



**Migrating Imageries: zoomorphic depictions of
immigrants in American illustrations**

by

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1.0 An Introduction to Migrating Imageries

Since the founding of the United States in 1776, and after the revolution in which the original 13 colonies became independent of the British crown, immigration has played a central role in the peopling of the country which today is recognized as one of the most diverse and culturally varied on earth. This immigration equals not to an isolated phenomenon in the case of the United States, but rather an ongoing and continual process which even now forms a part of the American cultural consciousness. While the adage of the melting-pot has been deemed inaccurate upon review of the historical animosities which occurred among the immigrant groups themselves and the among the 'nativist' or already established post-immigration communities, it is important to look at how this process of co-existence was dealt with in terms of social conditions, but also and most importantly here visually and with regards to the discourse surrounding the occurrence of immigration to the United States.

Nativist sentiment is not a thing of the past and continues both as a socio-political phenomenon and as a visual one. If it is possible then to trace nativism through the various stages of US immigrant history, then it is also worth trying to determine to what degree this was also present visually and to what extent it is still present in this respect. What elements consistently create the scopic regime in which immigrants are viewed and are there patterns which are both observable and understood specifically based upon the interpretation of certain icons- these are the foundational aspects of the line of questioning from whence this work commences. Furthermore, it is of interest as to what degree these phenomena are linked (socio-economic and visual). As there are surely multifaceted means by which one could read these visuals it is therein reasonably valid to consider the illustrator's agency on their viewing and his/her reuse of certain symbolism and the implications thereof. The reoccurrence of specific imagery and its intended function cannot be forgotten when seeking to interpret the 'audiencing' of specific illustrations.

This visual aspect of immigration will be the focus of this thesis, yet just as the sentiment behind many of the images and their creation was spurred by nativism, this work will seek to determine to what degree this effect had on the viewing of these images within the context of the progress of immigration and the visual content created throughout that process and elements which are obvious upon inspection of many of the images. The particular use of zoomorphic imagery, that is the depiction of non-animal subjects with animal traits, characteristics or behaviors, is a phenomenon that can be found not only in the contemporaneous depictions of immigrants with the rise of the current trends of nativist

ideology, but is consistent throughout the major waves of American immigration. This is especially relevant in lieu of recent legislation such as the bill which passed in 2010 in the state of Arizona which allows for racial profiling during routine police stops on roads, highways, sidewalks, and in other public domain jurisdictions.¹ These current legal, socio-political and visual regimes will also be covered in the work and specifically dealt with in regards to the discourse they are a part of insofar as they inform the reading of the visual samples.

Zoomorphism, has been a central theme throughout art history present in the works of Early Netherlandish painters such as H. Bosch, but is also visible in the works of more contemporary avant-garde artists like Mathew Barney who makes extensive use of zoomorphic themes throughout his *Cremaster Cycle*. The existing focus has been mostly in relation to its use in literature but there is also evidence in newer forms such as Japanese Manga. The interest in the Japanese illustrated stories has brought zoomorphic imagery into the mainstream of many Asian and Western countries in which Manga is popular. However, as stated, the academic interest in zoomorphism and the discussion surrounding it has largely been the domain of literature. The writings of Comte de Lautréamont, a 19th century French poet and writer who would have a great influence on the surrealists, made extensive use of zoomorphism in his work *Les Chants de Maldoror* in which the protagonists or other characters are often seen metamorphosing into, or taking on the characteristics of animals in a literal or behavioral sense. More recently the author H.P. Lovecraft used zoomorphic imagery in his horror novels to create elements of the grotesque and gory.²

Examples of zoomorphism are more prevalent in literature than in the visual arts, especially in relation to its use in accordance with the depiction of human beings. This frequency of the pairing of human and animal images could be due to the association of animals as primitive, unclean or unevolved, through which one could also introduce concepts of primitivism and the scopis regimes that have contextually defined these constructs. The thesis however, seeks to determine if there is a consistent use of zoomorphic imagery throughout the various waves of American immigration. Particular application of zoomorphism to immigrants will also be viewed in its proper historical context to determine if institutional apparatuses effected the depiction of immigrants in any way and if so, to what

¹ Archibold, Randal. "Arizona Enacts Stringent Law on Immigration." *New York Times* Web. 23 Apr. 2010.

² cf. Harford, John R. "Surrealism: H.P. Lovecraft and Dream Reality." (2001): Print.

extent this is visible through use of zoomorphic imagery. It is therefore impossible, in consideration of the aims of this work, to avoid the evaluation and review of the historical epochs in which immigration has progressed, this is not simply practical but also necessary in order to place the images within a contextual discourse that can be examined to determine their reflection of the larger social discourse of the respective time periods.

In the interest of choosing a medium that has been somehow consistently represented in the various depictions involving immigrants, and that has progressed alongside them, illustration has been assumed as the focus of the visual study. Specimens will be taken from print media illustrations and relevant analysis, upon availability (some examples may lack any textual element), of texts will be included. These texts, often the titles or descriptions intended to accompany the original illustration, provide a link to the means whereby we are able to read the image, and vice-versa. This multi-modality was a very present part of the printed illustrations which were popular during the Great Migration, and to some degree even before it. This support of the image, in the form of text is not specialized, as Gillian Rose states:

“It is very unusual, for example, to encounter a visual image unaccompanied by any text at all, whether spoken or written; even the most abstract painting in a gallery will have a written label on the wall giving certain information about its making, and in certain sorts of galleries there are sheets of paper giving a price too, and these make a difference to how spectators will see that painting. So although virtually all visual images are multimodal in this way- they always make sense in relation to other things, including written texts and very often other images- they are not reducible to the meanings carried by those other things.”³

The role of the texts will however, serve to assist in the interpretation of the images and to help establish a proper analysis of the scopie regime in which the visuals would have been viewed and the implications thereof.

In the interest of keeping the work anchored in a contemporary debate, it is necessary to mention the relatively new field of Human-Animal Studies and how the work addresses the relationship between visualities of animals and of humans and how these are intertwined and

³ Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Material*. 2nd. London: SAGE Publications, 2007. 11. Print.

what implications that may have in terms of interpretive measures for images that will be used for the most part in the more contemporary parts of the evaluation. Human-Animal Studies (also known as HAS), covers a broad range of interdisciplinary fields concerning the relationship of humans and animals. Mathew Brower, a scholar involved in the development of this area of research, defines one important aspect of this broad field as being involved with animal imagery and he claims that, “work in animal studies examines human-animal relations and animal representations to argue for the importance of animals to history, thought, culture, or society.”⁴ Determining to what extent zoomorphic imageries have been used in the representations of US immigrants is surely an examination of the socio-political implications that such iconography contains and how that is read by society at large. This particular interplay of animal and human representations in regards to the depiction of immigrants and its historic review is unprecedented, as there are no reference materials from which one can find primary sources relating to the subject.

The examinations to be undertaken in the work address three major areas, these are; the zoomorphic depictions of American Immigrants in illustration and repeated images that are used to form a part of the scopic regime (iconography). Next, a general overview of the socio-political/socio-religious and socio-ethnic circumstances in which the images would have been viewed, (or in the case of current images) how they are viewed will follow. Finally, tracking the consistency of the use of zoomorphic imagery throughout the major waves of American immigration and how the role of human-animal relations is visible in the images.

As already mentioned, this particular scholarly research has been undertaken within this emphasized interdisciplinary approach. While there is existing information on the visible role of immigrants in the American media, both contemporary and historically, none of these focus exactly on the implementation of zoomorphism as an iconological element in the visibility or audiencing of these images. Furthermore, the relatively newly developing field of Human-Animal Studies is still being constructed and the use of research from this area (which is interdisciplinary in origin) will add to the information being compiled, which ultimately serves as a single stone in the foundation of a canon of scholarly material that can help support future research. Finally, the specific search for the interrelation between the socio-political factors and how the discourse creation process was affected, or where catalysts in the

⁴Delliquanti, Devin. "Animal Studies and Film." *Modern Mask: A Journal of the Arts*. (2006).Web. 15 Jan. 2012.

creation of this scopic regime which included zoomorphism exist, has not yet been undertaken.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that images from before the second wave of immigration to the United States, mainly during the colonial era, are absent. This absence is due to the fact that finding images which correspond to the undertaking that is carried out within the boundaries of this work, is quite difficult due to the lack of sufficient source material. As there was a war against Great Britain for independence and then a hustle in creating the fundamentals of the new nation, many sources were either destroyed or lost to time. Additionally, the colonial period of immigration is not relevant within the scope of this work because here only U.S. American examples will be analyzed and since the colonial entity which existed in the territory that has since become the United States of America was not the United States but rather thirteen British colonies, those works exist outside of the range of the analyses which form the core of these findings.

Structurally speaking, the section of this work entitled, *Methodology*, explains the analytical methods which make the findings presented in the conclusion possible. In the aforementioned section, detailed explanations are presented which detail how the analyses will be carried out and exactly which questions are used as ramifications of the analytical approach. Generally speaking, the structure of this work follows a blueprint which exists as result of the taxonomy used to divide the waves of immigration. This taxonomy is widely accepted amongst contemporary historians and is explored more in the methodology section as well. In addition to the chronology of immigration to the United States, a structure exists whereby the uniformity of approach is guaranteed for each wave; the waves are all analyzed in the same manner, following the same analytical sequencing.

The analytical sequencing consists of each wave being initially presented with an introduction which provides an overview of the wave in order to supply the reader with some contextual information as well as to give the reader an idea of what is presented in each section. Following the introduction to the waves, the pictorial analyses comes immediately. In these pictorial analyses, the iconographical analysis methods of Erwin Panofsky have been followed and are also expounded upon in the methodology section. These analyses follow the method developed by Panofsky of reflecting a three-fold analysis consisting of the pre-iconographic, the iconographic and the post-iconographic (or iconological) levels of interpretation.

Next, are the historical analyses and these are provided in order to extend a chronological context for the reader in which the reader might be able to view the images and which also informs the understanding of elements within the pictorial analyses as well as within the analyses which follow in the next section which includes the discourse analysis. The historic sections draw largely on the work of Roger Daniels, an American historian of the immigrant experience. Other sources, including local journalistic texts, have also been used as founding material where possible. As historic events are subject to interpretation, even by historians presenting a chronological view of history, it was important for the aims of this work to choose the historic accounts of a single primary historian, and then to compare those accounts for integrity with other historic reports of the same events. To this end, the comprehensive approach of immigration history to the United States provided by Daniels was determined to be the most fitting to the aims and ends of this work. Therefore, especially the historical sections rely heavily upon his research. Again, there is further explanation of this in the methodology section which is presented in a later chapter.

Second in importance only to the pictorial analyses are the sub-sections which undertake a discourse analysis of the images but also the accompanying text. These sub-sections explore what it is about the images that allow the viewer to read them at all by bringing in the implications of what it means to view something within a given scopic regime. As most of the images here are being analyzed long after their inception, it is difficult to comment on the implication of such works as that would be mere speculation. What can be achieved however is the review of the attitudes and mores, but also the socio-political factors which would likely have lead to the creation of such images. It is impossible to know for certain what intentions the artists of the works held personally about the subject of immigration, if any, and therefore, this work does not necessarily aim to dissect the illustrator's attitudes, while at the same time it would be incomplete of this work to not consider the subject. This has been carefully carried out but with more emphasis on the greater social implications of the images, and more specifically, connections to zoomorphism and animalistic imagery and thereby the inerrant power-dominance depicted in the works. The aim, if it is fair to undertake an unbiased analysis with any aim at all, of these discourse analyses is mostly to support the findings of the pictorial analyses and to provide insight into the discursive formations which likely shaped their creation (not solely by the illustrators of the images but by the greater society also).

Finally, each chapter ends with a summary so that all the separate analytical methods can be examined in totality and with their respective connections. Again, it is of great importance to stress here that the goal of this work is not to find particular zoomorphic icons which migrate through the various waves of immigration to the United States of America, but to simply establish the trace of zoomorphic iconography throughout the waves as well as to establish a consistent zoomorphic discursive formation which works within the greater framework of a formation which uses animal imagery to dehumanize and devalue immigrants and the presence of that action reflected in the visual culture of the respective periods when the illustrations were created. Therefore, the summaries at the ends of the chapters are provided so that the reader can establish these connections at the end of the chapter, preparing the reader for the reemergence of the imagery in the next wave. In case the reader has not been able to establish the presence of any imagery migration, these summaries exist to remind the reader of what has already been determined to be extant in the previous waves so that they will be able to follow the same process in the following wave which is examined.

Lastly, the conclusion at the end of this work does not seek to highlight only the most important factors of this work in a summary which would lock the findings into the greater framework, but rather seeks to, as mentioned above only remind the reader that they have been able to follow a kind of thread throughout the work, and that thread is the presence of zoomorphic imagery. Imagery being here, as later defined, as not only the images which exist within the illustrations that have been chosen, but also imagery in a literary sense; the images built via the instrument of language. This final aspect in which the utilization of imagery is examined is in fact only the culmination of the assertions put forth in the sections of discourse analysis in which the language will be examined both as a part of the image itself and as part of the imagery which is formed via the interplay of the text and the image, as well as to some degree, the discursive formations which inform the reading of the images.

