarukyō‹ or monkey memorial service officiated over by Buddhist priests.

²⁰ Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney: The Monkey as Self in Japanese Culture, p. 128.

²¹ Cf. Catherine Connors: Monkey Business, p. 184.

The monkey functions as a >polytropic < symbol which can transform into different tropes, or narrative types, depending on context. In both Shintoism and Buddhism, the boundaries between animal and human are extremely fluid, allowing transmigration between the religious and secular.²² The ability to cross semantic and cultural divides makes the monkey a Janus-faced animal, at one time both higher and lower than humans. In a popular, 16th Century tale (otogizōshi), the monkey is both a manifestation of a mountain deity (the protector of Mt. Hiei, the centre of Tendai Buddhism) and the Trickster (the performing monkey). This dual nature is also illustrated by the Chinese tale of the Monkey King (>Journey to the West() which is still popular in Japan. The story combines two narratives, the oldest telling of a trickster monkey (an immortal who wreaks havoc in Heaven until the Buddha imprisons him), and a later, extant narrative which sees the monkey released, tamed and then converted into a warrior-pilgrim accompanying the monk Xuan-zang (Tripitaki) on his mission to the West.

The meaning of the monkey metaphor changes over time in Japan. The Monkey Deity, >Saruta Biko<, features prominently in the ancient chronicles, the >Kojiki< (712) and >Nihongi< (720) as a mediator. During the medieval period (1185-1603) the Japanese believed in the supernatural powers of the monkey to maintain the health of humans and particularly horses by acting as a shamanistic mediator between the mountain deity and humans. However, by the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the monkey trope was used negatively to refer to >special status groups< existing outside the warrior, farmer, artisan and merchant status-hierarchy. Known as >senmin< (despised people) or >hinin< (non-humans), these groups included beggars, prostitutes, street-performers, and a >subcaste< group known as >burakumin< (lit. people of the village community) who deal with activities such as butchery, tanning or disposing of dead bodies proscribed or seen as unclean un-

²² Cf. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney: Monkey as Metaphor, pp. 90 f. (>boundaries<); for the following see Lone Takeuchi: An >Otogizōshi< in Context, p. 30 (>otogizōshi<); Whalen Lai: From Protean Ape to Handsome Saint, pp. 30-31, 40 (>Chinese tale<).</p>

178 Susan C. Townsend

der Buddhist teaching.²⁴ The monkey was also a scapegoat for human victims of disease, especially smallpox. If a monkey kept in a room with an infected human died, it was expected that the human would live and vice-versa.²⁵

These negative tropes continued in more recent times when animals were seen, particularly in plebeian culture, as lowly creatures lacking supernatural powers. The monkey's closeness to humans, instead of being a force for good as in the medieval period, was uncomfortable and humiliating, causing people to distance themselves by making fun of the monkey and pointing to the ugliness of its eyes, nose and buttocks. After 1868, newspaper editorials reprimanded Japanese for engaging in >monkey imitation of the West. However, there are signs that the monkey has been rehabilitated. During the repressive Tokugawa period, the Three Wise Monkeys who >see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil, were a self-portrayal of the common people who neither see, hear nor speak of social ills. However, in contemporary Japan, socalled >Shōwa sanzaru (Showa period (1926-1989) three monkeys) or >sakasazaru((inverted monkeys) are sold in parks as souvenirs and represent the modern, progressive stance of the new Japan encouraging us to examine, listen and speak out.

Just as monkeys were a metaphor for self within Japanese society, in the West, the monkey was a symbol of otherness. After the West's gunboat diplomacy forced open Japan's ports to trade in the 1850s, the Japanese were perplexed to find that they were increasingly being stereotyped as other and as other monkeys.

Simianization as Satire

In the first few decades after 1858, the Japanese were seen predominantly, as »small, ugly, kindly-looking, shrivelled, bandy-legged, con-

Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney: The Monkey as Self in Japanese Culture, pp. 132-136; for the following see ibid. and id. Monkey as Metaphor, p. 91.

Japan was not a caste society in the Indian sense. However, in Tokugawa Japan, a large body of people were effectively outside normal boundaries, thus warranting the term >subcaste< - cf. Marius Jansen: The Making of Modern Japan, p. 121. Now known as >hisabetsu burakumin
(people of the discriminated community), this group is virtually indistinguishable from the Japanese in appearance, but their names were held in separate registers and they once existed on the fringes of other villages, or on the outskirts of cities and towns. They are still discriminated against today - cf. Ian Neary: Political Protest and Social Control in Pre-war Japan.

cave-chested, poor-looking beings«,26 but basically harmless. Even Lafcadio Hearn, the most positive of Japan interpreters, described Japan as quaint in the 1890s: »Elfish everything seems; for everything as well as everybody is small, queer, and mysterious«.27 The trend towards simianization of the Japanese can be detected in these earlier descriptions. However, in European dress they appeared clownish to European eyes and eventually they were satirized as >aping< European dress and manners.

The French illustrator Georges Bigot caricatured a Japanese couple at the Rokumeikan in European dress looking in a mirror and seeing themselves reflected back as apes.²⁸ Published in the satirical journal >Tôbaé in 1887, this is one of the first simian images of the Japanese and is a powerful comment on what the Japanese themselves called >monkey imitation(.²⁹ The image is meant to illustrate the gap between Japanese aspiration and what one commentator called the »grossness and indecency« found in Japanese amusements which indicated that the Japanese were »a primitive race«.30 It reflected the »patronising and condescending attitudes«31 found in the pages of popular British periodicals such as >The Graphic<, for whom Bigot also worked. While the Japanese were invariably portrayed more favourably than the Chinese, they were highly regarded only because »the Japanese are incomparably superior to their neighbours in one important particular, the power of deriving improvement from association with a more highly cultivated race«.32

As Thomas Otte suggested: »British official views of the Far East revolved far more around ideas of civilizational attainment and material progress than around concepts of >race< as such«.33 Referred to initially as "the French of the Orient" and then as "the English of the East«, the Japanese were increasingly perceived as successful imitators, rather than comical mimics in ill-fitting European dress. High-quality

- Isabella Bird: Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, p. 4.
- Lafcadio Hearn: Writings from Japan, p. 21. On the reception of Hearn's writing in 27 Japan, see Nanyan Guo: Interpreting Japan's Interpreters.
- 28 See http://www.ndl.go.jp/en/publication/ndl_newsletter/188/882.html, photo 9.
- [National Diet Library]: Exhibition. >The Graphic<, 30.4.1870, (>Shampooing in Japan<), p. 4. It should be noted that >shampooing< was a euphemism for massage.
- Hugh Cortazzi: Historical Perspectives, p. xii.
- >The Graphic<, 5.2.1870, (>Japan<), p. 3.
- Thomas G. Otte: >A Very Great Gulf<, p.130.

Susan C. Townsend

engravings portrayed the Japanese, especially women, as dignified and without the exaggerated >Oriental< facial features characteristic of later racial stereotypes. On the other hand, a column accompanying a portrait of a heavily be-whiskered Ōkubo Toshimichi who was then Home Minister felt obliged to point out to readers that »[n]otwithstanding the English appearance of his photograph, Okubo is a Japanese«.³⁴

Indeed, by the 1870s, a Japan craze was at its height in France (Japonisme) and Britain (Aesthetic Movement and the Cult of Japan) and, in 1876, >The Graphic carried an article attacking the irresponsible plundering of Japan's art.³⁵ In a reversal of Bigot's cartoon of Japanese imitating the West, by the 1880s, adherents of Aestheticism and Japonisme were mercilessly parodied and satirized in the media.

The Gendered Simian

The ridicule heaped upon the Cult of Japan did little to stem enthusiastic reportage on Japan in the early 1890s. In particular, dozens of engravings and photographs of Japanese women were published. The negative physical stereotyping of Japanese was almost exclusively directed at men. Women, on the other hand, were admired not only for their beauty but also for their charm, manners and devotion to their menfolk and children.

In 1893, >The Graphic< ran a short column entitled »Types of Eastern Beauty« which was accompanied by four photographs of >Orientalised< women: a Burmese Girl, a Tamil Woman, a Japanese Girl and a >Femme Voilée< from Egypt. While three were described only briefly, the writer applauded »this thoroughly representative Japanese girl« as an example of the »good-natured, laughter-loving, polite little natives of the Mikado's country. Always in a good humour, always lively, and ready for a joke, the Japanese girl seems to ingratiate herself with every one alike — old and young«.36 This stereotype of Japanese women was satirized in >Punch< as early as 1858. In reference to a >Times< article describing a wearied Western traveller in Japan resigning »himself to the ministrations of a bevy of fair [Japanese] damsels«, the >Punch< cartoon depicts a man back at home lounging on a sofa being assidu-

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<sup>34</sup> The Graphic, 23.1.1875 (The Japanese Minister Okubo, p. 43.
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³⁵ The Graphic (, 24.6.1876 ()Old Japan (), pp. 51-52.

^{36 →} The Graphic 〈, 7.10.1893 (>Types of Eastern Beauty 〈), pp. 194 f.

ously attended to by six Englishwomen with the caption: »And by all means let us have Japanese manners and customs here«.³⁷



Fig. 1: Caged in Yoshiwara

Such was the adulation of Japanese women in the media that it prompted an anonymous Yokohama correspondent to write a vicious riposte which includes a rare instance of the simianization of Japanese women (see fig. 1). The poem entitled »O Sino San!: A truthful Japanese Idyll« appeared in ›Punch‹ in 1893. It claimed that men had been deceived by the media image of Japanese women: »O Sino San! O Sino San! Who waketh me at morn! | Why is it that I feel of thee unutterable scorn? | When I behold thy greasy poll and little piggy eyes, | I fear that they have told of thee unwarrantable lies«! Beginning with one animalistic image; the »piggy eyes«, the fifth verse goes on to describe her apish ancestors and her caged condition: »Your senseless, everlasting grin, your squatting monkey shape | Proclaim your Ma marsupial, your ancestor an ape! [...] We read of thee in tea-house neat, in cherry-blossomed pages | But find a girl of gin-saloon and Yoshiwara cages«.³⁸

^{37 &}gt;Punch<, 13.11.1858, p. 196.

³⁸ → Punch<, 27.3.1893, (>O Sino San!<), p. 249.

In the midst of such racist invective, the >poet<, perhaps unwittingly, uncovers a harsh truth about the treatment of lower-class Japanese women that remained hidden from the genteel readers of >The Graphic<. Thousands of girls were >sold< to textile mills by poverty-stricken rural families. Some workers were treated little better than slaves and imprisoned in disease infested dormitories. Other women ended up as prostitutes in bars and bathhouses or, more shockingly, those working in less expensive brothels were seated behind wooden latticed windows called >harimise< in the red light district of Yoshiwara in Tokyo.³⁹ These sights shocked foreign visitors and, as a result of this and pressure from Japanese movements protesting against licensed prostitution, the Japanese government outlawed the practise of displaying prostitutes behind >harimise< in 1916.⁴⁰

Equivocal Apes

The First World War changed the balance of power between Britain, the United States and Japan. The granting of the former German colonies to Japan under the League of Nations Covenant in 1918 made Japan into one of the >advanced< nations of the world. However, Japanese incursions into Manchuria from 18 September 1931 confirmed Western suspicions about Japanese aggression. When a Chinese appeal to the League of Nations was upheld leading to demands for Japan to evacuate troops from Manchuria, the Foreign Minister, Yōsuke Matsuoka, staged a dramatic exit from the League of Nations Assembly on 24 February 1933. The stage was set for the emergence of a new type of anti-Japanese sentiment which reached its most powerful expression in wartime cartoons.

David Low, described as »perhaps the most influential political cartoonist and caricaturist of the twentieth century«,⁴¹ was born in New Zealand and worked for the Australian Sydney >Bulletin« before arriving in London in 1919. Over a fifty-year career he produced over 14 000 drawings and worked for more than 200 newspapers and maga-

³⁹ Cf. Cecilia Segawa Seigle: Yoshiwara; see https://c2.staticflickr.com/4/3102/2334 556526_590544618a_b.jpg (>Caged< women in Yoshiwara, photograph, end of the 19th century).

Sheldon Garon: The World's Oldest Debate?, p. 717.

David Low Biography (www.cartoons.ac.uk/artists/davidlow/biography – 2.2. 2015).

zines worldwide. He was a fierce opponent of appeasement, and critical of the League of Nations. In November 1931, he published a cartoon with the caption »Will the League stand up to Japan«?⁴² The context is Japan's continued non-compliance with the League's request, on 30 September, that troops be withdrawn from the disputed territory. It depicts a pure-white female judge sitting at a brightly-lit desk and writing in a ledger under the heading »International Law«. On the back of her chair is written »moral authority«, but a small figure representing the »Jap War Party« is busily sawing off a back leg. The darkness, dimly seen as ape-like, advances towards her desk. Six days later, Low depicted a white woman, »Civilization«, holding a newspaper with the headline »Better News from the League«. At her feet »scraps of paper« are burning. A horse called »Nightmare II«, with its ape-jockey is being led by »Japan« while »Statesmanship« is covering his eyes with his hat and holding on to the horse's tail.⁴³



Fig. 2: Nightmare on horseback

Both cartoons warn about the threat that Japan posed not just to Chinese sovereign integrity but also to the moral authority of the white world symbolized by the League of Nations. In particular, Japan was considered to have breached the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, one of a number of U.S.-brokered deals designed to maintain the balance of power in East Asia and recognised as international law. While neither the »Jap War Party« nor »Japan« are depicted as apes, Japan is seen here leading the world into the nightmare of war and barbarism represented as apes. While the term »Jap« is derogatory, rather than being simply anti-Japanese, Low's barbs are aimed at the League's diplomatic incompetence and lack of leadership. Nevertheless, Low portrays

See https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record-image/standard/DL0602.