As explained above, each chapter and each section of this work is so undertaken that they should fit together in an appropriate place, allowing the reader to draw upon previously established conclusions and to carry them on into the next wave's evaluations. In so doing this the reader will also migrate, along with the analyses, the conclusions established there from. Indeed, it is absolutely contingent that the reader is first allowed to see the building of the formations, first through the imagery and accompanying analysis, then through the historic information given which provides the reader with a historic context that allows for some kinds of contemporaneous deduction and finally through the discourse analysis which, as

mentioned, provides the reader with both the contextual interpretation but also a part of the momentum which assists the readers migration through the waves.

The theme of migration is of great import in this work as it is structured in such a way that the reader can stack, one on top of another, the findings of the work undertaken here in parts so that in the end, all parts are presented together and all connect sequentially to form a coherent conclusion that is able to successfully establish that this migration exists at all. The existence of a migration through time is important for this work and need not be underestimated. Pictorial examples from the past which cannot be validly interpreted with today's eyes alone need the assistance of the other analytical methods which are used herein and are further explained in the section on methodology. Moreover, when this work describes migration, it seeks to not only speak of migration in the physical sense whereby people move from one place to another due to certain push-pull factors, but also the movement of imagery through a chronological period. This imagery need not be only that which is evident in the illustrations which have been chosen, but also the textual images which are created within the works, and also those around them. That is to say, that the images which are to be viewed are only a part of the full formative imagery which is being spoken of in this work.

In summation of the introductory remarks, it is perhaps helpful to remind the reader that this work seeks to establish only one primary aim and that is to trace a use of zoomorphic imagery (inclusive of the pictorial and literary image) throughout the various waves of immigration to the United States of America in the period after independence. Therefore, it is necessary when reading this text to maintain the notion that specific iconography, while playing a central role in the analyses of the illustrations, does not warrant any special consideration herein. For the intents of these analyses, imagery in the general sense, and not only that which is brought about through the identification of certain zoomorphic icons, is being traced and that in turn means that this aims to prove that there is an imagery which migrates, not specific icons. The extent to which this has been successful, and to which degree for each of the waves (including any phenomenon which might have affected the migration of this imagery), will be discussed at length in the conclusions to this work.

2.0 Literature Review Regarding Migrating Imageries

This section will serve two major functions: firstly, what follows will detail the major literary works that serve as the textual basis of the work undertaken herein. Secondly, an overview of major works and the current status of similar works will be dealt with. As far as exact matches to the aims and ends of this work, there is nothing that could be found in existence which approaches the scope and range, nor the exact framework that is done here. Furthermore, the unique tracking of the migrating of specific iconography, and in addition certain discursive formations (and the combination of the two which is referred to as imagery throughout) is not with precedent. While there are existing works that deal with themes that are partially explored here, the combination of analyses (the iconographic and discourse), the historic contextualization and the chronological motion implicit through the tracing of the imagery through the various waves of U.S. immigration is without a forerunner.

To begin with, the literature sources used for the historical sections serve the important function of providing a historic context for the viewing of the illustrations chosen. This aspect is less important for the iconographic analyses (although still an integral part) and most important for the discourse analyses as the illustrations being analyzed are mostly from historic sources rather than the contemporary (although this is not the case for the final wave of immigration). The historic reviews are in large part based on the collected works of the American immigration historian Roger Daniels. In particular his work, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*,⁵ a work of epic scope that covers the entire history of U.S. immigration including the colonial era and even the period of European exploration. This work is especially relevant in that it is structured in such a way that it allows for focusing on one specific ethnic group as that is what is desired. Furthermore, the chronological taxonomies included are much the same as in this writing and served as a template for the chronological taxonomy used herein.

In addition to the encompassing work mentioned above, Daniels' other historical works on U.S. immigration also served as important parts of the historical reviews that support the analyses. Other works referenced include: *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882*⁶ and *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities*

⁵ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. Print.

⁶ Daniels, Roger. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004. Print.

in America, 1890 – 1924.⁷ The former work offers insight into the political and legal implications impacting the immigration experience but also gives valuable information regarding the period of Chinese exclusion, the beginning of the anti-Chinese movement and its relation to the state of labor in the United States, as well documentation regarding the Irish immigration movement in the United States. It is clear then, that in terms of the historical reviews that are offered as coherent pieces of each wave's analytical backdrop, that the work of Daniels (and most specifically his work surrounding the Irish and Chinese immigrations) has had a great influence.

Collections such as the *Major Problems in American History*⁸ series, and in particular the volume *Major problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History*, use the same type of chronological taxonomy in their review of American immigration themes and history that will be used in the thesis. These previous items are to give an exemplary overview of the kind of literature used and how this information is related to the thesis and the historic methodology (namely the chronology) that is simple but most effective in dealing with historic events in a balanced way.

There are two major sources which serve as the theoretical backbone of the discourse analyses that are included and those are *The Archeology of Knowledge* by Michel Foucault.⁹ Also, *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit* by James Paul Gee was a major source of information about how to format the analyses in such a way that was systematic and which offered a support structure of questioning.¹⁰ While both of these works do nearly the same job of outlining the theoretical means by which discourse analysis can be undertaken, Gee's toolkit is a much more tactile guide of the various aspects that can be focused on using discourse analysis, whereas Foucault's tends to be somewhat abstract and more generalized. Furthermore, as this work deals extensively with discursive formations and the greater implications of what creates discourse (and vice versa), how it is formed and what it becomes in terms of immigration discourse throughout the waves of U.S. immigration, it has been determined that the toolkit is often better at providing the same information as Foucault's

⁷ Daniels, Roger. *Not Like US: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890 - 1924*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997. Print.

⁸ Gjerde, Jon. *Major problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History: documents and essays*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin College Div, 1998. Print.

⁹ Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books Ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 49. Print.

¹⁰ Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Tool Kit*. 1st Ed. New York: Routledge, 2011. Print.

work but in a more succinct way that works better for the purposes of this work. Still, Foucault's work is considered here to be the foundational document upon which these discourse analyses have been carried out.

In the interest of keeping the discourse analyses as devoid of influence as possible so that they might be as neutral as possible, and thereby a fair compliment to the iconographic analyses, few other sources have been included that are directly methodological sources for discourse analysis, and instead this work focuses more on the practical use of discourse analysis as a tool by which a similar (and complimentary) form of analysis can be undertaken that works in tandem and in a symbiotic relationship with the iconographic analyses which are rather formulaic and only require interpretive analysis in the third stage, the iconological phase. Thereby the opportunity to include more interpretive functions of the process here has been successfully done via the use of the discourse analysis which in turn alleviates the burden of interpretation to rest solely on the iconological aspect of the pictorial analyses.

Next, Erwin Panofsky's, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*¹¹ is the main source of guidance for the iconographic sections of this work. Moreover, the three-tiered approach to analysis (pre-iconographic, iconographic and post-iconographic) serve not only as a micro-method in which the illustrations are analyzed here but also this methodology is loosely repeated in the structure of this document in that first a historic background is given for the illustrations to be analyzed, next the iconographic analysis is carried out and then the discourse analysis. Therefore the structure of Panofsky's analysis method is mirrored in the structuring of the chapters and subchapters. *Meaning in the Visual Arts* is a fundamental source when undertaking iconographic analyses as the method outlined therein is the original method. The methods of iconography and iconology are developed in the chapter entitled *Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*. This work does not deal with renaissance art at all, the original method of the three-tiered analysis that includes an objective listing of the subjects in the picture, the implications about what those things mean as icons and then finally the iconological process whereby the interpretative element (which connects well with the discourse analysis that comes later) is however expounded upon. It is therefore imperative that this source serve as the guiding principle upon which the iconographic analyses are undertaken. Panofsky's book is issued in several editions and the Phoenix Edition was used here from 1982.

¹¹ Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Print.

Having listed already the major works which form primary sources for this work it is also of import to remember that there are many sources which fill in the space left by those places whereby the reach of this work cannot grasp. Several local sources have been used when available. Much of the investigation regarding the Chinese experience in the United States leading up to the period of Chinese exclusion is accounted for here not only via the use of Daniels' extensive academic publications regarding that period, but also from local newspaper journalism sources which offer accounts of the events when they actually happened. This was done in an effort to reduce the likelihood of revisionist tendencies when analyzing the illustrations as the account is not based solely upon oral transmission or contemporary reconstructing but rather on contemporaneous accounts which provide a record of what happened as it happened and is therefore more trustworthy information that is used to support Daniels' research and findings.

As for the images that were chosen. They are all illustrations which are available for digital download. The illustrations were found in different sources but a large majority of them have been gathered from the collections of the Library of Congress. Also, simple search engine illustration searches were used including Google® with focus on immigration illustrations, and in regards to the second wave of immigration to the United States in particular, individualized searches pertaining to the work of illustrator Thomas Nast. Additionally, WebPages devoted solely to the work of Nast and some of his contemporaries proved to be fertile sources of images for use.

Other sources which are more secondary in nature, such as scientific articles regarding simian behavior or characteristics are also used when needed and are properly cited. These articles were necessary inasmuch as that they were able to support the link between the human and animal subjects (which in this case are often the same subject) being analyzed so that the human and non-human subjects could be analyzed independently of one another. To allow the viewing of the illustrations within the developing discipline of Human- Animal Studies (HAS) (also sometimes called Human-Animal Relations (HAR)) and making it possible to theoretically distinguish between human and non-human subjects and therefore between the zoomorphic aspects which created the non-human or animalistic content, journals such as the *Journal for Critical Animal Studies* from the Institute for Critical Animal Studies, *Humanimalia: A Journal of Human/Animal Interface Studies* and *Antennae*, have been used as a kind of general basis in taxonomies used loosely within this field for making this analytical difference.

While the work of Panofsky is able to provide the clear outline of the nature of the iconographic analyses, it is not only iconography that helps us to view the illustrations within a proper light and which makes it possible to trace imagery, indeed it is also necessary to first establish some basic principles of visuality that function such as the Human-Animal Studies journals do for the zoomorphic aspect individually. Most important in this area has been the work of Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Material*.¹² Not only does this work help to support the work undertaken in the interpretation of the visual material, but also it helps to underline the very relevant aspect of tying in the text that is associated with the illustrations to the analytics being done on a purely visual level. Rose mentions how important it is that text which accompanies illustrations be understood in its proper relation to the visual material as this is the basic element of multi-modality which increases the dynamism of the works:

“It is very unusual, for example, to encounter a visual image unaccompanied by any text at all, whether spoken or written; even the most abstract painting in a gallery will have a written label on the wall giving certain information about its making, and in certain sorts of galleries there are sheets of paper giving a price too, and these make a difference to how spectators will see that painting. So although virtually all visual images are multimodal in this way- they always make sense in relation to other things, including written texts and very often other images- they are not reducible to the meanings carried by those other things.”¹³

Rose's work is valuable to this work in that it offers what is to be done here a more interdisciplinary point of view as she presents various analytical methods often describing how several can be combined (such as is done in this work through the combination of historical, pictorial and discourse analyses respectively). Furthermore, Rose's definition of iconography is perhaps best at justifying the connections between the iconological part of iconographic analysis and the discourse analysis. The notion that there is something more at work between image and viewer and that they simultaneously inform each other is somewhat more approachable and made objective than is the case with Panofsky's work or that of Foucault.

¹² Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Material*. 2nd. London: SAGE Publications, 2007. Print.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.11.

Though the primary sources of materials for this work are illustrations and the methodological texts which support their interpretation and analysis, the secondary sources which have been referred to are of great importance and will be dealt with in this part of this section. In the desire to keep as broad and interdisciplinary approach as possible, the secondary texts come from very various sources and from multiple fields of scholarly research. As has already been mentioned, Human-Animal Studies journals have been consulted and while there is not any exact match in terms of the work that is undertaken in this kind of analytical endeavor, these works have been helpful in providing a framework in which to place the zoomorphic contextualization of the analyses. While there are not any existing sources which deal directly with the zoomorphic representation of immigrants with a focus on the migration of zoomorphic imagery such as this work, the developing field of human-animal studies is beginning to see the advent of a range of publications dealing with issues of significance in the human-animal interplay. Some sources which were important in providing a theoretical backdrop for the aims to be sought out here include: *Making Animal Meaning*¹⁴, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women*¹⁵, *The Post-Modern Animal*¹⁶ and *Animals and Society*.¹⁷ This selection of sources is meant not to be conclusive, but rather to highlight some important works which have been of assistance here in this work. While each of these books touches upon, at one point or another, the objectification of animal subjects, none of them does so in a totally aesthetic manner as is undertaken in this work and furthermore, none of them is engaged in an analysis of certain imagery which is migratory throughout any particular chronological period.

In the previously mentioned respect, this work is unique in that it stands alone as an example of not only iconographic analysis of a series of illustrations from various epochs but also in that it seeks to tie those analyses to the historic and discursive formations that exist surrounding the creation of those images up until the present. This is not the case for any of the works listed above in relation to human-animal studies. There is no work which comprehensively joins these three major aspects in the tracing of imagery throughout a significant historic event such as migration to the United States. As far as can be determined at this point, this is unprecedented in that these three unique perspectives are conjoined but

¹⁴ Kalof, Linda, and Georgina M. Montgomery. *Making Animal Meaning*. 1st. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2012. Print.

¹⁵ Haraway, Donna J. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. 1st. New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 1991. Print.

¹⁶ Baker, Steve. *The Postmodern Animal*. 1st. London: Reaktion Books, 2000. Print.

¹⁷ DeMello, Margo. *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*. 1st. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

more importantly that the imagery (including all three of these elements combined) is tracked from the start of wave two of the immigration patterns to the United States.

Moreover, this work will function as a kind of filler-in of various aspects when any evaluation of the pictorial history of U.S. immigration is undertaken. The ability for this work to bridge, the historic, the iconographic/aesthetic and the discursive lives of these illustrations is not only far-reaching but also without precursor. Therefore, it is necessary, in order to fulfill the mission of this work (namely the tracing of zoomorphic imagery throughout the different waves of U.S. immigration history and up until the present), to estimate to which degree this work would be able to draw on secondary sources, and it was determined that although there was significant work undertaken by leading scholars in the historic part that the best match for what was sought to be done was the work of Rogers. This choice made it possible, due to Rogers' over-arching nature and vastly comprehensive study of American immigration history in a singular manner, to concentrate the historic analysis upon those conclusions that Rogers reached. Likewise, the same decision was made in relation to the pictorial analyses- in that a single methodology was reached and not a mixed, newly formed or self-devised methodology. Panofsky's iconography fits best within the motion of this work through the waves as this method made it possible to look for static images within a moving chronology. This may have been much more difficult had an alternate method been chosen. Semiotics for example, due to the changing interpretation of signs through time and their reappropriation by any given society throughout the progression of time, would not have worked well here as it would have likely forced the adherence in the analyses to the search of a single sign and not iconographic imagery in general which was determined to be more flexible in the studying of the illustrations and their varying zoomorphic icons and imageries.

Next, the current state of research and available literature will be discussed briefly. As the exact topic which is being dealt with here, namely the zoomorphic depictions of immigrants throughout the different waves of U.S. immigration and the tracing of those imageries throughout the waves, is not one in which there is much preexisting literature, it is necessary to investigate the extent to which the major themes of this work (independent of the larger framework in which these different themes are connected herein) are currently being written about. One such work in regards to zoomorphic imagery being used in this case in literary analysis (as is most often the case for zoomorphism) is a compilation on Kafka's use of animalistic imagery and contexts, *Kafka's Creatures: Animals, Hybrids and Other*

Fantastic Beings, edited by Marc Lucht and Donna Yarri¹⁸. In a series of essays the categories given in the title are explored but only in as much as they are included in Kafka's writings and that corpus is exclusively used as the primary literature there. This is to say that while the book does not relate to this work in the subject matter of the primary resources (if the illustrations are to be referred to as a kind of primary source for this work) it does so in that the theme of zoomorphic imagery is explored throughout a certain body of work. Of course, the work is singular in its exploration of Kafka's corpus and is not necessarily similar to this work in that many different illustrators are used. Furthermore, for the purposes of what is being undertaken here, a different kind of analysis is necessary than the kind of literary objective analyses that are mentioned in the book. However, *Kafka's Creatures*, in its undertaking of a work which requires a transitive aspect of examination, is much like the one done here and therefore it is chosen as an example of a contemporarily similar work as this one. Also, while there are various books on animal imagery ranging from the analysis of certain religious iconography to Dutch painting, these analyses are usually done in such a manner that a single work or a single body of work with one creator is examined. This work is unique in the respect that imagery is analyzed from various chronological points of view making it impossible to evaluate the use of zoomorphic imagery in the work of only one illustrator.

Many accounts of the immigrant experience exist both from a first person perspective in narrative form and the fictitious, however none of these works is singularly accountable for any tracing of imagery throughout the immigrant experience. Therefore, this work, with its particular aims is alone in its scope and subject matter. That is not to say that historic accounts of immigrants to the United States and their treatment do not exist - for indeed they do, but the historic overview provided within is not the sole subject matter of this work but rather a part which makes the greater goal of finding imageries which migrate through the waves of immigration to the United States the centerpiece. Because so many historic accounts exist and most of them focus on a single immigrant group or experience, the works of Roger Daniels have been used as they are (as already stated) comprehensive, shedding light on each group of immigrants throughout every wave of immigration and including extensive statistical evidence. Daniels' work then, is encyclopedic in its scope and range and it was therefore determined that other works would not be necessary insofar as they do not address the specific set of goals that are set out in this work.

¹⁸ Lucht, Marc, and Donna Yarri. *Kafka's Creatures: Animals, Hybrids and Other Fantastic Beings*. 1st. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. Print.

As for the analytical methods used (iconography and discourse analysis) there is certainly ongoing scholarly work regarding those methods being undertaken, however as methods for this work were decided upon with the illustrations in mind and the methods are not, for the purposes sought here, the primary purpose of the work but rather the means by which analyses were done in order to establish the migration of imageries, it is not necessary to highlight the current status of these methods as they are still used just as they are used herein. Both analytical bases (Panofsky's iconography and Foucault's ideas on discourse) have already been previously discussed in this section.

There is then, unfortunately little to no currently circulating literature which matches exactly with this work. There is no precedent for tracing immigrant imageries throughout the various waves of U.S. immigration history, and there is certainly none which further focuses on very especially the zoomorphic imagery. That is why, therefore, it is paramount that this work be undertaken as it is here. This work can serve as a kind of foundational basis upon which further research can be completed in regards to the zoomorphic imagery of immigrants within the U.S. American context. Finally, this work seeks to not only start the thread of zoomorphic research in regards to immigrants but also to establish a matrix which is wide enough that various imageries can be examined in this very same context. So while the context here has been solely illustration and the texts used therein, that might be expanded in future work to include other kinds of imageries which are perhaps not visual but solely literary, or perhaps which are solely visual and contain nothing of the textual accompaniment which is so necessary for this research that is presented.

Some literature which deals with the presence of animals in visuality and as composite pieces of imagery is extant and served very well in the research undertaken in this work even if they do not all directly appear in the work. Examples of this include, for example Simona Cohen's *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* which, like this work, addresses a gap in the covering of the full time frame of animal symbolism in renaissance art. Also, just as this work addresses the role of animal imagery, Cohen's work evaluates the workings of animal imagery in the corpus of the respective genre.¹⁹ *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* is, as the name suggests, encyclopedic in its scope and deals with animal symbolism comprehensively through short entries as one would find in such a resource

¹⁹ Cohen, Simona. *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art*. 1st. Leiden: Brill, 2008. Print.

book.²⁰ The work is easy to use and at the same time quite nuanced and therefore provides some insight which is only presented in that particular format.

Popular Media and Animals by Claire Malloy is a book which investigates the extent to which the construction of visuality of animals by the mass media is ethical and which cultural implications are inherent therein.²¹ This work is not subject specific to this work but the attention paid to narrative construction and the role that the media plays in relationship to animals is certainly similar to a portion of the analysis covered by this work. The first chapter about the role that depictions of animals play in the selling of newspapers is especially poignant for what is to be carried out within the parallel analysis here. Unfortunately, the rest of the work veers distinctly in a separate direction than does this one but nonetheless, there is a commonality in that both works examine the place, function, role, and manipulation of the viewer/reader in the depictions of animals in the print media.

Next, in relation to discourse and the role of certain imagery in the formation of it, *“Like an Animal I Was Treated”: Anti-immigrant Metaphor in U.S. Public Discourse* in the publication *Discourse and Society* mirrors a minor aim of this work in that it attempts to find some tangible presence of the anti-immigrant discourse in U.S. society that is connected to animalism. However, the illustrations that are the center point of this work and the analytical work that follows is not a part of what is explored in the title above. In fact, the anti-immigrant aspect is more central than the animalistic aspect, in comparable terms to this work, because the title singles out the metaphor and innuendo (some blatant and some implied) in prose and not in actual images such as is done here.

Finally, insofar as the placement of animals in visual art is to be presented as a subject matter at all, Giovanni Aloï’s *Art and Animals* is a focused analysis of the incorporation of animals into art practice.²² The works that the author examines however are related solely to modern/contemporary practices and therefore the questions posed in the work are much different than the questions which are explored for the purposes that have been undertaken within the goals to be reached for this research. This work does however stand as proof that the questions regarding animals in visuality are ongoing even until the present and deserve continued academic inquiry. Moreover, the chronological scope in Aloï’s book is dissimilar to

²⁰ Werness, Hope B. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*. 1st. London: Continuum International Publishing, 2003. Print.

²¹ Malloy, Claire. *Popular Media and Animals*. 1st. Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

²² Aloï, Giovanni. *Art and Animals*. 1st. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012. Print.

the work done here as this work is meant to be comprehensive and to move through the different chronological phases of visibility. Aloï's work is focused upon the modern/contemporary mostly and therefore lacks the full range of evaluation that a greater span of time offers.

To conclude, literature that matches the exact profile and framework under which this was written is currently non-existent. There are however works which deal often with similar themes, or similar times, or which have used a similar analytical method as has been used here, but there is none which has been found that includes references to all the analytical aspects of this work which leads to the assumption that such a work has not yet been published. The pairing of iconographic analysis in search of zoomorphism and a discourse analysis in search of the discursive formations that inform the viewing of the images within the context of the illustrations or texts that accompany them is new. The notion that these two aspects (imagery and text) can inform each other is surely not new, but it is the unique combination of these aspects with zoomorphism and migration which looks to have been as of yet unexplored. This work seeks then for the first time to bring these disparate aspects together in search of something communicated throughout the different waves of immigration, something which works between the images themselves and the texts that accompany them which is, further along in this work, referred to as 'more' as is explained by Foucault and is incorporated to reach these aims.

3.0 Methodology Used for Migrating Imageries and the Various Analyses

This chapter will deal with the methodology that is pervasive throughout this work. It will attempt to describe the method or ‘path’ that the work uses in order to meet the aim of the inquiry which is provoked by the title, *Migrating Imageries: zoomorphic depictions of immigrants in American illustrations*. In reasoning that the initial part of the title; *Migrating Imageries* asks readers to track a migration of imagery of one sort or another, it is clearly deducible that the subtitle; zoomorphic depictions of immigrants in American illustrations confirms that that tracking will take place within a specific framework of zoomorphic depictions (that is animalistic depictions), and then within the even more specified constraints of American illustrations. In all, the use in illustrations of zoomorphic imagery and how that is visible from one wave to another is the main focus of this work but not the only one.

In addition to simply following the movement of certain icons of zoomorphism amongst immigrant depictions from one wave to the next, the goal here is also to pinpoint that the imagery of zoomorphism is not the relevant means of migration, but rather that the use of the zoomorphic imagery and the discursive formations that are reflected therein is. That is to say that here, individual specific zoomorphic icons will not be traced from one wave to the next but rather solely the phenomenon of the appearance of zoomorphic imagery will be shown to have migrated throughout the different waves of immigration to the United States. As this of course entails a chronological migration through immigration history, there will also be historical analyses included in order to contextualize (in terms of recorded American immigration history) the illustrations.

Some secondary legislative information, pertaining to relevant legal discourses which will be discussed in some parts of this work, will also be presented although it is not to be considered as a major part of this work, nor is the aim of this work to do a legislative analysis but rather to analyze, first on the visual level (illustrations) and then on the communicative level (discourse analysis and analysis of the texts and titles of respective illustrations) the migration of zoomorphic imagery and just how that imagery (including the marriage of pictorial images with the textual communication) is present in the waves of American immigration until the present.

Finally, there is a consistent mention of a concept found with only the loosest of definitions in Foucault’s, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, and used in that work as well as this one, called the discursive ‘more’ which will also be discussed. This ‘more’, as understood for

the purposes and aims of this work and which is evoked by Foucault's own dissection of the term, suggests a fusion of meaning which comes about via the interplay between separate communication channels (in this case, illustration and text).²³ It is the mortar in the brick wall that encloses discursive formations and while it is not the main aim of this work, it is an important part in understanding why often both illustrations and texts were necessary in order to ensure a certain reading of the pictures.