⁴³ Cf. Evening Standard, 23.11.1931.

184 Susan C. Townsend



Der gemeine gelbe Schweinsaffe. Heimat: Japan. Eigenschaften: Diebisch und undankbar.

Fig. 3: Squaring animalization: $pig\ x\ monkey$

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the Manchurian Crisis in binary oppositions of light and dark, civilization (the >White World<) and barbarity (the Japanese).⁴⁴

The Threatening Simian

In August 1914 both Japan and China declared war on Germany. The Japanese bombardment of Tsingtao and seizure of the Kiauchou Bay concession, a German-leased territory since 1898, led to a spate of anti-Japanese propaganda in the German media. Several cartoons depict Japan as a simian hybrid or monkey stealing the <code>nut()</code> or <code>cake()</code> of Kiauchou (see fig. 3). In one, Kiauchou was depicted as a cactus (symbolizing German military power), approached by a monkey in Japanese uniform on a leash held by a scrawny John Bull. The caption reads: <code>"The gemeine"</code> yellow pig-monkey("—"") — "Homeland: Japan. Attributes: Thievish and ungrateful(". The German adjective <code>"gemein()</code> is equivocal, zoologically meaning <code>"common()</code>, but morally connoting <code>"mean()</code>, <code>"nasty()</code>, and <code>"wicked()</code>.

During the Pacific War, as Dower noted, the »coarseness and pervasiveness of plain anti-»yellow« race hate [...] is as shocking in retrospect as is the popularity of simian imagery«.⁴⁶ An American poster bearing the caption >This is the Enemy« depicts a simianized Japanese soldier abducting a white woman, thus echoing the King-Kong fantasy.⁴⁷ The image is sexually charged, contrasting the vulnerable, fleshywhite purity of the slim, elongated form of a naked woman carried on the shoulder of a stooping, dusky-yellow, hybrid man-ape. The figures emerge from a scene evoking Dante's Hell; two hanged figures are seen in flames fringing darker scenes of atrocities enacted in the distance. This and other posters, submitted to a competition in 1942, were clear-

Otherwise, Low attacked ideas, as well as nations, as ape-like. In 1936, he featured %anti-Semitism« as a large ape arriving at a British railway station accompanied by porters carrying luggage labelled »Criminal Lunatics Asylum«, and marked with swastikas (cf. ›Evening Standard«, 8.1.1936 (›Foreign Visitors for the Easter Holidays« – http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record-image/standard/DL1084). In 1940, a caged Pétain representing »Unoccupied France«, is surrounded by gorillas wearing swastika armbands (cf. ›Evening Standard«, 20.9.1940 (›He Asked for Peace« – http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record-image/standard/LSE2839).

⁴⁵ Der gemeine gelbe Schweinsaffe, contemporary German postcard; cf. Sepp Linhart: Niedliche Japaner, oder Gelbe Gefahr, p. 100.

John Dower: War Without Mercy, p. 10.

⁴⁷ See https://rhapsodyinbooks.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/us_propaganda_japane se_enemy.jpg.

ly meant to elicit fear and horror. Writing in the 1930s, Walter Lippmann theorized that the pictures people carry around in their heads, which he called >stereotypes< (thus coining the term), are instrumental in shaping public opinion about what is true or false about a report and how relevant it is to everyday lives.⁴⁸

Equally effective in influencing public opinion, however, was the picture of the enemy as small, clownish and ridiculous, especially after the Battle of Midway confirmed U.S. supremacy in the Pacific in November 1942. Admiral William Halsey in a ceremony honouring 40 American heroes stated, we will show them that every one of you is a better man than that little yellow monkey. In 1945, he countered the cautious Washington line that the Japanese were a tough and resourceful enemy by referring to "Jap rats", and "a Chinese proverb" maintaining that "the Japanese were the product of a mating between female apes and the worst Chinese criminals". In Britain before the war, the acerbic Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs referred to "Jap savages" and "beastly little monkeys" and, on the eve of war, to the Japanese as "monkeys".

Wartime cartoons featured both superhuman ape and clownish monkey stereotypes of the Japanese. »While«, according to John Dower, »Hitler and the Nazis also occasionally emerged as simians, this was a passing metaphor, a sign of aberration and atavism, and did not carry the explicit racial connotations of the Japanese ape«.⁵² The problem for the cartoonist, however, was that while Hitler was easily distinguishable from other Germans through caricaturing his hair and moustache, and Nazis could be identified by their swastika armbands, the American and British public were not familiar with the appearance of individual Japanese politicians. Most cartoonists, therefore, defaulted to depictions of the Japanese as bespectacled and bucktoothed, on the racist assumption that they >all looked alike<. Only Hirohito was distinguishable by his ceremonial headdress.

After 1941, Low caricatured key Japanese personalities as monkeys. In July, with war looming, he depicted a long-tailed monkey with

⁴⁸ Cf. Lynette Finch: Psychological Propaganda, p. 370.

⁴⁹ Los Angeles Times (, 26.11.1942 () Halsey Presents Hero Decorations to 40 Men ().

New York Times, 20.2.1945, ()Halsey Warns U.S. of Japanese Trick()

⁵¹ Alexander Cadogan: Diary entries for 29.7.1940, p. 317, 6.2.1941, p. 353, 6.12.1941, p. 416.

John Dower: War Without Mercy, p. 87.

the word »Jap« on his rump wielding a dagger and hanging from his tail in a palm tree (see fig. 4).⁵³ With their backs to him are three military men, the United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R. who are stripped to the waist looking out into »The Pacific«. Britain and the United States sit together looking out to the left, while the USSR sits apart looking in the opposite direction. Hanging between them is the monkey, deciding »Eeny, meeny, miney mo« whose back to stab. Dower interprets the cartoon in general terms as offering »a stark contrast



Fig. 4: Multiple fooling

between the Japanese »monkey-men« and the »white powers«. This mischievous, trickster monkey, however, is a caricature of Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka. Low satirized the complacency and ignorance of the three powers in regard to Japan. While there is no doubting that racial stereotyping is implied in the simianization of Matsuoka and the derogatory term »Jap«,>white« ignorance and complacency are also targets for Low's satire.

⁵³ Cf. the reproduction and the following quote ibid, p. 182.

188 Susan C. Townsend

A few months later on 20 October 1941, just three days after Hideki Tojo became the Japanese Prime Minister, Low caricatured >Admiral Tojo as a gorilla boarding a »Jap Fleet« ship (see fig. 5). 54 The sun rises in the background and officers are giving what looks like a Nazi salute. The gorilla is wearing a sash with »Mischief« emblazoned on it. Tojo, well-known as one of the most hawkish members of the Japanese government, was appointed Prime Minister after the relatively moderate, but weak aristocrat Fumimaro Konoe resigned at a crucial point in the U.S.-Japan negotiations. 55



Fig. 5: Apish salute

Leslie Illingworth worked for >Punch< and the British tabloid newspaper, the >Daily Mail<. His wartime cartoons were so influential that a cutting of one of them was discovered in the ruins of Hitler's Chancellery, of and they were reproduced in the American press. A depiction of ** the Japanese<* as a huge, half-human, gorilla-like figure with characteristic buck-teeth and spectacles appeared in the >New York Times Magazine<* in 1943. Dower described it as a **British commentary on the Japanese soldier<*, relevant to ** the perception of the Japanese as supermen<* -* the human-ape hybrid lays waste to the land and tramples on tiny humans while clutching others in its giant hand. On the spaper of the spane of the spaper of the spane of the spaper of the spaper of the spane o

John Dower: War Without Mercy, p. 187.

⁵⁴ Cf. >Evening Standard<, 20.10.1941.

However, the mischief monkey was no stranger to readers of Low's cartoons and was used to ridicule British politicians, especially Stanley Baldwin, in the 1920s. What the French call singeries [monkey tricks] which feature monkeys wearing human clothing and engaging in human behaviour, has a long tradition in European society – cf. John Sorenson: Ape, pp. 95 f.

^{56 &}gt;Leslie Gilbert Illingworth Biography (http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/artists/leslie-gilbertillingworth/biography – 2.2.2015).

text, it is a piece of racially motivated propaganda which generalizes and demonizes the Japanese. However, Illingworth's original cartoon, specifically depicts General Tojo and is captioned: »Bushido – the Way of a Warrior« (see fig. 6). 58



Fig. 6: Gorilla warrior

Although still based on a crude physical racial stereotype, the cartoon is not making a generalized point about »the Japanese«, but satirizing Tojo, their leader, who tramples on the famous warrior code of ethics, as well as the peoples of Southeast Asia. Previously, in February 1942 in the ›Daily Mail‹ Illingworth depicted Tojo as a small,

⁵⁸ See >Daily Mail<, 11.3.1942. The cartoon appeared again on 8.1.1945 with the caption »Stop it, children! We don't want our party spoilt«.</p>

190 Susan C. Townsend

long-tailed monkey grinning at its reflection in a dressing table mirror, ridiculously dressed in oversized tailcoat labelled »Malaya« and a hat »Singapore«. In the wardrobe can be glimpsed more coats representing India, New Zealand, and Burma and boots marked Java and Sumatra (see fig. 7).⁵⁹

However, rather than clown, Illingsworth's Tojo appeared regularly in the more monstrous form throughout the war, and would have been easily recognized by readers. The monstrous form of this human-ape hybrid demonstrates the fear and awe in which the Japanese were held



Fig. 7: Monkey general

in 1942. As Japan's fortunes reversed, however, the former Goliath gradually diminishes in size.⁶⁰ By 9 August 1945, the day of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, it has become a tiny, insect-like creature lying across a microscope slide and wielding a blood-soaked sword and a gun (see fig. 8).⁶¹ Like an annoying fly, it is about to be flicked off by a man, »Humanity«, who is looking down the microscope of »Science« at a sample of »Atomic Energy«. The power of Western science

⁵⁹ See >Daily Mail<, 18.2.1942.</p>

⁶⁰ Cf. Daily Mails, 1.3.1944 (>1943 / 1944 – http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record-image/standard/ILW0688).

⁶¹ Daily Mail, 9.8.1945, ([uncaptioned] – http://www.cartoons.ac.uk/record-image/standard/ILW0956).

and rationality is seen to triumph over an enemy which has gradually been diminished from a feared superhuman King Kong, to clownishly ridiculous trickster monkey, and finally, to tiny vermin fit only for extermination.



Fig. 8: Extermination

Conclusion

However, to see the Japanese merely as >victims< of Western racism not only Orientalises the Japanese as the silent Other, but lends weight to an already problematic >victim consciousness< in Japan which elides the issue of Japanese war responsibility. ⁶² Constructions of >Otherness< must be understood within the context of Japanese self-identity as well as Western racial-stereotyping. The enthusiastic adoption of Western racial worldviews not only made the Japanese unique in directing it back towards the West, but complicit, especially since they also constructed Darwinian racial hierarchies in their empire and occupied territories. Therefore, Dower's claim that a tit-for-tat simianization of Americans could not happen because the Japanese »had not gone through the Western voyages of discovery and later bastardization of evolutionary theory« ⁶³ cannot be substantiated.

- 62 Cf. Philip A. Seaton: Japan's Contested War Memories.
- ⁶³ John Dower: War Without Mercy, p. 179.

192 Susan C. Townsend

As Ohnuki-Teirney has demonstrated, in the past, the Japanese self was defined terms of the monkey metaphor. In Japan, over time, the monkey became associated with special status groups within Japanese society with some, such as prostitutes, dehumanized to such an extent that they became caged exhibits. In Japan gender, race and social status were grounds for simianization which had the effect of de-socializing large groups of individuals and, in some cases, dehumanizing them. The simianization of the Japanese by the West was designed to elicit fear, ridicule and contempt for the Japanese as a nation. Such was its impact on public opinion that, by 1945, the annihilation of Japanese cities by a new and terrible weapon became acceptable to a public who, ten years before, would hardly have contemplated such an act; such is the brutalising effect of racism.

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194 Susan C. Townsend

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The Yellow Monkey

195

 $Yellow\ Promise/Yellow\ Peril.\ Foreign\ Postcards\ of\ the\ Russo-Japanese\ War\ (1904-1905)\ (http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/yellow_promise_yellow_peril/index.html - 2.2.2015).$

The Simianization of the Irish Racial Ape-ing and Its Contexts

Steve Garner

Abstract: This chapter seeks to present the >conditions of intelligibility< of the representation of Irish people as simian from a critical race perspective. I outline the concept of racialization before examining the use of simian features to represent the Irish both before and after Darwin's key intervention, >Origin of Species
 I then identify some historical contextual factors to do with the development of >race
 theory in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These enable a richer and more complex understanding of how the ape-ing of the Irish functions relationally, i.e. vis-à-vis other groups identified as subaltern, and also within the Irish nation. The article then asks what the simianization of the Irish accomplishes, before finally taking a step back to argue that paradoxically the ape characterization is about implying physical distinction where none exists, as a form of making the invisibility of blood and culture visible.

This chapter seeks to present the >conditions of intelligibility< of the representation of Irish people as simian from a critical race perspective. This is a race scholar's analysis. The bases of the analysis are thus not exclusively positivistic. The objective is not, for example, to determine the role that racial stereotypes played in British policy-making on Home Rule, or to what extent the Irish were either white or black in mid-nineteenth century America.¹ No claim is made that representations of Irish people as apes or near apes bears the same representational weight from one period or geographical site to another, or that these representations exhaust the field of discriminatory possibilities. We should also note that >ape< is one trope of many (language, clothes, religion, attachment to Ireland) used in representations; and like all representations, it is relational (like social class, gender, other racialized

See Gary K. Peatling: The Whiteness of Ireland Under and After the Union; Roy Foster: Paddy and Mr Punch (for British policy) and Theodore W. Allen: The Invention of the White Race; Noel Ignatiev: How the Irish Became White (for the US).

groups). Furthermore, representations using apes do not all mean the same thing. Some representational apes convey arrested development, others belligerence, and others still, destructiveness and monstrosity.

Moreover, this is an exploration of one strand, not the entirety, of a racialization process. These acknowledgements have two significant implications for the rest of this chapter.

First, racialization neither exclusively concerns bodies, nor solely bodies not racialized as white. It usually does entail a messy bouillabaisse of identities (culture, class, religion, nationality, gender, etc.). Thus arguments that because we are examining racialization – in which race is the key concept – we are ignoring, culture, class, religion, etc. are a priori invalid. As I have argued elsewhere, race has always fused the notions of embodiment and culture, and it is not necessary for bodies to be marked by difference for difference to be invoked or conferred on them in representations.²

Second, this is not a field which can be understood as a formula of the sort x-y=z, where x is racism, y is anti-racism and z is what remains when you subtract y from x. The mass responses to racialized ideas are difficult to accurately gauge. If some critically engage with dominant ideologies and favour anti-racist counter-narratives, this does not mean that Perry Curtis' argument about the representation of the Irish in nineteenth-century cartoons in his classic >Apes and Angels<, is one-sided.³ Yet the core of the critique made of his work by other historians of the Irish experience is that he ignores evidence to the contrary, and exaggerates the influence of the simianized visual discourse.⁴ Curtis' reading is therefore deemed partial.

I find this a confusing debate. Anti-racist critique of racist practices and ideas does not necessarily detract from the latter's potency or prominence in people's minds. There is not one logical, perfectly balanced viewpoint that would summarise a necessarily uneven set of social relationships. Moreover, in relation to this chapter, historians involved in the 2005 roundtable discussion of racialization, Irishness and whiteness in the >Journal of British Studies< claim 1) that the Irish

² Cf. Steve Garner: Racisms.

³ Cf. L. Perry Curtis Jr.: Apes and Angels.

See Sheridan Gilley: English Attitudes to the Irish in England; Colin Holmes (ed.): Immigrants and Minorities in British Society; Roy F. Foster: Paddy and Mr Punch; Gary K. Peatling: The Whiteness of Ireland Under and After the Union; David Wilson: Whiteness and Irish Experience in North America.

were not consistently held as a lower branch of civilization than Anglo-Saxons throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; 2) that they considered themselves white and never anything else; and 3) that relying on >race< as an explanatory factor does not cover the complexity of the Irish experience.⁵

These are points of debate but not strictly relevant to this story. The last one is a straw man. Neither Curtis nor I claim that >race< is everything. However, the argument that >race< is >not everything< is scarcely a rebuttal of the counter-argument that >race< is *something<. That is the departure point for this exploration of the simianization of the Irish. The objectives of this chapter are first, to locate the practice of simianizing representations of Irish people in an historical context, in order to, second, establish the functions of this practice.

Racialization: A Brief Explanation

From the end of the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, scholars led the debate on <code>race</code>, imposing their understandings on popular culture. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the notion that <code>race</code> was a relational hierarchy of bodies organised according to physical appearance and cultural development (which could be read off one another) was a common and dominant social idea in the West. <code>race</code> was thus posited as a way to describe natural categories of humans, just as the animal and plant worlds consist of categories of distinct types.

The evolution of the race is nature logic saw it blossom into the twentieth-century race relations model of analysis, which identified groups as races, and saw them in various, usually antagonistic, forms of relationship with each other. It was not until well into the second half of the twentieth century that a coherent counter-narrative to race relations developed, along the following lines. Physical differences are part of the natural world, but what we call race is not. People make race through their social interpretations and interactions. It is not a neutral process because it always takes place in a context of unequal power relations. This is a summary of what social scientists mean

See Journal of British Studies, based on Peatling's article (above) and responses to it.

For example, see the explanations given by Matthew Frye Jacobson: Whiteness of a Different Color; John Rex: Race Relations in Sociological Theory.

when they assert that identities are >socially constructed<. The alternative paradigm emerged fully in the 1980s as >racialization<, which understood the object of study as a *process* whereby >race< becomes salient in particular social contexts, and ideas about groups construct them as having particular characteristics.⁷

What does this mean for a study of the simianization of the Irish? First, racialization asserts that physical bodies can be discursively separated from bodies of ideas. Just as men are socialized into forms of masculinity, and women are socialized into forms of femininity, people are also socialized into being part of racialized groups. Second, the concept of racialization insists on prising apart the body from the set of ideas, whereas the force of racist ideas exerts itself firmly in the opposite direction, constantly amalgamating culture with bodies. So this image of mutually repelling concepts is a good way to frame our exploration of simianization. The objective of the images is to lock the apelike body onto the Irish, confirming the set of associated characteristics held by all those in the category \Irish<: the work of the racialization concept is to decouple the image from the associated ideas.

Additionally, racialization necessitates the identification and plotting of an historical process. If the argument is that race is not a constant (nature) and is instead the product of the social world (a variable), then the evidence has to demonstrate how the content of the racialization process changes over time, and provide feasible explanations for the changes. The subject matter of the representation of the Irish thus fits well into this framework.

It is essential to emphasise that racialization is not rooted solely in distinctions of skin colour, but on the ideological labour of connecting culture irrevocably to bodies arranged in a social hierarchy. In this understanding of the social, the physical and the cultural are inseparable components of racist ideas and practices: »Racialization must be understood not exclusively in terms of categorising according to appearance and culture, but also as a more abstract process of attributing innate characteristics to all members of a given group. Significantly,

Of. Michael Banton: Race Relations; Matthew Frye Jacobson: Whiteness of a Different Color; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: The Empire Strikes Back; Robert Miles: Racism and Migrant Labour; Stephen Small: Racialized Barriers.

⁸ Cf. Raewyn Connell: Masculinities.

For more explanation and examples of racialization at work, see Steve Garner: A Moral Economy of Whiteness, chapter 1; the following quote is from ibid., p. 7.

ostensibly >white< groups can also be racialized by reference to cultural rather than phenotypical difference«.

Men and Apes Before Darwin

Having outlined the key concept with which to interrogate the simianization of the Irish, we will now engage with the world of nineteenth-century racial theory and the ape's place within it. For this purpose, the *somatic turn to raciology*, the ossification of racial measures like the facial angle for more or less protrusive *jaws*, and the various characterizations of *loyalists*, *rebels*, *and women* are considered.

Raciology – the somatic turn: What we might now describe as race theory had existed for centuries before the invention of the race sciences of physiognomy and craniology for example. However, it was written by colonial administrators, travel writers, and soldiers. People were labelled by culture, nationality and religion (or lack of it) before colour became an important identifier, with all the values attached to blackness and whiteness that survive into the contemporary period. The English could racialize the Gaelic Irish in the sixteenth century; Europeans could racialize Jews and Gypsy-Travellers from the Middle Ages, even if those groups were nominally white Europeans. There was far more fluidity in the contemporary labelling and understandings than would emerge once race had become an explicit currency, in the seventeenth century.

However, in the very long nineteenth century of race science (c. 1760-1945) the focus on culture alongside bodies gave way initially to an overwhelming and increasingly rigid emphasis on the body as the sole revelatory mechanism of naturalized difference. Buffon and Blumenbach, for example, made the link between climate, culture, physical appearance and capacity for government, whereby the fair-skinned temperate climate-dwelling Euro-Americans demonstrated the highest levels of attainment and potential, and a penchant for order sadly lacking in all the other pracess. The logic underpinning this hierarchization was the quest for the Great Chain of Being.¹⁰

The collection by Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (ed.): Race and The Enlightenment, demonstrates the various contributing ideas while Wulf D. Hund: >It Must Come from Europe< or Charles W. Mills: Kant and Race, Redux, explore a similar terrain with a focus on the interventions of Immanuel Kant.

This Enlightenment project of classification sought, by scientific method, to establish the hierarchy of all living things in God's plan, with God at the top, followed by man, then animals, then plants. Within each of the three latter groups was also a hierarchy determined by beauty, usefulness, and, for animals, intelligence and proximity to mankind. In this process, apes emerged as the most advanced mammals, and thus closest to man.

Jaws: Moreover, craniometry, the study and measurement of skulls, developed on the back of work by Dutch anatomist Petrus Camper, whose influential comparison of jaws established the basis of a particular understanding of a link between faces and levels of development. Camper's theory of >facial angles< involved drawing profiles of skulls taken from different representatives of animal and human groups, and measuring an angle from the intersection of two lines. The first ran from the middle of the ear towards the front of the face, and the other from the top of the head, around the level of the eyes, to the lips. The result was an angle measuring in degrees between the early 40s up to the late 80s (in classical busts). In the following decades, Camper's 1770 class on how to draw different groups of people became a blueprint for determining hierarchical physical (i.e. racial development).¹¹ Hierarchical interpretations were attached to the difference in angle, so that the most protrusive jaw (with the smallest >facial angle() was equated with animals, and lower levels of human development. This equation between the prognathous (protruding) jaw and civilizational development lies at the heart of the simianization of the Irish.

Loyalists, Rebels, Women: The Great Chain of Being encouraged understandings of animal and human development as static and fixed in time, so the ape denotes an eternal lower position in the chain. Cartoon references to apes prior to 1860 thus referred to backwardness. Representations of the Irish at this time varied between those indistinguishable from English (especially Erin and Hibernia, but also some non-rebellious men), through lightly simian, to occasionally prognathous. The latter was more probably the case when those depicted were engaged in resistance to English rule in Ireland, or were being identified as potential threats to American culture. The background for simianization was thus well established before Darwin.

For Camper's own attitude see the paper of Silvia Sebastiani in this volume.

Curtis contends that the 1860s marks a turning point in the simianization of the Irish, and that this is due to the rapid popularization of the ideas of Charles Darwin in Origin of Species (1859) and later, >The Descent of Man (1871). Pearl's study of Irish stereotypes in the USA also indicates that physical distinctions were less important in the 1830-1860 period, with indicators of class assuming much more significance. 12 However, the simianization process did begin before 1860, albeit at a different level of intensity. Curtis notes three elements important for us to understand in this process. First, radicals in opposition to the British State had been depicted since the end of the eighteenth century - particularly by well-known cartoonist James Gillray - as having prognathous jaws. Second, Irish loyalists and rebels had been represented as physically different (with the former closer to the Anglo-Saxon type), and third, that the representations of Irishness were heavily gendered. Hibernia and Erin were frequently reproduced as beautiful young innocents needing protection from prognathous rebels, dragons and other fiends intent upon ravishing them metaphorically. Before 1860, there were no images of Irish women as ape-like.

So if it is the advent of Darwin's ideas on the genealogy of the human race that ushers in the era of simianization, what explains the key role of pre-Darwinian prognathous jaws in the story? The obsession with the somatic that had emerged in Europe's scientific intelligentsia in the last part of the eighteenth century, as noted above, prepared the ground for the ape-ing of the Irish. Yet there are other strands of this narrative. The Irish had been marked out as racially distinct for centuries, and would be into the twentieth century, as Liz Curtis demonstrates in a study going back to the Normans. ¹³The emergence of Darwinian ideas, and the explosion of race theory in the mid-nineteenth century, provided a unique conjuncture.

Apes and Men After Darwin

As noted above, >race< and its concomitant social hierarchies were understood in Western popular culture to be based on scientific fact. Learned journals contained speculation about the potential for devel-

¹² Cf. L. Perry Curtis Jr.: Apes and Angels; Sharrona Pearl: White, with a Class-Based Blight.

See Liz Curtis: Nothing but the Same Old Story.

opment of particular groups, and what the superior groups should do with their innate superiority, none of which occurred in a vacuum. Colonial domination by Anglo-Saxons was thought to demonstrate their power and leadership skills. This was understood as biological, fixed and natural, as opposed to social (i.e. not open to change). While it was clear in the minds of race theorists talking still about skulls, limbs, climate and culture, that Whites were at the summit, there was not always a consensus about where other groups fitted in. However, what emerged in the 1850s was a discourse explicitly about whiteness including distinctions within the white race and the search for missing links covering even Europe.

Distinctions within the white race: The white race was itself, claimed de Gobineau, a hierarchy, containing relatively inferior groups and facing threats to its world domination. The superior white group was the Aryan (Germanic) race. Other versions of this white hierarchy into the second half of the nineteenth century placed different groups at the top. French anthropologist Joseph Deniker's (1899) map of the Praces de l'Europe (15 amalgamates Germans and Scandinavians into the Prace Nordique (, the dominant group, while many British and North American writers posited the Anglo-Saxons as holding that position, an assumption shared by elites across the Anglophone world well into the twentieth century. 16

Whoever was at the top however, the Celts were not. One of the stories explaining the origins of the Irish is that there are versions of Celtic lineage traceable back to Spain (Milesians), a civilization that is viewed as having mixed with North Africans (Moors), or to Scythia (North of the Black Sea in Western Asia). The Milesian story enabled political uses to be made of genealogy to justify political domination by the British (especially in the writings of Spenser and Campion),

Swedish biologist Linnaeus, who had invented the system of classification for all living things, had four subcategories of Homo sapiens in the tenth edition of >Systemae Naturae<, (1758): Americanus; Asiaticus; Africanus; and Europeanus. The >white race<, theorised by French writer Arthur de Gobineau (1853) was positioned at the peak of a hierarchy, above >yellow< and >black< races in that order. As a final example, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1779) changed from a four to a five-race schema between the first and second editions of his work, >On the Natural Variety of Mankind

 ty of Mankind
 white (Caucasian), yellow (Mongolian), brown (Malayan), black (Ethiopian), and red (American).