Again, the main aim here is not to find traceable zoomorphic icons from one wave to the other, nor is it to follow an ascertainable discursive formation through the immigration waves, for while this would certainly be of interest, for the ends of this scholarly inquiry it is enough to simply look at the migration of the imagery (the depictions either via text or pictorial representation) of zoomorphism and how it is used to dehumanize and degrade human immigrant subjects. This will be accomplished using iconographic methods pioneered by Erwin Panofsky in addition to the work on discourse analysis which is expounded upon by Michel Foucault throughout many his works to one degree or another, but relevantly in *The Archeology of Knowledge* and *The Discourse on Language*. To further support these sources, a more practical approach to the discourse analysis will be undertaken with influence from James Paul Gee's *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit*. These works form the two primary pillars upon which this interdisciplinary exploration will take place. Gee's work especially serves simply to guide the conclusions found from Foucault and to put them into more approachable terms.

The greatly comprehensive historical work undertaken by Robert Daniels on American immigration history cannot be overlooked in relation to its influence on the historic sections hereafter. While historic information has been taken from various sources, including local (in relation to the geographic location of reported events) sources, the other sources are to serve as supporters for those historic events as archived by the life-work of Daniels. The inclusion of historic content is merely so that the reader can fairly place the illustrations within their contemporaneous contexts as it would be difficult to approach the illustrations otherwise due to the changes in American social and material culture in cases where the illustrations are not from the current wave of immigration.

Indeed, to speak of different waves of immigration is already a kind of taxonomy which will need to be explained. The waves of immigration to the United States are generally

²³ Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 49. Print.

agreed on by most immigration specialists and scholars with basically the same time frames concerned (including Daniels) to be roughly broken into four waves. These waves are: Wave 1 or the colonial era and the immigrations before 1820, Wave 2 from around 1820 to around 1870, Wave 3 from around 1870 to around 1910 (or just after the turn of the 20th century) and Wave 4 which covers time post-1965 to the present²⁴. While these time frames are not always used within these exact parameters, they are mostly indicative of the accepted chronologies of immigration to the United States and will be followed in this work for this reason. Also, as this work deals with the visuality of immigration, as it is evident in both illustrated works and the texts they accompany, the first wave will not be dealt with here as there are simply not enough remaining examples of illustrations from this period; and the notion of colonialism in contrast to immigration.

The waves into which the current of immigration are broken into, are not in existence solely for the purpose of offering academic taxonomies which help to review them in a consequent and thorough manner, but more importantly because they in some way mimic the historic pulses of immigration to the United States from various origins. It is often these origins which provide the clearest signposts of these waves and it is often possible to identify the wave of immigration by simply observing the illustrations and seeing which countries of origin are most represented by the immigrants therein. The second wave for example contains a plethora of visual content concerning the Chinese and Irish immigrations to the United States and so it can be deduced that these two groups were most impacting in terms of the scopic regime of the time due to their being hired as cheap labor to undertake infrastructural work.²⁵ Next, in wave three the Chinese and Irish representations remain stable but toward the end of the wave, and nearer to the turn of the 20th century, the Irish and Chinese are less visible in illustrations and the introduction of the immigrants' origins becomes clear- namely Southern and Eastern Europe- the so called, "new immigrants".²⁶ Finally, after the cool-down of immigration about one and a half decades into the 20th century, the visibility of immigrants becomes considerably less and the scale and frequency of depictions of immigrants does not really pick back up until the contemporary era; around and after 1965. The illustrations which

²⁴ The use of the term 'wave' to refer to the different immigration surges in American history is not based upon a single preexisting taxonomical basis but is used as both a formal and an informal term. As this work focus within the historical analysis primarily on the works of Roger Daniels, the means by which all of his works use this terminology will be followed here.

²⁵ "Immigration, Railroads, and the West." *Aspiration, Acculturation, and Impact: Immigration to the United States, 1789 - 1930*. Harvard University Open Collections Program. Web. 14 Jul 2013.

²⁶ Ueda, Reed. *A Companion to American Immigration*. Blackwell Companions to American History. West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006. 1018. Print.

have been selected for this work and the analyses entailed, have been chosen because they were deemed to be most representative of these trends in the waves of immigration throughout the course of U.S. American history.

The collecting of images was carried out mostly through electronic databases such as the image database at the Library of Congress.²⁷ The more contemporary images were likewise chosen in a more contemporary manner from images available on-line through search engines. By whatever means the sources were obtained and included in the works, they have all been chosen because they meet certain criteria which are the foundation of this work. All examples are illustrations, meaning that they accompanied a published (usually paper but not exclusively) medium. Furthermore, as this work aims to observe the migration of imagery throughout the waves of immigration and not only the visuality contained therein but also the imagery expounded through text based methods, the works included all contain some text as part of their overall composition. These text elements are dealt with in a separate manner to the historic and pictorial analyses as they are dissected in the discourse analysis section in order to not look for particular imagery (as the iconographic analyses do) but to track the incidence of a recurring discursive formation which includes themes of animalizing humans and dehumanization.

The decision to include text analyses came about due to the fact that the primary aim of this work has always been to track the migration of imagery through the waves of U.S. immigration. Again, this does not mean that although there is an iconographic analysis that forms part of this work, that solely the icons are to be traced, nor does it mean that based on the discourse analyses using the text included in the selected images that the aim is to trace the imagery brought about through the creation of discursive formations. Rather, the aim is to again trace that imagery which is best summed up as Foucault's 'more' - the generated product of the meeting of the formations and the imagery. This 'more', while seemingly ambiguous to an indiscernible degree, is actually the merging of what is said and what is seen- image and text and their mingling with society and the currents active in their contexts, and throughout them and into others, and the spawning of further discursive elements. The imagery is then not the sum of its parts, but is still indicative of a formation which is 'more' - therefore multimodal.²⁸ Imagery is therefore a very different concept in this work than image. Imagery

²⁷ *Prints and Photographs Online Catalog*. N.d. Illustrations. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Web. 14 Jul 2013.

²⁸ Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. 2007 ed. London: Sage Ltd., 2007. 11. Print.

is to be considered here as a version of the ‘more’ that one cannot quite put their finger on but is that non-objective ‘thing’ which brings about the understanding of both text and image and their interplay that follow certain “rules of formation” (conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance)).²⁹ The text without the images in which they accompany becomes simply words that alone have not got enough contextual traction to pull along any kind of narrative or imagery that could survive into the next wave. Moreover, the imagery without the text would not be at all relatable outside of immediate contemporaneous circumstances. Still, neither of these would make any sense without the recessed tones which make up the historic social circumstances and give viewers the ‘where’ and ‘when’ in visually placing these composites.

Terms in this work which are valuable for the tracing of zoomorphic imagery from one wave to another include; zoomorphic, imagery, image, wave and migration/migrating. Clearly the use of the term zoomorphism (and corresponding adjective zoomorphic) refers here to the attribution of non-human, animal characteristics to human subjects, which is evident upon review of the selected illustrations and their content.³⁰ Imagery will be used here not solely to describe the actual visualized image but also the contextual association and discursive elements which arise from the creation of such examples and their acceptance into the broader scopic regime. Imagery therefore contains not only the images (meaning both the illustrations and the visual content therein) but also the text and cross-media aspects of the ‘seeing’ or ‘reading’ of the images. As mentioned, image will be used to identify the greater whole or the illustration (although the term illustration will often be used when it is considered difficult to differentiate which meaning is implied in the text) and sometimes as well, to a larger composite which contains a particular iconographic unit within it.³¹ Berger states, “The meaning of an image is changed according to what one sees immediately beside it or what comes immediately after it. Such authority as it retains, is distributed over the whole context

²⁹ Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 38. Print.

³⁰ Werness, Hope B. . *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006. 2. Print.

³¹ Image and Imagery are distinguished in meaning herein as such: image refers to an element that is meant to be seen whereas imagery rather refers to language (which might include images) that compositely leads to a visualization which may be independent of the image being seen and might include texts, metaphor or shared cultural composites such as discourse. Images are therefore representations whereas imagery is more attributable to the visibility concept. Cf. Rose (2007)

in which it appears.”³² For this work then, the ‘authority it retains’ is actually the discursive formation; the imagery consistent throughout the waves of immigration.

The terminology surrounding the waves of immigration has already been mentioned and it is worth restating that this moniker is borrowed from previous and widely used ‘langue’ among U.S. immigration historians, specifically Roger Daniels.³³ Finally, migration/migrating is subdivided into two applications: to describe the migration (immigration) of immigrants to the United States and the actual experiential details that are implicit with that experience and also the reappearance of certain icons throughout the different immigration waves. Thereby, migration serves a double function of being both the movement of people from one area to another but also, for the purposes of this work, from one wave of immigration to the next.

It is again important to underscore the significance of the use of the term ‘migration’ in its relation to the tracing and observing from one wave through to another of zoomorphic imagery. This is not to say that the work here maintains any interest in the migration of specific zoomorphic icons (images) from one wave to another and this is why the word ‘icon’ rarely appears as a term that consistently pinpoints a specific icon (or identified symbol with meaning from an illustration). Rather icon is used to describe an archetypical unit that may exist in the illustrations, whereas the iconography (not the specific icon) is that which mobilizes across the waves of immigration and may include not only images but also text and the implied meanings which are explored in the iconological analyses of the illustrations. The migration therefore exists in the imagery and the primary aim here is to follow this imagery through the various waves and not specific icons or images in themselves.

The final aspect of the methodology which is incorporated into this work is that which binds the various approaches together and this is chronology. As the primary goal of this work is to establish the migration of zoomorphic imagery from one wave to the next- until the present- it is therefore necessary to examine not only one wave of immigration, although such detailed analysis of a single wave would not be without merit, but rather all waves after the colonial period when the United States became a nation. It is therefore important at this point to clarify how this work defines the term ‘immigrant’ within the scope of United States history. Foremost, immigrants will be considered to be those who willingly immigrated to the

³² Werness, Hope B. *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008. 2. Print.

³³ See Daniels’ most comprehensive work on immigration history with its chronological unfolding of historic and socially relevant events, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, (2002)

United States and not those who were imported as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.³⁴ As slaves were brought to the United States unwillingly they were not subject to the push-pull aspects which are signatures of immigration throughout the world and which are especially helpful when looking at certain ethnic-intensive immigrations in U.S. American history. Therefore while the chronological scope of this work does cover time before emancipation and the end of the Civil War in 1865, arrivals to the United States to be used in slavery is not dealt with due to the solely unique and wholly a-typical aspect of that experience when compared to immigrant experiences.

The chronological aspect also ties the iconographic analysis together in that it induces a transitive aspect to the imageries found. Again, the aim is not to trace particular icons but only to show that the use of zoomorphic imagery is present from one wave to the next and so this chronological aspect can be seen as vital for its catalytic property. As this aim is not as specific as finding particular icons and tracing them through the waves would be, it is necessary to have a means of moving the analyses forward in time without that motivation being based upon the search for particular icons. The chronology affords the discourse analyses with the opportunity to solidify the finding of discursive formations in that it shows the establishment of a scopic regime which was in place and was not temporary due to limited or localized factors. Rather, this chronological approach allows for the simple progress of time to be a factor in evaluating both the movement throughout U.S. American immigration history of zoomorphic iconography, but also the discursive formations present throughout and even a limited historic positioning within the overall framework.³⁵

All in all, these points: the identification of a zoomorphic imagery, the historic context which in turn informs the discourse analysis and the chronological tracing, all allow for a comprehensive analysis in attempting to meet the aims of this work which are set forth in the title. By first pinpointing the imagery, can the greater ramifications of that imagery be looked

³⁴ There is on-going debate regarding whether or not immigration historians should consider the slave-trade as a form of immigration or not. Some historians using a stricter definition of slavery argue that slavery does not share the same social phenomena as immigration while others argue that while slavery and immigration differ in some ways, that those ways are insignificant and that the trans-Atlantic slave trade was key in the peopling of the nation. For the purposes of this work and its particular investigation of imagery transport, and because there are extremely limited source pools for this kind of analysis regarding slavery it is not here considered to be migration. For further reading: Magee, Rhonda. "Slavery as Immigration?" *University of San Francisco Law Review*. 44.2 (2009): n. page. Print.

³⁵ Hegewisch, D.H. *Introduction to Historical Chronology*. Burlington, USA: C. Goordich, 1837. Print. (This early work is exemplary in the methodological formation of the modern historical chronological tradition.)

at critically; the discourse analysis. Only when there is a valid and accurate (as much as is possible) historic background upon which to cast these analyses do they gain any legitimacy and only when testing their transitive factors can it be adequately determined if there is in fact a consistent use of zoomorphic imagery in order to dehumanize immigrant subjects and that is accomplished through an intricate interweaving of both visual imagery and imagery which is born out of language and text based representations in the illustrations chosen.