An enlargeable map can be accessed at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Deni

¹⁶ Cf. Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds: Drawing the Global Colour Line.

while the parallel Scythian connection (a branch of the family of Fénius Farsaid, a Scythian prince who arrives in Iberia before going on to Ireland) was used to undermine Irish Gaelic claims to civilization.¹⁷ The Scythians were nomadic, and distinctions made between sedentary, urban civilisations and nomadic ones in the sixteenth century contrasted the former flatteringly with the latter.

So on one hand there were nation-founding stories like these, and on the other were theories about genetics. Two scientists, the Edinburgh surgeon Robert Knox and the Edinburgh-trained English physician John Beddoe, made racialized distinctions between Anglo-Saxons and Celts the focus of their work.¹⁸ Knox's was largely theory based on anatomy, and Beddoe's the result of a large piece of ethnological fieldwork in which he plotted the prevalence of dark hair and eyes among the populations of the British Isles. He interpreted this distribution through what he called the >index of negrescence <. Beddoe maintained that the darker-featured and prognathous people were of Celtic origin, whereas the fairer ones, with the orthogoathous (receding jaw) trait – demonstrating the highest levels of intelligence – were of Saxon origin. Building on Knox, he argued that the Saxons were the naturally superior group and that Celts were physically distinct: a distinction that for the Celts demonstrated proximity to Cro-Magnon man and non-Europeans. Knox wrote a second edition of his book after Darwin had been published, and Beddoe wrote entirely in the immediate post-Darwin era. Between Knox's first edition of The Races of Man (1850), and Beddoe's >The Races of Britain (1862), the goalposts had shifted. To have protruding jaws like apes now meant something else in addition to what it had signified prior to Origin of Species, and now the link was supported by scientific fact.

Missing Links?: So in the 1860s, and especially after 1871, Darwin's work gives a fresh impetus to social understandings of the ape. First, it replaces static ideas of the >Great Chain of Being< with the idea of change. Evolution is (extremely slow) transformation, so categories can shift: undeveloped forms can become developed ones, over time. So, contra the biblical teachings of monogenesis, it is now posited that humans were once all apes. This assertion is a major point of conten-

See Joseph Lennon: Irish Orientalism; David Quinn: The Elizabethans and the Irish

¹⁸ Cf. Robert Knox: The Races of Man; John Beddoe: The Races of Britain.

tion between science and religion in a secularising age. For Victorian understandings of race, it held a particular opportunity. The short race at the Air article, where is the Missing Link?, appeared in the same year as Beddoe's book. Its author maintains that the religional between the Gorilla and the Negrow can be bridged by a tribe of Irish savages, the lowest species of Irish Yahoow, which ralks a sort of gibberish, and is a climbing animal that ascends ladders with a hod of bricks. It also has other aggressive traits including rattacking civilised peoplew. This tribe is identified as a development of the Gorilla. Indeed, speculating that particular groups constitute the missing link is a practice of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial eye used, inter alia, about the Maoris, the Congolese Pygmy, Ota Benga, exhibited at the Bronx Zoo, the Bushmen of South-West Africa, and the Tasmanian people first encountered by the British.

In the context of Victorian race science, placing a nominally white group in a space generally reserved for non-whites demonstrates the function of the simian-human gap in relation to the Irish. This location was not offered to proletarians or even all non-white peoples, but those selected as throwbacks to an agrarian lifestyle, and, from the perspective of the dominant groups, having the most >basic< cultures. The Irish had thus been established as an inferior white race, whose domination by a superior one was proof of natural weakness, both physically and culturally. This racialization of the Irish had begun centuries before,²¹ in the period prior to the invention of the term >race<, and we can see the Darwinist turn as a new phase in this narrative, one which enabled and facilitated a different dimension of visual representation.

From the 1860s to the end of the century, various cartoonists commenting on Irish politics – particularly Irish physical force and physical force

However, there is an important caveat to begin with. It is easy to blur the prognathous analytically with the simian. We have already

19 Punch Magazine (: The Missing Link.

For the Maoris, see Brendan Hokowhitu: Race Tactics; for Ota Benga, see Philip Burnham: The Ethnographic Zoo.

²¹ Cf. David Quinn: The Elizabethans and the Irish; Liz Curtis: Nothing but the Same Old Story; Steve Garner: Racism in the Irish Experience.

pointed out the development of prognathism as at one time having stood in for under-development, but it is not an exact equivalent of simianization. The prognathous figure was used to caricature a much wider array of targets than just the Irish, including political subversives and criminals (a crossover point with Lombroso's criminal types).²² We could speculate that part of the prognathous representation was indeed intended to suggest all of these characteristics.

Perry Curtis distinguishes >prognathous< from >simian< figures: >simianization turned the face of Irishmen (and dragons or reptiles) into a hybrid creature with facial features akin to those of anthropoid apes, while a prognathous mouth or jaw conveyed images of brutish men who had clearly degenerated but had not yet fallen into the anthropoidal abyss of gorillas and chimpanzees [...]. But when the bulbous mouth and upper lip coincided with a sloping forehead, snub nose, pointed ear, fanglike teeth and receding jaw, then the face devolved into the distinctive shape of the simianized Fenian, whose fierce and feral features betrayed his sadistic love of violence«.23

Curtis' emphasis is revealing. The Fenian is not any old Irishman but a political activist whose objective is to resist British rule. The simian figure invites the audience to participate in speculation about both the justification for colonial rule (cultural backwardness) and the violence entailed in it (protection against the incipient violence of the colonial subject). We will return to this justificatory triangle later.

Topics of Simianization

What do the cartoons show exactly? The range of cartoons published in British and American periodicals depicting Irish people as simianized covers a set of themes. I identify a few illustrative cartoons as examples here (before looking in more detail at two).

The Missing Link: >A Great Time for Ireland, (>Punch, 1861) shows a Mr G. O'Rilla of the Young Ireland Party, at his desk (see below); >Outrageous (>Life Magazine, 1893) depicts a gorilla offended that the monkeys in the zoo have been given Irish names.²⁴

²² Cf. Cesare Lombroso: Criminal Man.

L. Perry Curtis Jr.: Apes and Angels, p. 121.

²⁴ Cf. www.politics.ie/forum/history/160501-recognising-irelands-contribution-british-empire-3.html (1861); thesocietypages.org/socimages/2008/10/06/negative-stereoty pes-of-the-irish/ (1893).

Propensity for fighting: Thomas Nast's large and detailed drawings of St Patrick's Day (>The Day we Celebrate<, 1867) and the Orange Riots (>Something that will not Blow Over<, 1871; see below) show the Irish implicated in rioting and street violence against each other, the forces of law and order, and other minority groups such as African-Americans and Chinese. In >The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things< (1871),²⁵ an Irishman sits belligerently on top of a gunpowder barrel. All these were published in >Harper's Weekly<.



Fig. 1: The Irish Frankenstein

Political corruption: In the USA, Nast's pen was aimed primarily here at the Democratic Party organiser William Tweed and his capacity to mobilise Irish Catholic workers. Tweed appears in Something that will not Blow Over, and Irish and Democratic Party involvement in campaigns against Chinese labour are mocked. Other unflattering por-

25 Cf. http://amst312.umwblogs.org/2009/03/20/the-day-we-celebrate/ (1867); http://thomasnastcartoons.com/irish-catholic-cartoons/something-that-will-not-blow-over-29-july-1971/#main (1871); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Nast#/media/File:TheUsualIrishWayofDoingThings.jpg (1871).



Fig. 2: The Wild Beast

traits appear, such as >The Champion of the Fenians: the Democratic candidate for Massachusetts< (1876); >Puck< magazine's >Irish Industries< (1881) includes readiness to vote as one area that the immigrants might be of use.²⁶

Political violence: The >Fenian Guy Fawkes (>Punch <, 1867) sees an Irishman atop a gunpowder barrel, brandishing a torch (the drawing virtually copied by Nast for >The Usual way we do things <; >Two Forces <(>Punch <, 1881) shows an aggressive Land Leaguer threatening Britannia -who comforts a frightened Hibernia- with a rock; >The Irish Frankenstein <(>Punch <, 1882 – see fig. 1) depicts a huge masked and caped simian figure holding a knife dripping blood, in reference to the Phoenix Park murders; while >Most recently discovered wild beast <(>Judy, or The London Serio-Comic Journal <, 1881 – see fig. 2)²⁷ shows the >Irish American Dynamite Skunk <(a monstrous bomber) as a caged exhibit.

²⁶ Cf. http://www.harpweek.com/09Cartoon/RelatedCartoon.asp?Month=October&-Date=21 (1876); http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-an-anti-irish-cartoon-entitled-irish-industries-appeared-in-the-american-50048785.html (1881).

²⁷ Cf. http://thomasnastcartoons.com/2012/11/ (1867); http://www.gettyimages.pt/de tail/fotografia-de-not%C3%ADcias/irish-land-league-outlawed-britannia-pro tects-fotografia-de-not%C3%ADcias/113491340 (1881); http://commons.wikimed ia.org/wiki/File:Punch_Anti-Irish_propaganda_(1882)_Irish_Frankenstein.jpg (1882); http://picturinghistory.gc.cuny.edu/item.php?item_id=211%00 (1881).

Proximity to blackness: This trope will be looked at in more detail below. However, there are three images worth looking at. The first is the well-known >Harper's Weekly< cover (1876) which shows an Irishman and a Black man in the scales representing marginal and threatening new voters (cancelling each other out with their collective support for the Democratic and Republican parties respectively in the presidential election of 1876). The >King-of-a-shantee< links simianized Irish people to the Ashanti of West Africa. The Irish couple are living in a dilapidated hut, not doing productive work, thus locating both groups in similar positions in the league table of industriousness and civilizational progress.²⁸

Women as brutish as men: Erin/Hibernia is represented as having attractive features, and often depicted as requiring protection, either from Britannia (as in >Two Forces< above, >The Fenian Pest< (>Punch<, 1866), or from various other characters such as British Prime Minister William Gladstone (>The Irish Tempest<, >Punch<, 1870), who is also pictured courting her favour (>The Rivals<, >Punch<, 1881). Meanwhile >Contrasted Faces< shows a very different representation, comparing the regular Anglo-Saxon features of Florence Nightingale with the simianized ones of a >Bridget McBruiser< indicating that like the men, Irish women like a fight. In similar vein is >The Irish Declaration of Independence That We Are All Familiar With< (>Puck<, 1883).²⁹ Irish women in the USA were concentrated in particular types of employment, notably domestic service in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this cartoon, a (simianized) servant woman is presented as aggressive and incompetent.

To illustrate the complexity of the racialization and simianization processes in these cartoons we are going to look at two quite different examples, one American and one British, which reveal pertinent elements of the story. The first is John Leech's >A Great Time for Ireland

All three of these cartoons can be accessed at: http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/omal-ley/120/alien/four.html.

Cf. http://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Ireland-Cartoons/G0000tcWkXy P4OHo/I0000j5zaTOzl8oA (1866); http://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Ireland-Cartoons/G0000tcWkXyP4OHo/I0000tdww8R2mAeg (1870); http://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Ireland-Cartoons/G0000tcWkXyP4OHo/I0000ykvCiM0u1W4 (1881); http://chnm.gmu.edu/exploring/19thcentury/alienmenace/pop_inhuman.html ()Bridget(); http://inthepastlane.com/2012/11/15/nativism-yesterday-and-today/ (1883).

(>Punch(, 14.12.1861) and the second is Thomas Nast's >Something that will not Blow Over((>Harper's Weekly(, 11/12.7.1871).

A Great Time for Ireland: The representation of the agitator, Mr. G. O'Rilla, as an ape is both one step in the build-up of Punch's deployment of the missing link trope, and more broadly an exemplar of the post-Origin of Species discourse (see fig. 3). The immediate context of this cartoon is a set of claims for Irish independence made in a journal called The Irish Nation — which argued that if the Irish played their part in a potential war between the USA and Britain, then independence was possible. This statement is identified as treasonous, and the subtitle of the cartoon suggests, Shouldn't he be extinguished at once? John Miller points out that this is a strategic dehumanising policy sanctioning violence against the Irish in revenge for treachery. He also places the story in the context of the popular anthropology of African animals and people provided by French traveller and author Paul Chaillu, who toured Britain promoting his book on the subject.



Fig. 3: The >missing link(

Chaillu was the subject of a >Punch< cartoon in May 1861, the week after the publication of the cartoon, >Monkeyana<, where a gorilla stands in for the African, wearing its sign, >Am I a Brother and a Man?
referring readers to the well-known abolitionist icon. Since Chaillu's writing had reinvigorated the idea of Africa as wild, unknow-

able and uncontrollable, the placing of a Gorilla in a civilized setting is both humorous and disturbing: backward humanity or the missing link. Readers seeing Mr G. O'Rilla's image in December, have already been prepared to translate it into a set of positions in a hierarchy: the Irish are closer to animals than humans, thus deserving of more punitive treatment for transgression. »Among the panoply of interwoven political agendas visited upon the gorilla body in the nineteenth century« writes Miller, »was a discourse of the errant untameable Irish insurgent«.30 Mr G. O'Rilla thus embodies ideas about the innate brut-



Fig. 4a: >Something that will not Blow Over«

ishness, danger and treachery of the Irish rebel, and establishes him as an object of punishment, by linking him to Africa, backwardness and incipient violence.

Something that will not Blow Over(: Thomas Nast is well known for his cartoons in Harper's Weekly(in the 1859-60 and 1862-86 periods. Apart from popularising images such as Uncle Sam, Columbia

John Miller: R.M. Ballantyne and Mr G. O'Rilla, p. 405; cf. Paul Chaillu: Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa.

and the Republican Party Elephant, he also produced a portfolio of cartoons attacking the Tweed >Ring< of politicians, police and other corrupt officials that swindled millions of dollars from New York City in the 1860s and 70s. However, Nast constructed Tweed and his constituency (Irish Catholic migrants) in a monolithically negative way, and his images of prognathous and siminianized Irish were a central element of that anti-Tweed Ring production, and indeed those images were also regularly published independently of the anti-Tweed cartoons.

In >Something that will not Blow Over<, Nast responds to the rioting around the Orange Parade in New York in July 1871, which he witnessed as a volunteer militiaman (see fig. 4a). His construction of Irish Catholics as clannish, and antagonistic toward other American minorities is evident in this cartoon. The illustrator divides Catholics into two groups – the >good< dissidents who contest papal infallibility, and the >bad<, who condone (like the priest with his back to the reader)



Fig. 4b: A physiognomic label

or engage in collective violence (see fig. 4b). The latter are physiologically separate from other groups, and distributed throughout the panels of the cartoon, oppressing other American minorities such as the Chinese and African-Americans. There are visual references to the 1863 Draft Riots, in which Irish rioters killed African-Americans.

The prognathous and simianized characters such as Saint Patrick, and the men controlling Boss Tweed and his cronies thus represent not only the Catholic Irishman's unfitness to participate in American

democracy, but also incipient violence (see fig. 4b). Nast's perspective is subtly different from that which decoders of simianized Irish people are used to: he sees New York as politically dominated by the Catholic Irish. Their violence is thus not retaliatory, or what Fanon might term >revolutionary< violence, of the oppressed resisting oppression, but instead, in Nast's view, of the oppressor enacting oppression.

Nast's multi-panelled cartoon presents a fascinating set of images: and a more nuanced coverage of American minorities. Nast identifies some of the racist violence associated with Irish Americans in the nineteenth century;³¹ however, we emerge with no sense that this clash between Protestants and Catholics has any history or set of unequal power relations beyond New York City in 1871.

Moreover, Nast's recurring images of belligerent dehumanised Irishmen paradoxically racialize them as a means of critiquing their racialization of other groups. Finally, the Irish Protestants are portrayed as >normal< Americans, innocent of violence or the racialization of Others, which constitutes quite a serious absence in most historians' understandings of that relationship.

The variety of simianized figures discussed above constituted similar tropes, shorthands, which cartoonists used to convey messages to audiences. What messages? That the Irish constitute threats to order: either through violence, not integrating or dragging down civilizational levels. The ape conveys the idea that the Irish represent a point closer to the animal than the human world, on a scale with which Victorians would have been extremely familiar. Yet there is a further level of complexity at play here. The relational aspects of representation are what makes them work.

First, as we have noted, while some Irishmen are simianized, others have features indistinguishable from their English and American counterparts. These facial characteristics denote loyalty, Protestantism, or indeed are the norm in other periods and places.

Second, Erin and Hibernia have human features while other women have male/ape ones (and these are sometimes explicitly relational). Third, the representation of Irishness *as a type* makes sense in a hierarchical presentation (Irish Iberian and Negro v European, >Harpers Weekly<, 1899).³²

31 See Steve Garner: Racism in the Irish Experience.

³² Cf. http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Scientific_racism_irish.jpg.

So the representations of the Irish occupy a spectrum, with relational aspects, and an overlapping core. There are obviously different agendas in the USA and the UK. In the USA, the Catholic ethnic minority are problematic in terms of integration, Not only are Catholics viewed as backward vis-à-vis Protestants, but their loyalties are feared to lie elsewhere. The Irish in the USA are above all threats to the Republic. In Britain, on top of cultural backwardness and the long-standing Protestant/Catholic hostilities tied as much to foreign affairs as domestic ones, the Irish represent political subversion, both in terms of resistance to colonial rule, but also in British radical working-class institutions.³³

Relational Ape-ing

In relation to the Irish, the ape image in the history of the USA has a dimension that the British experience lacks. Although the ape was indeed used to racialize black people in eighteenth and nineteenth-century British cartoons,³⁴ the visual juxtaposition of Blacks and Irish was largely irrelevant to actual struggles there. However this was not the case in the USA, a point that has been clarified by various historians.³⁵ Yet this simianization of the Irish would have had no purchase on American imaginations without the cumulative effect of a legacy of simianization of African-Americans.

When the order of whiteness is disturbed (by white people doing black people's jobs and living in the same residential areas as black people), the ape image enables outsiders to make sense of this situation. The Catholic Irish settled mainly in the Eastern seabord and a few urban spaces inland. In Philadelphia, after a period of co-residence in some areas, the Irish had learned enough of the rules of the racial regime to want to produce geographical and occupational distance between them and their erstwhile free African-American neighbours: violence aimed at removing them ensued. Similarly, on the Baltimore and New York docks, Irish and Free Black Americans literally fought for access to employment, while during the New York Draft riots of

³³ See Satnam Virdee: Race, Class, and the Racialized Outsider.

³⁴ Cf. David Dabydeen: Hogarth's Blacks.

³⁵ See the relevant chapter in Steve Garner: Racism in the Irish Experience, for references

1863, Irish rioters targeted African-Americans for violence.³⁶ Relations between Irish and Black Americans in the employment and residential markets from the 1830s were therefore tense and often violent. The two groups originally occupied similar social spaces, and this proximity is constitutive of the way they were produced relationally in some depictions.

Indeed, the stock characteristics of the cartoon Irish figure – darkening of skin and prognathous jaw – are intelligible only because they also denote proximity to blackness and distance from full whiteness. While the Irish are never considered black, they are not considered culturally white either, and the physical traits emerging from the cartoons are there to signify this distance. They are tied together with the ape that supposedly lurks within both. The ape crystallises the Irish lack of development that places them close to the same footing as Blacks for most of the nineteenth century: >The King of a-shantee< cartoon (see above) is the most explicit example of these associations.

The ape marks out bodies as threatening for democracy (either through disloyalty, un-democratic behaviour, or too low a cultural level), which is exactly the message of a famous cartoon from 1876, published on the front cover of >Harper's Weekly<, called >The Ignorant Vote – Honors are easys.³⁷ In it an Irishman and a Black man sit on scales demonstrating their equivalence. They represent problems for the Republic in the North and South respectively as marginal citizens. The newly-enfranchised black voter is thus balanced by the barely white Irish voter. This pairing would have been read as a binary: Blacks as Republicans based in the South and the Irish as Democrats based in the North. However, this >balance(is misleading, and not just because of the assumption that these groups are set in particular behaviours. The Irish, as white Europeans may have faced considerable cultural discrimination and reduced employment opportunities, but they were never excluded from accessing citizenship or actually taking up their rights to vote. Neither were they the targets of lynching, nor counted as 3/5ths of a voter in any discussions over representation.

Yet on the other side, African-Americans had been transformed into monkeys for decades, and this continues, well past the point where

³⁶ Cf. Noel Ignatiev: How the Irish Became White (for Philadelphia); Albon Man: Labor Competition and the New York Draft Riots of 1863 (for New York).

³⁷ Cf. http://www.aoh61.com/images/ir_cartoons/ignorant_vote.htm.

the Irish were no longer simianized, into the present day. Moreover, as Pearl notes, prior to the civil war, the Irish figures were not usually simianized, and the distinctions between the two groups were more apparent.³⁸

While the visual proximity of black people, apes and the Irish is the source of a historicized political narrative about American democracy and marginalization, there is another crossover point. Using the ape to represent threats and violence serves to locate the body of the oppressed subject as the source of violence. It becomes, from a colonial perspective, a natural outcome of the subject's destiny. The overwhelming and destructive violence of the colonising power (murder, rape, theft of land, cultural invasion) is reversed, so that in simianizing the subaltern group, the putative propensity of the Irish for violence becomes the focus instead.

The link of ape and violence is particularly compelling in relation to depictions of the Irish. The aggressive ape emerges more frequently in representations of the Irish when they are resisting British rule and enacting retaliatory violence. Cartoons of belligerent apes are produced (in >Punch<) in response to the Clerkenwell and Manchester bombings of 1867 (the >Fenian Guy Fawkes<), the Land League's boycotts in 1881 (>Two Forces<); and the Phoenix Park murders in 1882 (>The Irish Frankenstein<). This theme is picked up again in the twentieth century, in the (in)famous 1982 cartoon in the >Evening Standard<(>The Irish – The Ultimate in Psychopathic Horror<), which blurs distinctions between Protestant and Catholic protagonists in the fighting.³⁹

In one famous cartoon, at the start of the Troubles, the innate violence and barbarity of Irishness is marked by the figures of the Africans, brought in to help pacify the savage tribes (>We're pagan missionaries come to try and restore peace among the bloodthirsty christians<, >Daily Express<, 12.9.1969). Reversing the roles of white Christian and black pagan casts doubt upon Irish claims to be part of that civilized white Christian heritage. Moreover, in this cartoon, the British are no longer actors in the scenario unfolding in the North of Ireland, erasing

See: http://racismincartoons.weebly.com/african-american-image.html; cf. Wayne Martin Mellinger: Representing Blackness in the White Imagination; Sharrona Pearl. White with a class-based Blight.

³⁹ Cf. https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/browse/cartoon_item/artist=Jak%20%5BRaymond %20Jackson%5D?page=2998; for the following see http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/ cartoons/douglas98.htm.

218 Steve Garner

colonial violence from the story. Indeed the British military appear in cartoons of that period only as peacekeepers, as in the depiction of a soldier holding the warring simianized factions – identical except for the religious label on their jumpers – apart (>How marvellous it would be if they DID knock each other insensible<, >Daily Express<, 12.8.1970).

Ape-ing the subaltern group(s) thus masks relations of power and violence, re-presenting the violence of the subaltern and evaporating that of the oppressor. The oppressed are, in effect, cast as savages for returning fire. The ape therefore is polysemic representation that serves the purposes of tying together a variety of threads, positions in racial hierarchies, innate characteristics that define those characteristics, and justification for colonial rule/violence.

What does Simianization accomplish?

So what are the functions of the ape as a metaphor for Irish people? On some level, using an animal to stand in for a nation dehumanises the members of that nation, but much more is going on here: the ape trope is polysemic, representing the base, primal backwardness of the human, and by association with Irishness. It marks that identity as belonging to the lower end of the scale of civilization. Yet apes also refer to power, violence and sexuality. The architects of the Irish-as-apes theme using it to mark their anticolonial violence in a colonial context are also sketching the return of the repressed.

The ape trope is a particularly useful frame for the colonial (and neo-colonial) regimes of the UK and the USA to encapsulate Irishness, not just because it fetishizes violent resistance while dissimulating the context, but because it reinforces the message of unfitness for democracy. The ape is a reminder not only of the history of mankind, but of the strength of will required to hold back the forces of degeneracy and regression. Our imaginations of what happens when that willpower no longer holds reveal our ambivalence toward the monkey. Is the Ape a stage of man or an arrested development? The animal is natural, but can it be changed (improved), or has it already reached its civilizational level? Race has always involved culture and bodies placed into hierarchical relations. There is a spectrum of complexity and not merely the binaries that actors use to tell their stories.

Indeed, the polysemicity of the ape embodiment clearly functions to connect a set of ideas in the minds of readers, conveying racialised hierarchies, their relation to animal hierarchies, and notions of savagery, arrested development, aggression and backwardness.

However, we should take care not to miss another function, one that is not specific to the ape, but to the idea of racialization. This is the conjuring up of physical difference (from a given powerful majority or minority) in representations where there is actually little or none, in order to distinguish inferior from superior bodies. This works for the Irish in the USA and the UK in a similar way to the caricaturing of Jews in Nazi Germany. David Lloyd suggests that where racism is shorn of clear signs of physical difference, »the fantasmatic projection of differences appears as a wishful representation of disturbance in the visual field«.⁴⁰

In the case of the Irish in nineteenth-century America, for example, the whiteness of abjection counters the visual codes into which people are socialized, leading them to conclude that there must be something wrong with these white people for them to be on a social level with black people. There is insufficient space to pursue this strand further in this chapter. However, the conclusion is that the ape-ing of the white subject therefore draws our attention to supposedly genetic defects that cannot be comprehended from looking exclusively at bodies, by turning cultural defects into physical manifestations.

I have attempted in this chapter to explain the historical and ideological contexts of the story of simianizing the Catholic Irish in cartoons. The objective was therefore to make that story intelligible, not by simplifying it but by recognizing its complexity. There is a question of timing. Darwin's interventions are crucial in enabling the use of the ape to represent more than it had done before 1860. Moreover, the ape has plural meanings, and is a concise and efficient tool for compressing much longer stories of racial hierarchies, expressing fear of the oppressed and suppressing colonial violence by focusing on responses to it. The ape is deployed to make sense of social relationships from a particular point of view and functions relationally, to contrast Catholic Irish with Anglo-Saxon (and indeed Irish) Protestant on one hand, and to compare Catholic Irish with African-American on the other. To achieve this, cartoonists relied on the knowledge that readers had

⁴⁰ David Lloyd: Race under Representation.