Here, before this work progresses, it is valuable to relate what exactly is meant by iconographical analysis and discourse analysis. These methods are carried out in such a way that they are able to complement each other and yet they are dealt with in separate sections of the work for the sake of clarity. Beginning with Panofsky's iconographic methods: there are three levels of interpretation which Panofsky suggests for any picture and they are; the pre-iconographic, the iconographic and the iconological. The pre-iconographic consists of a simple identification of a picture based upon familiarity and practical experience. This is basically the 'seeing' of a picture without any interpretive functions carried out. Next, follows the iconographical analysis which requires a level of familiarity with the world of symbols and their meanings. This function also needs to be undertaken with knowledge of the history of types and allegories. Finally, there is the iconological analysis which focuses on symbolic values and meanings requiring somewhat of a synthetic intuition which Panofsky clarifies:

“[...] we deal with the work of art as a symptom of something else which expresses itself in a countless variety of other symptoms, and we interpret its compositional and iconographical features as more particularized evidence of this 'something else.' The discovery and interpretation of these 'symbolical' values (which are often unknown to the artist himself and may even emphatically differ from what he consciously intended to express) is the object of what we may call 'iconology' as opposed to 'iconography'.”³⁶

An iconographic analysis may also be referred to with the following delineations: primary or natural, secondary or conventional and lastly, intrinsic meaning.³⁷

Whatever the terms used for carrying out the analysis, it is necessary to be consistent in the analysis method from illustration to illustration (or any respective medium) so that a continuum can be established and that methods are not generalized but rather specific and confirming. Therefore, Panofsky's iconographic analysis method has been carried out in

³⁶ Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. 38. Print.

³⁷ Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. 2007 ed. London: Sage, 2007. 151. Print.

precisely the same manner from one wave to the next here. Also, to a degree, an attempt has been made at identifying which level of analysis is being undertaken within the text so that the reader is sure of what is being done when and so that they can maintain the carry-over necessary from one wave to the next cognitively- while holding on to the imagery so as to be able to recognize it in the following waves without having to reference those before it. Indeed, it would be possible to follow the use of zoomorphic imagery only from wave two to wave three, or likewise from wave three to wave four without reviewing previous or consecutive migrations of the imagery, and likely come to a similar conclusion that certain imagery migrates between the waves. While it is possible, it is not the aim of this work as has been previously stated. This work is interested solely in the phenomena of migration of imagery throughout the waves of American immigration history.

Discourse analysis is an analytical method which can be done using various approaches and it is therefore paramount that certain parameters are drawn and abided by throughout the analyses to ensure the same level of consistency and stability in analysis that is present in the iconographic analyses. For this reason, tools of discourse analysis have been utilized in order to approach the text and general (or greater) discourse present in the illustrations. These tools are to be found in James Paul Gee's, *How to Do Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit* and provide a more conventionally practical entry into discourse analysis than might be possible using only the theoretical principles established by Foucault.³⁸ As this work seeks to find ends that are ascertainable in a visual (and therefore practical) sense and is not overtly concerned with a previously established theoretical tradition, the tools which have been used in working through the discourse analysis of the text present in the images and the general discourse reflected not only by the text but also the illustration content are the Activities Building Tool and the Identities Building Tool. The Activities Building Tool seeks answers to the following questions: What activity (practice) is the communication building or enacting? What groups, institutions are setting the norm for this activity?³⁹ As for the Identities Building Tool the questions asked are: What social identity is the speaker trying to enact or get others to enact? How does the speaker's language treat other people's identities? What sorts of

³⁸ Wooffitt, Robin. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London: Sage Ltd., 2005. 146-147. Print.

³⁹ Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse analysis: A Toolkit*. New York: Routledge, 2011. 106-110. Print.

identities does the speaker recognize in relation to his or her own? What identities are the speaker inviting the viewer to take up?⁴⁰

The Activity Building Tool was chosen because it seeks to find what is being done and who is doing it. It is the primary tool in which it can be determined who is doing what and therefore the objective establishment of a subject and object in the viewing of the imageries. This is beyond the initial roles that are, by nature of viewing, established between the viewer and the illustration. The Identities Building Tool in turn, asks to know not only who/what is being depicted but also by whom and for what reasons. It is here that the viewer can begin to determine agency and the greater social implications of power and identity building and reinforcement that are involved in the creation of the illustrations and for what particular reasons.

With these two practical tools for carrying out discourse analysis the great question of this work is best addressed, as far as these particular analyses are concerned because there is a clear identification firstly of the ‘who’ and ‘what’ which closely mirrors the first level of iconographic analysis and then the second tool helps to establish why this identity was created, by whom and for what reasons and this likely resembles the final level of Panofsky’s iconographic analytical method whereby the instinctive or interpretive conclusion is drawn. Due to their similarity in method, these two methods have been chosen to be done parallel to one another (but not simultaneously) and it is only natural then, that due to their similar theoretical basis, some of the findings will be nearly identical. Without wishing to be redundant, this work attempts to use this similarity to underscore, isolate and ‘capture’ imageries which can then be found throughout the other waves. These methods are then considered to be valid for the purposes sought herein.

The historic parts to follow are those with the simplest methodological basis. As this is not mostly a work concerned with history, these analyses in each of the respective waves serve to offer only contextual support in the viewing of the illustrations. As some of the illustrations are not contemporary, it is necessary to view them within a historic context and therefore it is important for the viewer to know the time and other valuable information which are the stories of the illustrations as they have not been produced out of disparate events which are disjointed from that which is shown in them. The historic sections are solely based upon chronology and since it would be impossible to carry out large-scale historic analyses

⁴⁰ Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse analysis: A Toolkit*. New York: Routledge, 2011. 96-103. Print.

and not have this be a work dedicated to historic inquiry alone, that history which has been found valid, in terms of understanding the illustrations and the goings-on depicted, is what has been included. The work of U.S. American immigration historian Roger Daniels also uses chronological means save examples which are devoted to a particular immigrant group (and even then chronology is used in regards to the events occurring during that group's immigration). Therefore, for this work, and the limited aims that the historic sections are meant to provide, chronology has been the key factor in presenting the historic background (of course, in relation to the illustrations and the history needed to 'read' them properly). This assists as well in the iconographic analyses as Panofsky points out:

“Where even our practical experience and our knowledge of literary sources may mislead us if indiscriminately applied to works of art, how much more dangerous would it be to trust our intuition pure and simple! Thus, as our practical experience had to be corrected by an insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms (history of style); and as our knowledge of literary sources had to be corrected by an insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes and concepts were expressed by objects and events (history of types); just so, or even more so, must our synthetic intuition be corrected by an insight into the manner in which, under varying historical conditions, the general and essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts. This means what may be called a history of cultural symptoms- or ‘symbols’ [...] in general. The art historian will have to check what he thinks is the intrinsic meaning of the work, or group of works, to which he devotes his attention, against what he thinks is the intrinsic meaning of as many other documents of civilization historically related to that work or group of works as he can master: of documents bearing witness to the political, poetical, religious, philosophical, and social tendencies of the personality, period, or country under investigation.”⁴¹

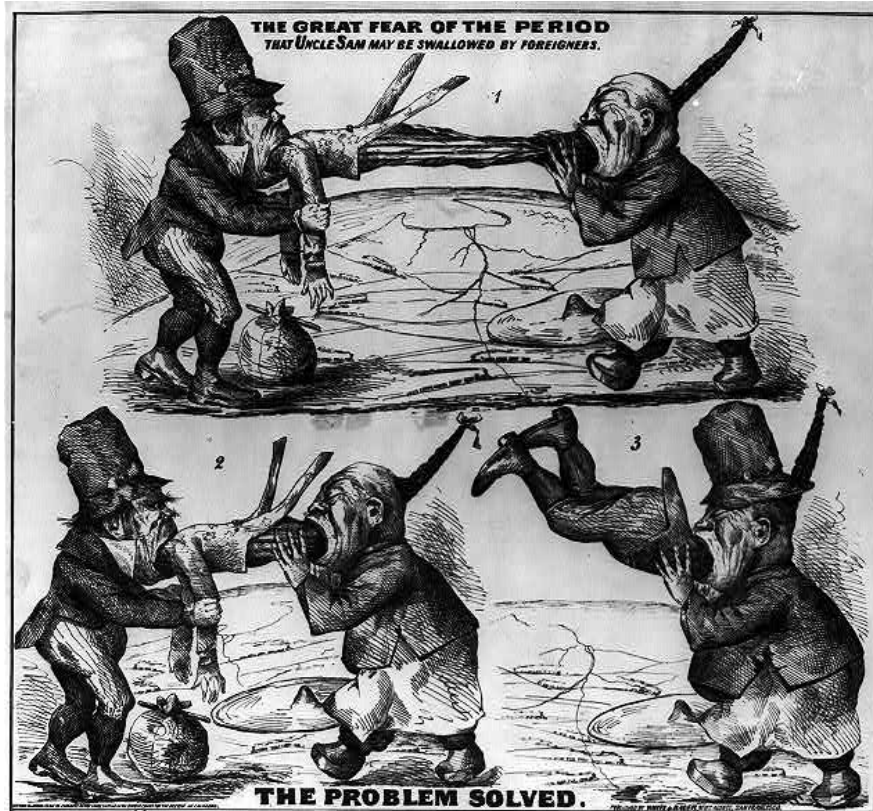
Additionally, where it is important, and when it was thought to be of interest or to assist the reader in the understanding of certain contemporaneous events (and as the above passage attest to the importance of legal events as social history), some limited legal history information has been included in the introductions of each chapter, and only when vital to the analyses again in the analytical sections or historical sections. Overall, historic analysis does not play an overly significant role in the viewing of the images and is intended to offer only a background upon which the viewer can cast the depictions. Most important however again, is

⁴¹ Panofsky, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. 38-39. Print.

the migration of imagery sequentially via the waves of immigration and whenever it has been determined helpful from a reader's prospective to offer more information, that has been done.

To conclude this methodology section, reiteration of the major parts of the methods undertaken is valuable as there are various parts converging to allow for the interpretation of the imagery. This includes first and foremost the migration aspect of the imagery and then the difference between image and imagery as has been explored earlier in this section. Also, the formation of the imagery is placed highly in the rank of importance for understanding the aims of these analyses. This means that both an iconographic analysis and a discourse analysis are carried out for all samples chosen. In addition to these analyses, there is a historic review of each section based upon a simple chronological method of propulsion and previously established delineations concerning the waves of immigration. In order to tie all these elements together the discourse analysis is widened to find the 'more' that is present, unspoken but still formed, in these works depicting American immigrants. Overall, finding the migration (movement or transference) from one wave to the next and moreover, throughout all waves, is of greatest importance here and is what this work seeks to establish as a traceable phenomenon.

The Immigrant Animal's Aggression: riotous Irish apes, cannibalism and the sub-human Chinese (ca. 1820 – 1870)



The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed By Foreigners.

The Problem Solved. by Unknown (White & Bauer, Ca. 1865)



Rum. Blood. The Day We Celebrate. by Thomas Nast (Harper's Weekly, 1867)

"THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT."

"We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void."—Democratic Platform.

This Is A White Man's Government by Thomas Nast (Harper's Weekly, 1868)

4.1 Introduction to Wave 2

The most significant immigration from around 1820 to 1870 to the United States would be that of the Irish and that is then followed in precedence and representation by that of the Chinese. These two groups provide all of the examples which are contained here in the analyses and historic review of wave two and correspond to the time periods above. The Irish immigration coincided with the consequences of the Irish Potato Famine; the Chinese immigration, while not due to any natural calamity, coincided with a period of time in which the nation (the U.S.) was building up an internal infrastructure and required massive amounts of cheap and readily available labor. Due to the great competition between the two groups for resources and work in the United States at that time, there was naturally a similar gaze cast upon them by the dominant visuality contemporaneously. The contents of this chapter take into account the role that both the Irish and the Chinese immigrants played in the peopling of the United States and more importantly, the visual significance of these two groups in illustration history. Furthermore, there is decidedly an imagery which is present in all of these illustrations and it also migrates from the start to the end of the wave.

Firstly, the immediately following content will include a pictorial analysis. The pictorial analysis will be carried out along the lines established in the methodology section and the system established by Panofsky and his iconographical analytical methods which also has been outlined in the methodology section. Thereby, zoomorphic icons are not as much isolated as they are found to be present via imagery in the illustrations and then traced throughout the wave. In general, single icons are not the primary means of identification carried out but rather they together (after it having been established that the icons are consistent throughout the wave) imply a suggestive element, which is something more than the icons themselves, and is rather representative of a power-narrative is brought about through the means of the formation of discursive elements that migrate initially throughout the single waves of the illustrations that are a part of this work, but also throughout the other waves which lead up to the present.

The zoomorphic iconography that is most obvious in this wave is that of the simian Irishman as well as the arthropodic Chinamen who is often a composite of various zoomorphic elements that can even resemble reptilian features. The illustrations included in this wave's analyses which reflect this are; *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam Will Be Swallowed by Foreigners. The problem Solved*, *Rum-Blood: The Day We Celebrate* and *This is a White Man's Government*. All of these examples show, to some degree, the

simian characteristics that were given to the Irish to instill a sense of otherness and to dehumanize them. Additionally, the Chinese represented in *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam Will Be Swallowed by Foreigners* has been appropriated with both insect-like and reptilian features, both used to create an alienation in form through zoomorphism.