220 Steve Garner

accrued through successive generations of popular understandings of >race< and social hierarchies.

Finally, I suggested that while this argument is valid, there might also be a paradoxical reading of the ape that ties it to other projects aiming at producing difference for the sake of more effectively subjugating and harming groups of people who are not necessarily different in appearance to the dominant group. On one level, the ape represents not so much the body, but instead the characteristics imputed to those bodies in the dominant act of making a diverse collection of people into a group, which is above all what racialization accomplishes.

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Intersections of Prejudice and Dehumanization Charting a Research Trajectory

Kimberly Barsamian Kahn, Phillip Atiba Goff, Jean M. McMahon

Abstract: The present chapter reviews social psychological literatures on contemporary racial prejudice and racial dehumanization, arguing that the two may be distinct forms of intergroup bias. Further, extending this formulation, the chapter explores how high and low levels of prejudice and dehumanization might combine to form unique intersectional forms of bias. The remaining portion of the chapter provides a roadmap of the intersections of racial prejudice and racial dehumanization, exploring, for example, how a high-prejudiced/low-dehumanizing individual might behave differently from a low-prejudiced/high-dehumanizer. Finally, considerations are offered with regard to how future research should consider these combinations and how the exploration of racial prejudice and racial dehumanization may be instructive in engaging fundamental questions of contemporary racial inequality.

On April 12, 2015, Baltimore Police arrested Freddie Gray, a 25 year-old Black man, on suspicion of carrying a switchblade. During his transport in a police van, Gray suffered life-ending injuries, falling into a coma and later dying due to trauma to his spinal cord. His death in police custody, allegedly by Baltimore police using excessive force while taking him into custody and/or by not securing him properly in the van, was yet another example of police involvement in the death of non-White males. The violent racial protests that erupted in Baltimore, Maryland in response to his death echoed the racial unrest caused by a string of Black deaths at police hands, including Sean Bell, Oscar Grant, Tamir Rice, Rekia Boyd, Sandra Bland, and Michael Brown to name just some of the most high-profile cases.

Yet, at the same time, social psychological research on prejudice has noted a decrease in the presence of traditional forms of explicit and old-fashioned racism throughout society. Indeed, there has seemingly been a shift in the expression and form of modern bias to be more

subtle and implicit in nature, operating beneath people's conscious awareness. How can one reconcile so-called modern forms of bias that are hidden and covert with the strikingly unsubtle pattern of racialized police violence? This question has plagued researchers for a generation. We suggest that part of the answer may be that dehumanization is a distinct, rather than merely an extreme form of prejudice. Consequently, while a decline in prejudice cannot account for persistent inequality – especially in what appear to be such brutal cases – it may be that dehumanizing beliefs about Blacks can.¹

Because it is imperative to advance our theoretical understanding of what causes racial inequality, it is also imperative to gain theoretical clarity about the possible distinctions between racial prejudice and dehumanization, what each might predict and how the two might overlap. Consequently, the goal of this chapter is to outline a series of theoretical predictions about how prejudice and dehumanization might conjointly predict racialized attitudes and behaviors in a contemporary racial ecosystem. If the two concepts are in fact distinct, then it is possible for individuals to hold varying levels of each attitude high vs. low prejudice and high vs. low dehumanization, which can vary independently of each other. This produces a 2x2 matrix, in which high and low levels of dehumanization and prejudice are crossed. We propose that one can better understand current examples of societal prejudice and bias through the unique patterns of high and low levels of implicit bias and dehumanization. While prejudice in its implicit and explicit forms may help explain certain societal patterns of inequality, the conjoint effects of dehumanization and prejudice may be responsible for some of the more egregious examples of intergroup bias present in society.

In this chapter, we will detail the Attitude-Inequality Mismatch (AIM) problem, in which individuals' and societies' seeming progress toward more outwardly egalitarian intergroup attitudes does not correspond with similar decreases in intergroup inequalities across societal domains.² As part of this discussion, we will describe the social psychological conceptions of modern prejudice, with a focus on implicit and explicit bias. Next, we discuss the role of dehumanization on intergroup attitudes and behavior. We propose and present evidence

Phillip Atiba Goff: A measure of justice; Vera Katelyn Wilde, Karen D. Martin, Phillip Atiba Goff: Dehumanization as a distinct form of prejudice.

Phillip Atiba Goff: A measure of justice.

that suggests these two attitudes >prejudice and dehumanization < are psychologically distinct. We then detail our 2x2 matrix in which high and low levels of both implicit bias and dehumanization are crossed. We proceed to describe the unique patterns of attitudes and expressions of bias that are created by each of the 4 crossed cells in the matrix >high implicit bias/high dehumanization, high implicit bias/low dehumanization, low implicit bias/low dehumanization, low implicit bias/low dehumanization <. We argue that this distinction can help society understand modern forms of bias, and provide at least a partial explanation for the AIM problem. We begin now with a discussion of the AIM problem, which we use as a framework to understand modern conceptions of bias.

The Attitude-Inequality (AIM) Problem

In surveying the contemporary literature on racial bias, a contradiction becomes apparent. Across social science disciplines, scholars of racial prejudice have noted a decrease in racial bigotry over the last half-century.³ Outwardly acknowledged, explicit forms of overt racial prejudice are less present within society, including individuals' personal endorsements of negative racial stereotypes.⁴ This is consistent with an increased societal norm of equality and egalitarianism within the United States, and a general pressure for individuals to avoid appearing prejudiced.⁵

However, this seemingly progressive change in individual and societal attitudes has not brought with it corresponding levels of change in the existence of racial inequalities. Across nearly every societal measure, there remains a consistent gap between Whites and non-Whites on key measures of social standing and progress. This racial gap can be seen in employment, wealth, health care access and in educational

Lawrence Bobo: Group conflict, prejudice, and the paradox of contemporary racial attitudes; John F. Dovidio: On the nature of contemporary prejudice; Anthony G. Greenwald, Debbie E. McGhee, Jordan L. K. Schwartz: Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition.

⁴ Patricia G. Devine, Andrew J. Eliot: Are racial stereotypes fading.

Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio: The aversive form of racism; Kimberly Kahn, Arnold K. Ho, Jim Sidanius, Felicia Pratto: The space between us and them; Benoît Monin, Dale T. Miller: More credentials and the expression of prejudice; E. Ashby Plant, Patricia G. Devine: Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice.

achievement with Black and Latino outcomes consistently below those of Whites.⁶

This apparent contradiction between a decline in prejudiced attitudes and the persistence of societal inequalities has been termed the Attitude Inequality Mismatch (AIM) problem. How can one reconcile a societal landscape that is becoming more egalitarian with persistent and entrenched racial disparities in achievement and outcomes? We suggest that one way to understand the modern racial ecosystem is to look beyond prejudice as the sole factor for these outcomes, and to take into consideration dehumanization as a distinct psychological process that can affect intergroup outcomes. Specifically, we argue that the psychological concepts of prejudice and dehumanization, when considered in combination, can each contribute uniquely to contemporary patterns of racial inequality. Rather than being part of the same attitude, prejudice and dehumanization, as distinct intergroup attitudes, can produce unique intra-individual patterns when crossed in a 2x2 matrix high implicit bias/high dehumanization, high implicit bias/low dehumanization, low implicit bias/high dehumanization, low implicit bias/low dehumanization. The four quadrants representing these unique patterns can be used to provide a more robust explanatory framework for intergroup attitudes and outcomes. In the next sections, we review the current social psychological literature on prejudice and on dehumanization, with a focus on the unique aspects of both attitude types, and then subsequently detail the four quadrants and their relationship to modern intergroup relations.

Prejudice: Implicit, Explicit, and Aversive Forms

Prejudice refers to the affective component of an intergroup attitude, consisting of individuals' positive or negative feelings and emotions toward an outgroup.⁷ Relatedly, stereotypes represent the cognitive component, and are beliefs or social knowledge about the characteristics associated with an outgroup, while discrimination represents the behavioral actions that disadvantage an individual simply because of

Gordon W. Allport: The nature of prejudice.

George Wilson: Toward a revised framework for examining beliefs about the causes of poverty; Melvin L. Oliver, Thomas M. Shapiro: Black wealth, white wealth; Grace Budrys: Unequal health; Claude Steele: Whistling Vivaldi.

their group membership. Over the last 20 years, social psychologists have discovered and confirmed that intergroup attitudes can exist at two levels: explicit and implicit. Explicit attitudes are direct, conscious, and reflect our personal ideals, and are what one traditionally regards as an attitude.

However, we also carry with us attitudes that we are not aware of at an explicit level. These implicit attitudes are unconscious and automatic, and can be activated in our minds without intention or effort. Our implicit attitudes are shaped by our past experiences and subtly influence how we think, feel, and act towards others.⁸

Importantly, implicit and explicit attitudes are related, but >distinct<. Because there is a weak relationship between one's implicit and explicit attitudes, knowing someone's explicit attitude about a target group does not help to predict their implicit attitudes a great deal. That is, implicit and explicit attitudes on the same topic can diverge within the same individual. Individuals can hold explicitly non-prejudiced attitudes, yet still hold implicitly negative intergroup beliefs. Indeed, this is a common and pervasive finding when studying modern racial bias, such that many White Americans hold some level of implicit racial bias, while holding explicitly egalitarian beliefs. 10

While explicit biases can be consciously acknowledged, implicit biases operate beneath conscious awareness and control. Because of this, implicit prejudice has to be measured indirectly. The dominant way to measure implicit attitudes is with the Implicit Association Task, or IAT, which uses response latencies in a computerized categorization task to gauge the strength of the association between a specific target group >e.g. a racial group, the elderly, a political party< and a feature or characteristic >e.g. good/bad<. Participants categorize pairs of targets and characteristics >e.g. White or good vs. Black or bad< over a series

Susan T. Fiske, Daniel T. Gilbert, Gardner Lindzey (eds.): Handbook of social psychology (>not aware<); John F. Dovidio, Kerry Kawakami, Natalie Smoak, Samuel L. Gaertner: The roles of implicit and explicit processes in contemporary prejudice and Michael A. Olson, Russell H. Fazio: Relations between implicit measures of prejudice (>without intention<); Anthony G. Greenwald, Mahzarin R. Banaji: Implicit social cognition (>past experiences<).</p>

John F. Dovidio, Kerry Kawakami, King Beach: Implicit and explicit attitudes; Anthony G. Greenwald, T. Andrew Poehlman, Eric Luis Uhlmann, Mahzarin R. Banaji: Understanding and using the implicit association test; Wilhelm Hofmann et al.: A meta-analysis on the correlation between the Implicit Association Test and explicit self-report measures.

Brian A. Nosek et al.: Pervasiveness and correlates of implicit attitudes and stereotypes.

of trials with their responses measured in milliseconds. When two concepts such as >Black< and >bad< are connected in the mind, the speed at which participants respond to this pairing in the IAT is facilitated. Implicit attitudes are thus measured by the differential speed with which participants associate different social groups with positive or negative words.

Social psychologists have shown that implicit bias can produce negative effects across many domains with a variety of social groups. For example, hiring managers' implicit biases toward the obese make them less likely to interview obese job candidates. Positive implicit biases regarding alcohol predict future binge drinking in adolescents. And, nation-level implicit stereotypes pairing >science< with >males

(rather than females) predict gender differences in science and math achievement at the national level.¹¹

Implicit biases are especially pervasive when it comes to the treatment of different racial or ethnic groups. Many people profess strong egalitarian beliefs, but still hold unconscious prejudices against and feel uneasy around Blacks or other racial non-Whites.¹² When such individuals interact with a non-White group member in a situation where the normative behavior is ambiguous, they will often be more awkward, disengage from the interaction, and attribute their behavior to some situational factor rather than racist attitudes. Negative implicit biases >but not explicit biases< predict nonverbal behaviors, such as rates of blinking, which indicate anxiety or dislike during interracial interactions. Implicit biases can also lead people to offer less help to Blacks, prefer White job applicants over Black ones and find Black defendants guilty of a crime more often than Whites, even in the face of inadmissible evidence.¹³ An analysis of over 2.5 million IATs obtained over a six-year period found that 68% of the sample implicitly en-

Jens Agerström, Dan-Olof Rooth: The role of automatic obesity stereotypes in real hiring discrimination (>managers<); Carolien Thush, Reinout W. Wiers: Explicit and implicit alcohol-related cognitions and the prediction of future drinking in adolescents (>alcohol<); Brian A. Nosek et al.: National differences in gender-science stereotypes predict national sex differences in science and math achievement (>science<).</p>

John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner: Aversive racism; for the following see id. et al.: On the nature of prejudice.

David L. Frey, Samuel L. Gaertner: Helping and the avoidance of inappropriate interracial behavior; John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner: Aversive racism and selection decisions; Gordon Hodson, Hugh Hooper, John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner: Aversive racism in Britain.

dorsed anti-Black attitudes. The majority of the sample (72%) was also quicker to associate >Blacks< with >weapons< and >Whites< with >harmless objects<. These findings indicate that negative implicit attitudes about Blacks constitute a pervasive form of contemporary prejudice.

Importantly, in order to address the AIM problem, Dovidio and Gaertner have spearheaded an attempt to understand unique combinations of explicit and implicit bias.14 Specifically, their theory of Aversive Racism posits that while one can be non-racist >with low levels of both explicit and implicit bias and highly racist with high levels of the same, one can also be aversively racist. This form of racism results when one's explicit attitudes are egalitarian, but one's implicit attitudes are prejudiced. The combination of low explicit and high implicit prejudice predicts a unique set of outcomes. While we do not claim that the same approach to prejudice and dehumanization will be as fruitful as the aversive formulation of racism, it is worth noting that Gaertner and Dovidio's framework has led to hundreds upon hundreds of research articles and accumulated wisdom over the past quarter century. Our hope is that a similar formulation of prejudice and dehumanization will at least add meaningfully to the theoretical landscape and practical approaches to contemporary forms of racism.

Dehumanization

Dehumanization occurs when a person or group is perceived to be less than human. At its most extreme, it is used to justify acts of violence, exploitation, genocide, and other atrocities. The earliest theories of dehumanization focused on these extreme intergroup contexts. Dehumanization was characterized as a process by which victims were denied an identity and a community, relegating them to a deindividuated horde. Some have even argued that intergroup violence was predicated on dehumanization, which facilitates moral exclusion, or the removal of people from »the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply«.15

More recent theories have examined less blatant forms of dehumanization, often characterizing it as a perceptual phenomenon through

Samuel L. Gaertner, John F Dovidio: The aversive form of racism.

Herbert C. Kelman: Violence without moral restraint; Susan Opotow: Moral exclusion and injustice, p. 1 (>boundary<).</p>

the lens of social cognition. Dehumanization can occur in more subtle ways and in the absence of intergroup conflict, a phenomenon some researchers call »infrahumanization«.¹6 Consistent with Social Identity Theory's process of ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation, the theory predicted that people would attribute more uniquely human characteristics to their ingroup than to an outgroup. It distinguished between primary emotions »e.g., anger, joy, disgust«, which are biologically-based and shared with other primates, and secondary emotions »e.g. admiration, contempt, embarrassment«, which are thought to be uniquely human.¹7 Results supported the infrahumanization hypothesis, such that fewer secondary emotions were ascribed to outgroup members than ingroup members. Infrahumanization has been shown to occur among a range of groups, is present at the implicit level and does not require the presence of intergroup conflict to occur.

Humanness« is not only defined in opposition to animals, but also to machines. ¹⁸ In a dual model of dehumanization, persons or groups denied qualities related to human uniqueness, such as civility, logic, morality, and refinement, are likened to animals, while those denied qualities related to human nature, like warmth, emotional responsiveness, and agency, are likened to objects. These associations are also present at the implicit level. The animalistic form of dehumanization is present in both infrahumanization and the explicit references to outgroups as vermin present in genocidal propaganda, while the mechanistic form can be seen whenever humans are objectified. ¹⁹

Further evidence characterizes dehumanization as a failure in social cognition based on stereotype content. Groups stereotyped as being low in both warmth and competence (i.e., homeless people, drug addicts) do not activate the medial prefrontal cortex, a region of the brain associated with social perception.²⁰ This indicates that members of highly stigmatized groups are not perceived as social beings, suggesting a neurological basis for dehumanization. Still others theorize

- Jacques-Phillipe Leyens et al.: Psychological essentialism and the differential attribution of uniquely human emotions to ingroups and outgroups.
- Henri Tajfel, John C. Turner: The social identity theory of intergroup behavior; for the following see Stéphanie Demoulin et al.: The role of in-group identification in infra-humanization
- Nick Haslam: Dehumanization.
- Stephen Loughnan, Nick Haslam: Animals and androids; id.: Dehumanization and infrahumanization
- Lasana T. Harris, Susan T. Fiske: Dehumanizing the lowest of the low.

that dehumanization is the result of >mind denial< or failing to attribute mental states, such as thought, emotion, and intention, to another human being.²¹

Many different social outgroups can be targets of dehumanization. Research on infrahumanization focuses on ethnic groups but the denial of humanness has been observed in attitudes toward racial groups, immigrants, the mentally ill, medical patients, asexuals and women.²² Similarly, a greater tendency to dehumanize has been found across a range of individual characteristics, including narcissism, psychopathy, political conservatism, and, most commonly and strongly, social dominance orientation.²³ People in a position of power or who feel threatened physically or existentially also show a greater tendency to dehumanize or infrahumanize an outgroup.

Dehumanizing perceptions of others have been associated with both a decrease in prosociality and an increase in antisociality. Concerning the former, researchers have found that dehumanization decreases the likelihood of helping both individual outgroup members, especially when they use secondary emotions to express their needs, and entire outgroups, as well as the likelihood of forgiving other groups for past transgressions.²⁴ Concerning the latter, the dehumanization of others is

Megan N. Kozak, Abigail A. Marsh, Daniel M. Wegner: What do I think you're doing.

Jacques-Phillipe Leyens et al.: Emotional prejudice, essentialism, and nationalism; Phillip Atiba Goff, Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Melissa J. Williams, Matthew C. Jackson: Not yet human; Gordon Hodson, Kimberly Costello: Interpersonal disgust, ideological orientations, and dehumanization as predictors of intergroup attitudes; Andres G., Martinez, Paul K. Piff, Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton, Stephen P. Hinshaw: The power of a label; Joris Lammers, Diederik A. Stapel: Power increases dehumanization; Cara C. MacInnis, Gordon Hodson: Intergroup bias toward >Group X<; Nathan A. Heflick, Jamie L. Goldenberg: Objectifying Sarah Palin; Philippe Bernard et al.: Integrating sexual objectification with object versus person recognition the sexualized-body-inversion hypothesis; Dawn DeLuca-McLean, Emanuele Castano: Infra-humanization of ethnic minorities; Lydia Eckstein Jackson, Lowell Gaertner: Mechanisms of moral disengagement and their differential use by rightwing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation in support of war.</p>

²³ Kenneth D Lock: Aggression, narcissism, self-esteem, and the attribution of desirable and humanizing traits to self versus others; Kurt Gray, Adrianna C. Jenkins, Andrea S. Heberlein, Daniel M. Wegner: Distortions of mind perception in psychopathology; for the following see Ifat Maoz, Clark McCauley: Threat, dehumanization, and support for retaliatory aggressive policies in asymmetric conflict; Jamie Goldenberg et al.: Of mice and men, and objectified women.

²⁴ Jeroen Vaes et al.: On the behavioral consequences of infrahumanization; Ruth Gaunt, Jacques-Philippe Leyens, Denis Sindic: Motivated reasoning and the attribution of emotions to ingroup and outgroup; Sven Zebel, Anja Zimmermann, G. Tendayi Viki, Bertjan Doosje: Dehumanization and guilt as distinct but related

associated with increased support for war, torture and harsher sentencing of criminals and a greater proclivity to harass and rape women.²⁵

One of the most prominent ways in which Blacks are dehumanized is by individuals' and US society's association of their racial group with apes. United States history is ripe with both explicit and implicit representations linking Black males with apes, including the original movie release of *King Kong*, with its not subtle undertones of King Kong representing Black males' animalistic pursuit of virginal White women. This explicit association is seen in more recent times with

DEHUMANIZATION Low High High Prejudice, High Prejudice, ş High Dehumanization Low Dehumanization (e.g., genocide) (e.g., ostracism) Low Prejudice, Low Prejudice, High High Dehumanization Low Dehumanization (e.g., superhumanization) (e.g., intergroup integration)

Fig. 1: Matrix of prejudice and dehumanization presented as distinct processes and corresponding predictions on intergroup behavior based on given combinations of attitudes.

US President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama being consistently compared to apes. Showing the real-world effects of the Black-ape association, Goff and colleagues demonstrated that, still in the current day, individuals are more likely to implicitly associate Blacks with apes. This implicit association affects their visual attention and basic cognitive processes. Being associated with apes has historically been used to justify violence against Blacks. In an archival analysis of newspaper articles in the latter part of the 20th century regarding

predictors of support for reparation policies; Tania Tam et al.: The impact of intergroup emotions on forgiveness in Northern Ireland.

²⁵ G. Tendayi Viki, Daniel Osgood, Sabine Phillips: Dehumanization and self-reported proclivity to torture prisoners of war; Brock Bastian, Thomas F. Denson, Nick Haslam: The roles of dehumanization and moral outrage in retributive justice; Laurie A. Rudman, Kris Mescher: Of animals and objects.

capital offenses, Black defendants were more likely to be described in ape-like terms as compared to White defendants. Further, the more implicit dehumanization language that was present, the more likely the defendant was to receive a death sentence. The dehumanization of Blacks also extends to Black children, who are seen as less childlike and innocent compared to their White counterparts. ²⁶ This biased perception then negatively affects outcomes in the criminal justice arena, such that the strength of the Black/ape association predicts real-world racial disparities in police use of force against children.

Dehumanization versus Prejudice: Distinct Processes

Dehumanization is not merely an extreme form of prejudice; rather, it is an altogether distinct process in which full humanness is denied to others. As other scholars have similarly argued, it is conceptually and functionally different than explicit prejudice, which involves the derogation of an individual or group.²⁷ Such prejudice is associated with the medial prefrontal cortex – the same region that fails to activate when perceiving groups low in competence and warmth. Dehumanization is also distinct from intergroup favoritism, which can be artificially generated by assigning participants to >minimal groups (a common social psychological method of assigning individuals group membership for the purpose of studying group membership in experimental settings). For dehumanization to occur, group distinctions have to be based on some meaningful difference rather than mere random assignment to a group. Finally, dehumanization is distinct from other intergroup emotions such as guilt, as they have been shown to predict support for reparation policies independent of each other.

Given that prejudice and dehumanization are distinct processes that can both uniquely contribute to intergroup outcomes, we propose the above matrix schematic to aid our understanding of contemporary racial treatment (see fig. 1). Prejudice and dehumanization can occur independently of one another, similar to implicit and explicit prejudice,

Phillip Atiba Goff et al.: The essence of innocence; Sandra Graham, Sandra, Brian S. Lowery: Priming unconscious racial stereotypes about adolescent offenders; Aneeta Rattan, Cynthia S. Levine, Carol S. Dweck, Jennifer L. Eberhardt: Race and the fragility of the legal distinction between juveniles and adults.

Vera Katelyn Wilde, Karin D. Martin, Phillip Atiba Goff: Dehumanization as a distinct form of prejudice.

such that individuals may hold any combination of both attitudes. A simple 2x2 crossing of high and low prejudice and dehumanization then produces four distinct >cells< or combinations of attitudes, that we argue lead to different types of intergroup behaviors. A broader array of societal actions can therefore be better understood when considering these four cells based on the unique characteristics and combinations of prejudice and dehumanization. We now detail our predictions for intergroup behavior and outcomes based on each cell.

The first quadrant in the upper left hand corner of the matrix represents a pattern of intergroup attitudes that entails both high prejudice levels and high levels of dehumanization. This combination likely produces the most egregious and heinous outcomes for outgroup members, as prejudiced attitudes are coupled with views of the outgroup as less than human. This pattern would be consistent with genocide and extreme acts of intergroup violence. The negative affective feelings reflected by prejudice can correspond to and motivate intergroup violence, while the dehumanization beliefs, either animalistic and/or mechanistic, deny basic humanness to the outgroup. This denial of humanness serves to justify such extreme attitudes and behaviors.

The upper right hand quadrant of the above matrix represents a mixture of psychological attitudes characterized by high prejudice but low levels of dehumanization. We propose that this pattern would more closely relate to avoidance and shunning of the undesirable outgroup reflected in ostracism. Ostracism refers to the process by which an individual or group is socially excluded.²⁸ The negative prejudicial attitudes will lead individuals to limit their contact with the outgroup, and openly exclude outgroup members. However, the lower levels of dehumanization ensure that the outgroup will be seen as fundamentally human, but simply an undesirable group to be avoided. This pattern might be reflected in societal patterns of housing discrimination or both formal and informal segregation in schools. As is commonly seen in intergroup research, majority group members often try to avoid non-Whites and will increase the amount of social distance between them and the outgroup.²⁹

Social psychological research has also detailed the negative outcomes of ostracism, social exclusion, and rejection on the recipient,

²⁸ Kipling D. Williams: Ostracism.

²⁹ Phillip Atiba Goff, Claude M. Steele, Paul G. Davies: The space between us.

which include emotional responses of sadness and anger that can also lead to feelings of depression and helplessness. The lower left hand quadrant also reflects a mixed attitude in which prejudice is low but dehumanization is relatively high. How might this combination of attitudes be reflected in societal treatment of non-Whites? We suggest that this pattern of attitudes would be consistent with outwardly positive attitudes or feelings toward non-Whites, yet not viewing the outgroup as entirely human. This pattern is consistent with recent social psychological research that has noted a tendency of Whites to view and treat Blacks as >superhumanc.³⁰

This superhuman bias reflects Whites' attributions of supernatural, magical, and extrasensory abilities to Blacks, abilities that go beyond those normally ascribed to humans. Superhumanization of Blacks is found at both the implicit and explicit level. Whites implicitly associate superhuman traits with Blacks compared to Whites and also explicitly ascribe more superhuman abilities to Blacks. Further, low prejudice but higher dehumanization can also be seen in society's fascination with Black athletes for their incredible athletic prowess, such that their athletic ability is perceived as more animalistic. Indeed, Black athletes, while being praised, are often characterized as animals and overly aggressive. Similar perceptions of Black male rappers and musical artists are also consistent with this pattern of beliefs, such that their popularity reflects a generalized positive feeling, but their treatment often reflects dehumanized perceptions. They are often treated and viewed as caricatures of humans. Further, we argue that this pattern is also indicative of the societal trend in which White males adopt Black culture in a bid to be seen as >cool<.

The final quadrant we examine contains the combination of attitudes reflecting low prejudice and low dehumanization. This internally consistent pattern of intergroup attitudes is clearly the most positive in producing intergroup harmony. These attitudes would reflect true intergroup integration in society, in which members of different outgroups are valued, respected, liked, and viewed as equals. We argue for the need to look beyond only low levels of intergroup prejudice for there to be intergroup equality – there must also be low levels of dehumanization to have the most positive outcomes.