Another example included in this wave, *Rum-Blood: The Day We Celebrate*, highlights the perception of the Irish by the dominant populace who had already established societal norms and behaviors previous to this wave of immigration. These Americans looked upon the Irish with scorn and sought to highlight their uncivilized and wild ways in visual culture through the use of zoomorphic imagery which was again, primarily simian in character. The apish Irishman in fact, is an icon which moves not only through wave two but beyond as well into wave three and that will be examined further in those pages dealing with the analyses of the next wave. The depiction of the Irish as aggressive to the police focuses on the discursive formation that the Irish were incapable of becoming productive and responsible members of society and were prone to gang violence much like collective violence found amongst certain primates, zoomorphic imagery is used extensively on all Irish subjects in the work to further that aim.

The illustration, *This is a White Man's Government* reflects a slight shift in the social ranking of the Irish in American society. This illustration was created just after the end of the American Civil War and underlines the insertion of the freed slave into the mélange of racial and ethnic tensions which were abundant in the nation at the time. The illustration which shows other European (in the respect that they are not African, Creole, Latino or Asian) Americans is valuable because while it does reflect an elevation of the Irish in the scopie regime, it also shows that there was a continued exclusion of the Irish as fully integrated Americans with their own contributions to the fabric of the country. This otherness is affected here through the use of zoomorphic imagery which is strongly imbalanced amongst the subjects and is present only with the Irishman who again displays strongly simian features.

Overall, the illustrations chosen for this wave of this work reflect first and foremost the migration of zoomorphic imagery in reference to the Irish and, to a lesser degree that of the Chinese. This imagery will be traced in the following sections not in regards to a specific attribute but rather about the greater implications, the 'more' or 'something else' that is implied by their continued existence in the contemporaneous visuality. Finally, the following is broken into a historic analysis, a pictorial analysis and a discourse analysis which will be

individually carried out and the results collectively explored in the conclusion at the end of this chapter.

4.2 Historic Review Wave 2

Immigration to the United States prior to the 1820's has been discussed in the previous section regarding the first wave of immigrants to come to the United States, mainly at a time before the country existed and was still a colony of Great Britain, and has therefore been referred to here as the colonial period of immigration. In chronological fashion, the following historic and legislative review will encompass the time between the mid to late 1820's and the late 1870's. This taxonomy is not random and instead coincides with a window of time in which there was quite limited legislation regarding immigration to the United States. Already in 1924 however, the National Origins Act, showed that the beginnings of a new distinction amongst American immigrants into 'old' and 'new' was starting to take root.⁴² This separation of groups effected the trajectory of immigration affairs in the United States through implementation of immigration legislation, but more importantly, and due to increased immigration from lands outside of northern and western Europe, caused social distinctions which lead to both political and social consequences for both groups. While this distinction is in and of itself worth study, it will largely be ignored here except where the social aspects are more valuable in terms of the pictorial analyses and the discourse analyses. The rate of immigration amongst the Irish and Germans was nearly the same during this period and therefore it is fitting to begin with these two groups first and to end with the discussion of the effects of the influx of Chinese immigrants.

The Irish comprised only 54,338 people from 1820 to 1830 which represented 23.8 percent of total immigration during that period.⁴³ From 1861 to 1870 their numbers had increased to 435,778 and they still held an impressive 18.8 percent of the sum total of immigration.⁴⁴ Whereas the Scots-Irish (immigrants from Ulster who were actually from the Scottish lowlands but were often perceived as Irish) who had contributed so many numbers during the periods before 1820 were Protestant (overwhelmingly Presbyterians), these figures above from 1820 to 1870 indicate that those who immigrated were largely Catholic. It cannot be ignored that while the Scots-Irish had come to flee the conditions in Ulster and looking for a better opportunity, the later Irish immigrants came for much the same reasons, but under very different circumstances. The Irish Potato Famine, The Great Hunger, The Great Famine or Gorta Mór was the major impetus for Irish Catholics to emigrate in the late 1840's and

⁴² Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 121. Print.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.129

early 1850s. The famine was due to potato blight which destroyed potato crops in all of Europe at this time, but in combination with other prevalent issues in Ireland such as political, social and economic instability, as well as the emigration factor, led to the loss of a quarter of the nation's population.⁴⁵ America was one of the top destinations for the Irish who were seeking a new home and new opportunities, but not the only one. During this period there was also significant immigration to Canada by the Irish as well as to Australia and New Zealand. Still the impact of Irish immigration changed the landscape of the United States permanently:

“Between 1820 and 1860, Irish were never as few as a third of all immigrants, and in the 1840s they were nearly half (45.6 percent). In the twenty years *after* the Civil War, not usually thought of as a heavy period of Irish immigration, they still made up more than 15 percent of the recorded entrants. Perhaps the best single indicator of Irish incidence is the census of foreign born in the United States. In 1860 there were just over four million foreign born: nearly two-fifths- 38.9 percent- were Irish.”⁴⁶

There was of course pre-famine immigration to the United States by Irish Catholics as well, yet those who came before the famine tended to be of the middle class and were able to better integrate themselves into the new country through economic means. This would explain the high concentration of Irish (or those of Irish ancestry) in the New England states in the United States even today and their influence in the cities of this area, especially Boston and New York:

“New England, which had been the most homogenous of American regions, had become by the 1840s heavily foreign born. It contained more than a fifth of all the Irish born in the country in 1850- the first year for which we have such data- but only two percent of the German born, the only other foreign group of comparable size.”⁴⁷

As will be seen in successive waves, particularly wave three, the ever-growing level of Irish Catholic dominance over the political entities of the New England states, especially New York City, would develop into a source of great resentment and anti-Irish sentiment leading to extensive distrust of the Irish and often outright conflict against them in various civil and political arenas such as public schools and even involving street violence.

⁴⁵ Kinealy, Christine. *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine 1845-52*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1994. 375. Print.

⁴⁶ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 129. Print.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, the Irish also came to the United States to work on the railways, digging canals and sewers and other water projects and generally contributing much of their labor in building up the necessary infrastructure that was needed in the antebellum period and more specifically in the years directly after the Civil War. As is always the case when there is a large influx of immigrants, there was a backlash against what was perceived as cheap immigrant labor that threatened to undercut the 'native' U.S. Americans' employment possibilities. This type of anti-immigrant sentiment on the part of some anti-immigrant/nativist groups in some cases led to the usurping of substantial political clout and they were thereby able to influence the legislative landscape.

Those who came at this time usually did so as a result of the famine however, while mostly settling in previously established urban areas, were not well suited to the urban lifestyle having overwhelmingly been farmers in Ireland. Additional to the famine, there was also the problem of overpopulation in Ireland which was a contributing pushing factor in persuading many Irish to take the journey to the United States. The plots of land there had become smaller through landlord regulation and the rent on the land ever more expensive so that the Irish were unable to afford, or logistically plant other crops such as wheat. The potato (an American export to Europe) was seen as a largely effortless crop which did not require much space or many tools in order to cultivate and harvest. When the potato blight ruined successive harvests, real starvation began to occur and the British governors of Ireland were, history has shown, too slow to react. An estimated 1,000,000 – 1,500,000 died during the famine from malnutrition and lack of food which also lead to susceptibility to disease. A roughly equal amount of Irish immigrated at the same time in order to avoid the effects of the famine:⁴⁸

“All told, in the famine years something more than two million Irish went overseas. Most of them, nearly a million and a half, came to the United States; a third of a million went to Canada, and many of those came sooner or later to the United States; perhaps a quarter of a million settled in Britain, and thousands of others went to Australia and elsewhere. The total emigration was about a quarter of the pre-famine population. More people left Ireland in the eleven years [between] 1845 – 1855 than in its previously recorded history.”⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Daniels , Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 134. Print.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p.135

As stated previously, many of the Irish settled into urban areas once they made it into the United States, but not in all urban areas. Due to their social immobility and often their lack of formal education, they were mostly unfit for jobs which were above the level of physical labor. Their inability to acquire sufficient jobs led to the myriad of social problems which is commonplace to social groups everywhere under similar conditions. Also, it is worth noting that after the Civil War ended in 1865, the country's industrial and labor markets were inundated with unskilled workers from another source- freed slaves. The similarities between the freed slaves and the uneducated and unskilled Irish were very real and led often to competition and tensions between these two groups wherever they were forced to vie for the same employment possibilities and social recognition and mobility. This situation was different however for those immigrants who had made it to the west coast cities such as San Francisco where the Chinese were often the lowest immigrant community on the social ladder. Furthermore, the Irish there were often seen as lower-middle class rather than the lowest class of people due to their status as whites.⁵⁰ This fact however only exacerbated the possibilities for tension amongst these two communities in cities like San Francisco, especially in relation to employment concerning the railroads.

Another source of distrust of Irish immigrants at this time was their perceived close links with the Roman Catholic Church and their allegiance to the pope. "By 1860 there were three and half million (Catholics), and Catholics were the largest single denomination in the United States, although still a minority of the population."⁵¹ The growing influence of Irish Catholic bishops and the incredible amount of unwavering loyalty shown by the Irish toward the church were look upon with great suspicion. The Irish, who often felt that being Catholic was an integral part of being Irish, displayed a kind of reverence toward the Roman church which was unknown in the republic and which was likely associate with monarchism and other forms of governance which would have been seen as incompatible with the U.S. American ideology of loyalty. Likewise, as the United States had been a largely protestant-filled nation before the influx of immigrants (not only from Ireland) during this period, the Catholicism of the Irish was interpreted as anti-American and it was believed impossible that one could be both a subject of the Pope and the United States Constitution.

It is important to remember that Irish immigration to the United States was still not at its peak and that most Irish were still to come in the decades following 1860: "About 13.9

⁵⁰ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 137. Print.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.138

percent of Ireland's population immigrated to the United States in the 1850s...more than a third of all arrivals."⁵² Later however, the great number of immigrants coming from various places helped the multitudes of Irish who continued to immigrate to share the burden of being the most visible and most persecuted of immigrant groups; in effect, the influx of people from all corners of the world likely helped those Irish who continued coming to America to seem less than they actually were (in numbers), although this did not quell the nativist sentiment of many who were considered more established and who no longer identified as immigrant Americans but thought of themselves as 'native' Americans. Furthermore, the fact that the Irish were a large minority and were able to densely locate in large urban areas, did not improve their social station, nor did it offer them many of the possibilities that so many of them had come in search for. Slum conditions in cities as well as the disenfranchisement of the Irish from a chance in the American political arena were other factors which surfaced in order to limit the Irish immigrant's horizon. However, these limitations would not be long-term as the Irish established themselves in their new homes, they eventually were also able to gain social and political clout, yet not without scandal and conflict.

While the vital role that the Irish played in the peopling of the United States, especially during these years was vast, it is also important to remember the contribution of Germans who immigrated and who were also, in numerical terms, substantial. As a single German nation had never actually existed until 1871, when it was unified under the Prussians, it is difficult to determine the nature and criteria used when classifying an immigrant as German. While there were previously established German speaking states in the territory which now is the Federal Republic of Germany, they did not before 1871 constitute any kind of singular German state. Certainly German speaking people, who emigrated from places such as Austria-Hungary, Switzerland and other territories where German language and cultural customs were prevalent, were not always included as Germans in immigration reports. Yet, some who emigrated from states considered German, but who were in fact not Germans may have also been inaccurately accounted for. This would have applied to some Poles in Prussia and Danes in Schleswig-Holstein who most likely would have, upon entry, been counted as Germans based on their cultural and linguistic 'Germaness' rather than their actual ethnicity.⁵³

⁵² Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 139. Print.

⁵³ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 147. Print.

Germans never accounted for less than a quarter of all immigrants in the years between the 1830s and the 1880s.⁵⁴ Their numbers are closely related to those numbers which accompany the Irish immigration and yet these two immigrations are quite dissimilar in that the Germans usually did not have English as a previous language prior to immigration and they came from a more diverse religious background, namely: Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. Also, Germans were more likely to immigrate with their families and also to return to the place of their origin eventually, and their attraction to America came usually as a result of perceived economic advantages - not to escape religious persecution at home which had been a key factor in the earlier wave of immigration.⁵⁵

Differences between the Irish immigration and the German immigration do not end simply at their reasons for leaving their home countries but also, and for the purposes of this work more interestingly, their created patterns and structures once they arrived. Whereas the Irish, as mentioned, tended to settle in urban areas, the Germans preferred agricultural pursuits and were therefore usually found in rural environs. From about 1860 to 1890 only about two-fifths of Germans lived in a city of 25,000 inhabitants or more (significantly fewer than the Irish at the time).⁵⁶ While the Irish were heavily accounted for in the cities on the eastern seaboard, the Germans settled largely in the cities in the interior such as Saint Louis, Cincinnati and Milwaukee, referred to as the German triangle. Germans were more likely to have skilled trades than their Irish counterparts and German women were less likely to work outside the home in comparison with 'native' born women or women from other immigrant communities.⁵⁷

By 1870 (at the end of wave two), "about one German person in four was engaged in agriculture...and at that date Germans were more than a third of all foreign-born farmers."⁵⁸ Though the significant amount of Germans cannot and should not be overlooked, it is at the same time pressing to point out that not all Germans were the same and that there were in fact divisions within the German community not only based upon where within the German speaking territories one came from. One basis of division among the Germans was religion and while most of those who had immigrated were Lutheran (protestant Christians), there were also a large number of Catholics and Jews too. Those Germans who had earlier

⁵⁴ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 147. Print.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.146

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.149

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.150

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.151

immigrated were suspicious of the American influences upon the Lutheran church that had been established by previously immigrating Germans and were especially unsettled by the use of the English language in Lutheran religious services and their style which mirrored that of other already established religious denominations in the United States and not the one practiced in their country of origin. With growing tensions due to these differences in theological expression, a schism in the church would eventually come about which remains even now, although to a much lesser degree.⁵⁹

Germans usually began their voyage from Bremen, Germany to the United States at the start of the migration patterns to the United States and later from Hamburg from where the transport was undertaken not only by Germans but also Eastern European groups. Early in the German immigration arrivals generally were at Baltimore, but later once the port at Hamburg also began to offer passage, immigrants were taken to the port of New York. Of these immigrants there had always been a Jewish component, yet that component began to grow noticeably in about the 1820s:

“The German Jews, beginning in the 1820s, had a transforming impact on the American Jewish community similar to that of Irish and German Catholics on the American Catholic community. The initial Sephardic synagogue in New York, Shearith Israel, was the only one there until 1825, when German-speaking Ashkenazic Jews founded B’nai Jeshurun. By 1835 there were ten synagogues in New York. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Jewish communities once confined to the coastal littoral had spread across the continent in more than 150 places; however, the East Coast continued to attract most Jewish immigrants and their descendants. In New York, where the Jewish population was perhaps 500 in 1825, there were an estimated 40,000 by 1860. Many families that originally settled elsewhere were eventually attracted to Gotham...Of the Midwestern centers of German American Jewry, none was more important than Cincinnati, where there were perhaps 3,000 Jews in 1850 and 10,000 a decade later.”⁶⁰

Furthermore, the difference between German Jewish immigration and German immigration was indistinguishable and their push to immigrate would have likely been similar to those of non-Jewish Germans of the time. Also as was the norm with German immigrants, the Jews tended to immigrate within family groups. One major difference between the German immigrants however, is that the German Jews were much less likely to return to Germany than their non-Jewish countrymen. Finally, in stark difference to their non-Jewish fellow immigrants from Germany, Jews were nearly always

⁵⁹ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 153. Print.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.155

concentrated in urban areas, focusing their economic efforts as merchants in retail, and were not highly represented in agriculture.

Although there are similarities in terms of sheer numbers between those immigrants from Ireland and from Germany, there were, as has been shown, also some marked differences which defined their reception by those who were already a part of an established community in the United States. Primarily, it is pertinent considering the often harsh reception that the Irish endured, that they were politically very involved and that their Catholicism was a factor in their mistrusted reception by earlier immigrant communities. In the case of the Germans, religion was much less of an issue in their acceptance by those already in America, with the exception of those of Jewish origin who were not Christian. Perhaps due to the lack of saturation of Germans in the larger urbanizations of the period, there are far fewer examples of negative characterization of the Germans who were largely perceived as hard working agrarians, and sometimes clever merchants in the case of many Jewish Germans. The Irish however, with their investments in American politics, their loyalties to the Roman Catholic Church and their perceived brutishness, were blatantly prejudiced and often depicted as sub-human. The Chinese however, perhaps due to perceived major ideological or cultural differences on both sides, manage to rouse the level of vitriol caused by the mass Irish immigration.

Most Chinese immigrants of this time were men who came to the United States as laborers and arrived originally sometime in 1820. They were pulled for various reasons but mostly in the interest of economic gain. Due to the Gold Rush, a period of intensive gold mining in the American West, there was even a relatively impressive influx at one stage around 1849. According to Bill Bryson in, *Made in America* by 1852 there were 25,000; over 300,000 by 1880; a tenth of the Californian population- mostly from six districts in Canton (Guangdong) province.⁶¹ The Chinese were not however only interested in gold in the United States but as previously stated were also heavily involved in large-scale projects such as the Transcontinental Railroad, in fisheries and even on plantations in the post-bellum south. For the most part they were required to pay special taxes, not granted the rights of citizenship and forbidden by law to marry whites.⁶²

Chinese immigrants were overwhelmingly urbanites wherever they settled in the United States and unlike most of the immigrants during this period, having been processed through immigration stations on the east coast, they settled mainly on the west coast-

⁶¹ Bryson, Bill. *Made in America: An Informal History of the English Language in the United States*. New York: Perennial, 1994. 143. Print.

⁶² Chinn, Thomas W., ed. "A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus ." *Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum* . Chinese Historical Society of America, 21 2011. Web. 14 Oct 2012.

particularly San Francisco. Within the large cities where they lived, they usually settled into ethnic neighborhoods, called Chinatowns:

“San Francisco’s Chinatown was the first and most important: It was replicated in large cities across the United States as far away as Boston and, even though there are today more Chinese in New York than in San Francisco, the latter remains its cultural primacy. One of the remarkable things about San Francisco’s Chinatown has been its geographical stability; in the 1850s an immigrant community was formed in the area centering on the intersection of Dupont and Stockton Streets, and for almost a century and a half of growth, earthquake, fire, and urban renewal it has remained in that neighborhood with only slight variation, mostly expansion.”⁶³

While the Chinatowns served as anchors for the Chinese immigrant community and a base for shop keeping, of course, it did not account for all Chinese in the United States at this time. Work on the railroads, as opposed to gold mining or mercantilism, was also a prevalent source of employment for freshly arrived Chinese. It is estimated that up to 10,000 Chinese were employed as manual laborers in the building of the Central Pacific Railroad.⁶⁴ Chinese labor became so commonplace that nativist sentiments erupted, leading to what would be the first legislation to limit the entry of a specific immigrant community into the United States- The Geary Act, expanded to The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed later in 1882.⁶⁵

Overall, these three ethnic groups (Irish, German and Chinese) made up the ballast of immigration during this second wave of immigration. There were definitely also other groups of less significant numbers who also immigrated during this period, but in interest to the service of the images chosen for this work, only these groups serve the purpose of offering historic contexts for the interpretation of the visuals and have therefore been the center of focus here. The Irish were significantly centered (nearly exclusively) on the east coast and mostly in cities, whereas the Chinese managed to form similar primacy on the west coast. While there are no images of the Germans which will be analyzed in this work, they have here been included due to their sheer numbers, which closely resemble the statistics of the Irish. Due to the Irish tendency to settle in larger cities, and within ethnic enclaves in those cities, and their presence in centers with large-scale media outlets already in operation, their

⁶³ Daniels , Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2002. 242.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.243

⁶⁵ Yung, Judy, Gordon Chang, and Him Mark Lai. *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California , 2006. 86. eBook.

representation within the scopic regime is more pronounced than their German counterparts. Additionally, the German tendency towards self-sufficiency and agrarian lifestyles largely outside of large urban areas, would certainly explain why they are not nearly as depicted in the visuality of the time.

The Chinese immigrants, with their ethnic center point in San Francisco, faced a similar fate to the Irish although they were less in population. Also, due to the Chinese being used as cheap labor, just as was the case with the Irish, nativist sentiments began to heighten towards the close of this wave of immigration and up to the start of the 1880s and 1890s. With Nativist Groups such as the 'No Nothings' nativist sentiment would not only come to represent a prevalent force in the immigration debate, but also become a politicized issue whereby the occurrences of zoomorphic imagery in the depiction of immigrants would take on greater social implications and reflect certain social attitudes within specific parts of the social fabric.

The function of the historic summary for what is here being referred to as the second wave of immigration to the United States, following methodology outlined in the relevant passage regarding methodology, should serve as a means whereby the selected images which are presented as examples of analysis, can be viewed with a degree of historic accuracy and contemporaneous gaze. Although it is impossible to ascertain the exact visualizing to which these images were offered during their day, it is possible to scientifically analyze, with the aid of the further discourse analyses which will be carried out on the image, how they may have been viewed considering textual and visual evidence as support. Despite the changing social attitudes that have surely taken place since these images were presented to their audience, through a historic overview such as has been presented here, it is possible to, in practical terms, get a feel for how the images would have been most likely interpreted.

The images which follow should therefore be viewed in the context of the skeleton of historic facts presented and additionally the legal apparatus of the time and its products will certainly also be of relevance in attempting to analyze the images and their content sometimes. By reviewing the immigration patterns and lifestyles of these above groups, it becomes slightly more apparent to the contemporary viewer how these images of Irish, Germans and Chinese would have been viewed in their time. The fact that the sheer number of Irish who arrived during the second wave of immigration was so great (yet not yet at its full peak), would account for the proliferation of images which still exist from that time regarding their reception in the United States of America. It is also worthwhile to note that although the

multitude of Germans who also immigrated at this time was no less than the Irish that their post-arrival experience differed greatly mostly due to their disregard for mass settlements in large urbanizations. Finally, the Chinese, who did not compare with these two formerly listed groups in immigrant population, through their industriousness and the perceived threat they posed to the labor economy thereby, became the driving a force behind depictions in illustrations in publications (predominantly on the west coast, but not exclusively).

4.3 Pictorial Analyses Wave 2

The Great Fear of the Period:

That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners - The Problem Solved.

Published by White and Bauer of San Francisco

Ca. 1865

Artist unknown

Although the artist of this image is unknown, there are elements of '*The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners – The Problem Solved*'⁶⁶ which appear to have been influenced by other sources within the dominant visuality at the time that it was published in San Francisco by White and Bauer. What is of particular interest is the inclusion of the Irish in this image as it would not have been the case that the Irish presence was as immediate as the Chinese immigrant influence on the west coast. By including the Irish on one side and the Chinese subject on the opposite, the illustrator frames the image with these two examples of primary immigrant communities and their perceived negative influence on the nation, just as these peculiar groups would have framed the coasts (the Irish immigrants mainly in the east and the Chinese mainly in the west).

Furthermore, it is of note that the two subjects are standing on a map which is crisscrossed by dark lines. These lines in fact delineate the railroads which were present in the United States and this is a direct implication to the role that the Chinese played in building the railroad system which the nation depended upon greatly in order to move goods. Thereby, the artist highlights a type of control, or at minimum involvement with the railroads which the Chinese were known to have played an integral part in constructing.⁶⁷ While this may at first seem to be a fair inclusion, it is of course also the case that the Chinese were looked upon with suspicion and mistrust, and the same is true for the Irish immigrants during the second wave of immigration. While it cannot be known if these subjects are freshly arrived immigrants or have been in the United States for some time, it can be ascertained that they are immigrants in the view of the illustrator and that they were meant to be read as such. Further

⁶⁶ cf. Bauer, White &. "The Great Fear of the Period That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners – The Problem Solved. Library of Congress (PPOC). JPG file. Web. 4 June 2012.

⁶⁷ cf. Ambrose, Stephen E. *Nothing Like it in the World: The Men Who Built The Transcontinental Railroad, 1863-1869*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000. Print.

implications of this sort will however be explored in the final paragraphs of this chapter in that part which deals with the iconological interpretation of the image.

The first of the analytical stages of this illustration to be undertaken is that which deals with this work in terms of its pre-iconographic elements. That is to say that the most basic reading possible of the image without any interpretive inclusions. To look at this illustration on the most elementary level, one can notice immediately that it's comprised of three stages or developments which are meant to insinuate the progress of both time and action. With this in mind, it is clear that the process from stage one to stage three is the consumption of humans – cannibalism. This cannibalism occurs however, not once but twice. The subject who is initially being eaten at both ends by the two subjects who symmetrically frame the example is not the same subject in panel three which is being eaten by the only intact and remaining subject, who has consistently been represented on the left of the picture.

Beyond the first realization that cannibalism is twice carried out in this sample, also of notice is that all of the action occurs against the background of what in the foreground is the floor and what towards the horizon becomes a background- and what appears at first glance to be a map with lines crisscrossing it. Also, next to the subjects in stage one on the ground, are two objects which are connected with the respective human subjects. Beside the subject on the left lies a bundle and next to the subject on the right lies a roughly conical hat or 'rice hat.' While these objects may seem arbitrary, they do shed insight into the identities of the subjects portrayed and this will be further explored later in this analysis.

Additionally, the subjects are dressed differently. The subject on the left wears a tall top hat, tight trousers and high boots with a waist coat and an upturned collar, whereas the subject on the right wears loose fitting clothing with wide sleeves, and rather than trousers, appears to wear a long skirt with shoes which are curved upwards. Furthermore, the subject on the right also has a long braid of hair which rises up off of his bald head and sticks into the sky. We can guess then that these clues, which are obviously intended to be culturally specific indicators, lead the viewer to understand that these two subjects are men and that they come from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds. It can be deduced using prevalent depictions of the Irish at the time of the publication of this particular illustration, that the subject on the left of the example is intended to be an Irish immigrant and that the subject on the right is to be read as a typical Chinese immigrant.