³⁰ Adam Waytz, Kelly Marie Hoffman, Sophie Trawalter: A superhumanization bias in whites' perceptions of blacks.

The AIM Problem Readdressed

We began this chapter by considering the death of Freddie Gray in light of the AIM problem, where increasingly egalitarian attitudes are not matched with reductions in racial inequalities. That is, how can one understand what appears to be a spike in egregious racial violence in light of a societal context which is becoming more egalitarian? We have argued that to help understand the AIM problem, one should consider both prejudice and dehumanization as distinct processes that contribute to intergroup behavior. By crossing these two attitudes and examining the resulting patterns, we have a more robust conceptual repertoire with which to investigate contemporary intergroup relations. Low prejudice levels alone do not ensure true intergroup integration and equal treatment in society, but instead must also be coupled with low dehumanization perceptions as well. We call for researchers to examine the potential role of prejudice and dehumanization as discrete predictors of behavior across policing, housing, employment, and educational domains. Through this process, we can better theorize, develop, and test unique interventions to combat each form of bias, and progress toward more equitable treatment of all societal members.

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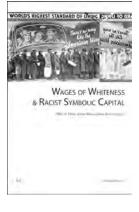
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Racism Analysis – Series B: Yearbooks edited by Wulf D. Hund (University of Hamburg)



Wages of Whiteness & Racist Symbolic Capital

(Racism Analysis | Yearbook 1 - 2010)

Ed. by Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler,

David Roediger

228 pp., 24.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-10949-1

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Contents | David Roediger: Accounting for the Wages of Whiteness. U.S. Marxism and the Critical History of Race | Anja Weiß: Racist Symbolic Capital. A Bourdieuian Approach to the Analysis of Racism | Wulf D. Hund: Negative Societalisation. Racism and the Constitution of Race | Stefanie Affeldt: A Paroxysm of Whiteness. > White Labour</br>
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AND > White Sugar

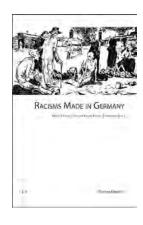
In Australia | Jeremy Krikler: Re-thinking Race and Class in South Africa. Some Ways Forward | Dagmar Engelken: > A White Man's Country

The Chinese Labour Controversy in the Transvaal | Elizabeth Esch: Racializing Transnationalism. The Ford Motor Company and White Supremacy from Detroit to South Africa

The essays assembled in this volume shed light on the complex of class and race from which W.E.B. Du Bois saw originating »a sort of public and psychological wage« of whiteness. David Roediger (University of Illinois) preliminarily addresses the evolution of whiteness as a category of critical social analysis. Anja Weiß (Universität Duisburg-Essen) explains that the perspective of whiteness studies can be expanded by a modification of Bourdieu's category of symbolic capital. Wulf D. Hund (Universität Hamburg) pleads for the generalisation of this concept and for its application to an analysis of racism as negative societalisation. Stefanie Affeldt (Universität Hamburg) specifies the analytic dimensions of the categories racist symbolic capital« and wages of whiteness« using the example of the white sugar campaign« in Australia. Jeremy Krikler (University of Essex) explores some missing dimensions in the study of race and class in South Africa. Dagmar Engelken (University of Essex) investigates the Chinese Labour Question in South Africa. Elizabeth Esch (Columbia University) examines the ways in which corporate initiatives of the Ford Motor Company in the U.S. and South Africa imagined the assembly line worker as a white citizen and consumer.

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Racism Analysis – Series B: Yearbooks edited by Wulf D. Hund (University of Hamburg)



Racisms Made in Germany

(Racism Analysis | Yearbook 2 - 2011)

Ed. by Wulf D. Hund, Christian Koller,

Moshe Zimmermann

236 pp., 24.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-90125-5

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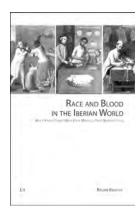
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The label Made in Germany was a success story. The same, unfortunately, is true for Racisms made in Germany. The essays in this volume deal with their modern versions. Christian Koller (Bangor University) discusses the question how far racisms made in Germany can be considered a special case. Moshe Zimmermann (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) examines overlaps, similarities and differences between racism and antisemitism. Wulf D. Hund (Universität Hamburg) analyses Immanuel Kant's racism and discusses its race-related, antisemitic, antiziganist and orientalist dimensions. Claudia Bruns (Humboldt Universität Berlin) investigates the intersectionality of antisemitism and colonial racism. Arno Sonderegger (Universität Wien) deals with racism in German-language African studies. Ulrike Hamann and Stefanie Michels (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt) discuss African perspectives on and responses to German racism. Wolfgang Wippermann (Freie Universität Berlin) examines the various elements of Nazi racism. Gudrun Hentges (Hochschule Fulda – University of Applied Sciences) addresses the current debate around Thilo Sarrazin. Boris Barth (Universität Konstanz) reconstructs the development of historical research on racism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

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Racism Analysis – Series B: Yearbooks edited by Wulf D. Hund (University of Hamburg)



Race and Blood in the Iberian World (Racism Analysis | Yearbook 3 - 2012) Ed. by Max S. Hering Torres, María Elena Martínez, David Nirenberg 210 pp., 24.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-90259-7 softcover with flaps Lit Verlag | Berlin - Münster - London - Wien - Zürich

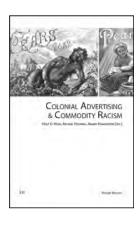
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Editorial | Max S. Hering Torres: Purity of Blood. Problems of Interpre-TATION | María Eugenia Chaves: RACE AND CASTE. OTHER WORDS AND OTHER World's | David Graizbord: Pauline Christianity and Jewish Race. The Case of Joáo Baptista D'Este | Karoline P. Cook: Moro de linaje y nación«. Religious Identity, Race and Status in New Granada | Laura A. Lewis: Between Casta and Raza. The Example of Colonial Mexico | Ângela Barreto Xavier: Purity of Blood and Caste. Identity Narratives among Early Modern Goan Elites | Tamar Herzog: Beyond Race. Exclusion in EARLY MODERN SPAIN AND SPANISH AMERICA | David Sartorius: RACE IN RET-ROSPECT. THINKING WITH HISTORY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CUBA | Thomas C. Holt: BLOOD WORK. FABLES OF RACIAL IDENTITY AND MODERN SCIENCE

This book offers a historical approach to the topics of praces and pbloods in the Spanish Atlantic world, with extended comparative glances toward other Iberian imperial contexts (Portuguese India) and periods (the modern). *Max S. Hering Torres* (Universidad Nacional de Colombia – Bogotá) proposes to analyze processes of racialization in plural before the modern period. *María Eugenia Chaves* (Universidad Nacional de Colombia – Medellín) addresses the question of whether it is analytically appropriate to apply the concept of races to early modern Spanish and Spanish American contexts. *David Graiz-hard* (The University of Arizona) exprises the intrinset dynamics of races and blood in bord (The University of Arizona) examines the intricate dynamics of race and blood in Iberian discourses of otherness. Karoline P. Cook (University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign) analyzes the discourse of limpieza de sangre in relation to Spain's Muslims and moriscos in New Granada. *Laura A. Lewis* (James Madison University) probes the meanings of the Spanish notions of race and its relationships with gender in colonial Mexico. Ângela Barreto Xavier (Universidade de Lisboa) explains what casta, raza, and limpieza de sangre meant in Goa. Tamar Herzog (Stanford University) discusses the place of Gypsies, indigenous people, and blacks within discourses of citizenship and nativeness. Focusing on Cuba, David Sartorius (University of Maryland) analyses the discussions about how to transform colonial subjects into citizens. Thomas C. Holt's (University of Chicago) explores the works of two scientists of the interwar period whose research in different ways contributed to what he calls blood sciences

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Colonial Advertising & Commodity Racism

(Racism Analysis | Yearbook 4 - 2013)

Ed. by Wulf D. Hund, Michael Pickering,

Anandi Ramamurthy

218 pp., 24.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-90416-4

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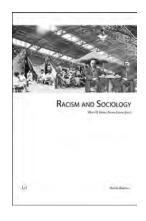
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The contributions to this volume illuminate a variety of facets of modern advertising whose racist interspersions are traced and analysed from their earliest manifestations up to the present day. It becomes evident, that along with more obvious changes advertising is characterised by both a striking adaptability and a tenacious persistence of racist discrimination. Wulf D. Hund (Universität Hamburg) analyses the connections between capitalism, imperialism, mass production, advertising, and racism. Anandi Ramamurthy (University of Central Lancashire) and Kalpana Wilson (London School of Economics) explore the changes in racialised representations in contemporary advertising from the 1960s until the present. Robert W. Rydell (Montana State University) examines a familiar example of late Victorian/Edwardian popular entertainment. Michael Pickering (Loughborough University) analyses sheet music covers, programmes, posters and promotional images associated with Blackface minstrelsy in Britain. Malte Hinrichsen (Universität Hamburg) examines the history of European advertising moors. Emma Robertson (La Trobe University) analyses the ways in which cocoa was marketed and promoted as a popular drink. Surveying the different stages of advertising Afri-Cola. Katharina Eggers (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) and Robert Fechner (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt) tell a story of racist flexibility and perseverance.

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Racism Analysis – Series B: Yearbooks edited by Wulf D. Hund (University of Hamburg)



Racism and Sociology

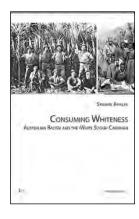
(Racism Analysis | Yearbook 5 - 2014) Ed. by Wulf D. Hund, Alana Lentin 240 pp., 24.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-90598-7 softcover with flaps Lit Verlag | Berlin - Münster - London - Wien - Zürich

Contents | Wulf D. Hund: Racism in White Sociology. From Adam Smith to Max Weber | Alana Lentin: Postracial Silences. The Othering of Race in Europe | Felix Lösing: From the Congo to Chicago. Robert E. Park's Romance with Racism | Les Back, Maggie Tate: Telling About Racism. W.E.B. Du Bois, Stuart Hall and Sociology's Reconstruction | Barnor Hesse: Racism's Alterity. The After-Life of Black Sociology | Sirma Bilge: Whitening Intersectionality. Evanescence of Race in Intersectionality Scholarship | Silvia Rodríguez Maeso, Marta Araújo: The Politics of (Anti-)Racism. Academic Research and Policy Discourse in Flibode

The papers of this yearbook discuss significant aspects of the relation between racism and sociology. Wulf D. Hund (Universität Hamburg) analyses the connections of classist and racist considerations in the early course of the development of white sociological thought and Alana Lentin (University of Western Sydney) investigates the elision, neglect or denial of race in the work of scholars of migration, ethnicity and minorities. Felix Lösing (Universität Hamburg) inquires after the influence of Robert E. Park's involvement in the Congo Reform Movement for his approach to the sociology of race relations. Les Back and Maggie Tate (Goldsmiths, University of London) deal with the linkages between black and white sociology through a discussion of the legacies of W.E.B. Du Bois and Stuart Hall. Barnor Hesse (Northwestern University) elucidates how black sociology challenged and modified the white concept of racism by analyses of colonialism and white domination. Sirma Bilge (Université de Montréal) shows that the mainstream adoption of intersectionality serves to whiten, discipline and dilute, an initially insurgent knowledge firmly rooted in black feminist thought and activism. Silvia Rodríguez Maeso and Marta Araújo (Universidade de Coimbra) complexify the relationship between power and knowledge in pevidence-based policy making using this to critique assumptions about pintegrations and pinterculturalitys in light of the European silence about race.

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Racism Analysis – Series A: Yearbooks edited by Wulf D. Hund (University of Hamburg)



Stefanie Affeldt Consuming Whiteness

Australian Racism and the >White Sugar Campaign (Racism Analysis | Studies 4 − 2014) 608 pp., 64.90€, ISBN 978-3-643-90569-7 softcover with flaps LIT VERLAG | BERLIN - MÜNSTER - LONDON - WIEN - ZÜRICH

At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a veritable compulsion towards whiteness. The federation of the Australian colonies into the Commonwealth of Australia was the endpoint of more than a hundred years of legitimation of British land taking and more than a decade of evocation of the white community. In this context, the racism imported from Europe was specified and fortified by the alleged yellow peril, which was springing from the geographical location of the Australian continent. The ensuing white Australia policy has so far largely been discussed with regard only to the political-ideological perspective. No account was taken of the central problem of racist societalization, that is the everyday production and reproduction of races as a social relation (doing races) which was supported by broad sections of the population.

In her comprehensive study of Australian racism and the white sugars campaign, Stefanie Affeldt shows that the latter was only able to achieve success because it was embedded in a widespread white Australia cultures that found expression in all spheres of life. Literature, music, theatre, museums and the sciences contributed to the dissemination of racist stereotypes and the stabilization of whites identity.

In this context, the consumption of sugar became, quite literally, the consumption of whiteness: the colour of its crystals melted with the skin colour ascribed to its producers to the trope of doubly white sugar. Its consumption was at the same time personal affirmation of the consumers' membership in the white race and pledge to the white nation; its purchase was supposedly a contribution to the racial homogenization and defence of the country, and was meant to overall serve the preservation of white supremacy.

»Consuming Whiteness is an important new contribution to the Australian history of race. [...] It exposes anew the tight hold that white racism maintained upon the entire history of Australian development and self-regard«, ›Cropping it sweet«, review by Raymond Evans, History Australia, 12, 2015, 2.

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