A third subject exists in the picture, which is never shown in entirety. This subject in the first stage of the development of the action depicted is shown to already be partially consumed by the Irishman and the Chinaman. The Irishman, holding the third subjects arms down has already devoured his head whereas the Chinaman appears to have already consumed the feet of the third subject. This third subject, visible in stages one and two of the illustration, is then identifiable only through his clothing and the illustrator's choice of motif when drawing the clothing. Through the use of familiar color schemes and patterns such as stripes on his trousers and stars on his jacket it becomes clear that the illustrator intends the viewer to understand this third subjects who is being eaten alive, to be Uncle Sam, the patriotic symbol representing the United States in many illustrations, magazines and government propaganda of the time.⁶⁸

What is certainly of most interest in this illustration is the action which happens through time lapse from stage one to stage three. Through the use of the time lapse, showing progression, the third subject (identifiable as Uncle Sam) is consumed by the two immigrants and between stages one and two, more than half of his body is consumed so that only the tails of his coat and the pattern of his clothing inform the viewer that the subject has not changed but has been mostly devoured. Finally however, the third stage reveals that not only has the Uncle Sam character been entirely consumed but the subject on the left of the illustration begins to swallow the subject on the right. At the time of progression to the third stage the subject on the right has consumed about half of the former subject who was a partner in the consumption of Uncle Sam. The consumer has become the consumed, and the subject on the far right has also accosted the subject's hat and appears to be swollen due to the contents of his belly.

There are three important zoomorphic elements to this picture which include the depictions of the two active subjects but also of the manner in which they consume the more passive subject (Uncle Sam). Using as reference, other relevant illustrations, it can be determined that the subject on the right is intended to be an Irishman and the subject on the left a Chinaman, as has been previously established. The depiction of the Irish subject here is in agreement with other depictions of the time which will follow in other analyses. The major zoomorphic icon at play here is the simian one. Simian/apelike, characteristics are prevalent in depictions of the Irish in the second and third waves of immigration to the United States.

⁶⁸ cf. "The Most Famous Poster (Memory): American Treasures of the Library of Congress." Library of Congress, 27 July 2010. Web. 15 June 2013.

This depiction usually centered on the facial features of the Irish subject and is visible here in the eyes, jaws, nose and general body proportion.

While nearly hidden under the sloped brim of his large top hat, the Irish subject's eyes (seen only in profile) are clearly small and sunken. These small and sunken eyes allude to the eyes of primates. Seemingly less evolved primates than homo-sapiens are hinted at here, which is evidenced by the heavy brow which hangs over the eyes giving the impression that they are more sunken than a human's eyes normally would be. These deep-set eyes are a first hint that the subject is not to be viewed on normal terms, as one would normally view an 'evolved' or developed subject. Also, the eyes, while gazing straight ahead at the other cannibal, seem to reflect no emotion at all as one might expect a human subject to in such a situation. They are devoid of any signals that would lead a viewer to feel any sense of empathy with this person's situation, and they have been drawn in such a way, that the one viewing the illustration cannot possibly determine if the subject is in any way cognizant of his actions. Therein, the illustrator has removed the possibility that the subjects eyes could be read for any implications of guilt, remorse, or any other human emotion which would be deemed socially appropriate in the given circumstance.

The remaining part of the face, mainly the nose and the jaws, are also distorted beyond the capabilities for a 'normally' developed human skull. The human jawbone is not as large, nor is it able to detach in such a way as is presented here. The large bone structure allowing for the wide open mouth, skin which seems to fold like leather and emits a density which is not typically human, as well as the tiny size of the nose in relationship to the rest of the facial features is decidedly more ape-like than human-like. The protruding belly which possesses such roundness is also indicative of the zoomorphic intent of the creator. Indeed, the sheer size of the head in comparison to the rest of the stoutly compact body is a reflection of the unknown artists attempt at directing the viewership to interpret this peculiar subject as versed in human conventions (such as clothing and migration (evidenced by the traveler's sack)), but not human at all.

In terms of the Chinaman, there are many similar characteristics used in this image to those that were used for the Irishman, yet in a decidedly different way. While the Chinaman also is shown with a large jaw capable of distending open to swallow its catch, this alone cannot imply that the artist seeks to project the same zoomorphic connotations onto this subject. Playing off of ethnic physical stereotypes, the Chinaman is shown with a high forehead which is slanted at a rather sharp angle revealing his shaved head. Furthermore his

eyes, also slanted appear to be little more than small slits in his face, with his eyes closed or at least invisible to the audience. The nose is quite broad and flat to the face and is picked up on as being a much more significant feature than was the case with the Irishman. Whereas the Irish subject's face looks more primitive than the human face, the Chinaman's face appears more rodent-like than human. The bunched features towards the front of the face, flat nose and small angular or almond-shaped eyes are more general characteristics for rats and mice than for humans.

Another striking zoomorphic icon in regards to the Chinese subject is also the queue which is atop his head, defying gravity. This tale-tale Manchurian queue leaves no room of doubt (especially in tandem with his clothing) on the viewer's behalf as to the origin of the subject – China. The queue, which was not only custom but law in China until the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, would have been worn long and braided or corded down the back. This queue however is shown pointing at an unnatural angle from the head of the Chinese subject. While perhaps not immediately recognizable, upon closer inspection it can be seen to resemble a stinger. Arthropods (a group of insects which usually contain stingers) possess stingers in order to deliver some kind of poison or venom as is the case with bees, scorpions and some ants. As humans are clearly not arthropods, this icon could encourage the viewer to perceive the subject as a danger or venomous. The use of the insect/arthropod imagery is used here in a negative context and increases the level of intensity on the viewer's part. This melded zoomorphic imagery, the use of both the rodent and the insect/arthropod elements doubles the effect of the zoomorphic icons as they play off of one another and act as agents of stress or imbalance towards one another.

Furthermore, the nature in which the immigrant subjects consume the Uncle Sam character is reminiscent of the way in which predation takes place among snakes that constrict their prey. Constrictors, after killing their catch, then tend to consume it whole. Due to this method of consumption amongst constrictors, their mouths in this process must unhinge and remain open for an extended period of time whereby chewing and grinding their prey with teeth is avoided or is anatomically impossible. The catch will then sit whole in the serpent's body until a long-term digestive process has taken place. Until the prey has been totally digested, a bulge (with the size depending upon the size of the consumed animal) is visible.⁶⁹ This too is the case in this example where both immigrants are shown swallowing Uncle Sam with great opened mouths and with the absence of chewing. Likewise, the Chinaman's

⁶⁹ cf. McDiarmid, Roy W., and Jonathan A. Campbell. *Snake Species of the World: a taxonomic and geographic reference*. Washington, DC: Herpetologists' League, 1999. Print.

stomach is shown to have grown significantly upon the consumption of first Uncle Sam, followed by the Irishman.

On the iconographic level, *'The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners – The Problem Solved'* is unique in that it highlights through the display of a process of consumption, the intensity of nativist feelings towards the two immigrant groups that are represented here. The selection on the Irishman and the Chinaman as the two greatest threats to the United States shows that these groups were perceived by some to be the immigrant groups who were somehow the most capable of ruining what had been built through the previous attempts to build a prosperous nation. This stance is most evidenced by the background (which functions in this illustration as the ground) in the form of a map. This map, with its crisscrossing lines, should be representative of the United States' attempts at connecting the vast territory by laying railroads. It is interesting to note, that this work was most often carried out by the Irish in the east of the country and the Chinese in the west. Whereas these typical positions of influence (east-west) have been switched by the creator of the image here, the message remains intact: these two immigrant groups, through their labor, assert far too much influence over the government (here evidenced through the image of Uncle Sam).

Through the depiction of these immigrants using zoomorphic characteristics, and by using certain icons which would have been readily readable by audiences of the time, the overall assumption can be made that the illustrator's intent is to vilify the subjects and to degrade them by attributing to them both behaviors and physical characteristics of some animals. The specific use of simian imagery in the realization of the Irish subject, leads the viewer to assume that he is capable of the base behavior which is typically understood by humans as primitive. Within this assumption, there are of course, the connotations of the heathen and uncivilized being who poses a threat to the civilized and socially aware being. Additionally, by attributing characteristics typical of rodents in the face of the Chinese subject and by including a protruding stinger-like queue, the artist highlights the intense sense of both disdain (as human societies have typically expressed towards rats) and aggression or danger—that of being stung.

Perhaps the most striking iconological interpretation can however be drawn from the manner in which the archetypical Uncle Sam is eaten here. As it is clear that the consumed subject is human, and that the subjects on the left and right are at least partially human (although this is clearly downgraded or incompletely granted through the inclusion of

zoomorphic imagery), the suggested interpretation is clearly that of cannibalism. The great taboo of humans who consume humans is obviously hinted at here as the great danger which lurks in these immigrants' intentions. Still, it is understood that the illustrator does not intend to insinuate that the immigrants are actually cannibals of people, but that they are threats to the corpus of the nation and what it has been made through the work of previous immigrant communities, some of whom by this time had already developed a sense of entitlement or nativist attitudes in regards to the nation and their position in it.

To conclude, although the creator of this illustration is unknown, through the identification of the publishers (White & Bauer) and the place of publication (San Francisco) and the historical events surrounding its being made, it becomes clear that the artist intends to stress the idea that through their industrious efforts the two immigrant groups who are represented here pose a serious and inhumane threat to the nation. The artist further attempts to distance the viewer from any implications of responsibility by including the zoomorphic elements and particularly those which would have been interpreted negatively by the viewer; hence the rodent face icon, simian/apish face icon and the insect-like imagery. By creating a distortion in relation between the viewer and the viewed the illustrator suggests to the viewer that they should do the same and thereby contributes to a visuality in which it is not only acceptable but also 'normal' to view people of certain immigrant communities as not totally human.

'The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners – The Problem Solved' is a prime example of the use of zoomorphic imagery by illustrators in the second major wave of immigration to the United States to dissuade those active in the creation of the contemporaneous scopic regime from including these individual immigrant groups in the normalization of the U.S. American identity. This is achieved through the use of zoomorphic elements which are exclusively undesirable and which could potentially be threatening or pose a problem for the already established norms of a projected (and largely unrealistic) view of American social reality. Finally, to further impact the viewer, and push them into further alienating these communities and not allowing them to be viewed as normal, the artist uses what is arguably the greatest of taboos in many civilizations-cannibalism. By focusing on the fact that the subjects are cannibals, deflection of their great contributions (and growing political influence through labor) is accomplished.

Rum – Blood: The Day We Celebrate

Harper's Weekly

1867

Thomas Nast

The events surrounding Thomas Nast's illustration of '*Rum – Blood: The Day We Celebrate*',⁷⁰ were not necessarily uncommon during the time of the pictures creation. The artist likely seeks here to show actual events in such a biased means which is evident in the way that he has chosen to draw some of the subjects in the event, a conflict, with simian characteristics in order to foster support for one of the parties involved in this episode while degrading the other through the use of zoomorphic attributes. While riots were often seen in the streets of New York City contemporaneously, this particular riot was depicted in *Harper's Weekly* to highlight the growing concerns of the influx of the Irish into the United States' cities, particularly in New York City (but not exclusively). The preceding historical analysis details the environment and events of the time which led to this development and to Nast's subsequent portrayal of it. What is of distinguished interest in this section is the isolation of zoomorphic icons which are apparent in the illustration, and furthermore to analyze to what degree those icons can be not only identified, but also how they might be interpreted in an iconological manner. First however, an analysis of the image covering the pre-iconographic content will directly follow.

Reviewing the illustration at a very initial level, the picture is primarily a depiction of a conflict. This is evident in that the subjects of the picture are shown with weapons and the implied motion present suggests that the various characters are all partaking in the melee. A closer look reveals that there are actually two distinct kinds of human subjects drawn and also some secondary non-human images. Amongst these non-human elements are the faint outlines of architectural structures in the background which are drawn with lighter lines than those at the forefront. Moreover, there is also a horse which can be seen in the background just left of center. Beyond these non-human images, the illustration is nearly totally comprised of humans who are embroiled in violence.

⁷⁰ cf. Nast, Thomas. "Rum – Blood: The Day We Celebrate." Library of Congress (PPOC). JPG file. Web. 4 June 2012.

As mentioned, the humans are of two sorts in this illustration, mainly, those which appear to be similarly dressed in dark clothes and jackets and those who are variously clothed. Still, those whose clothing is diversified, also share a striking resemblance to one another, especially regarding their facial features but also loosely in clothing style. The physical features, which they all possess more or less identically, are unmistakably those of a simian or ape-like nature. Those with the apish features are also those who through the illustrator's use of implied motion can be understood as the aggressors as the characters who are similarly dressed all appear to have been overtaken or are static images in the illustration without the implication of movement. The number of raised weapons is in the majority among those who display the simian characteristics of the heavy brow, small eyes, pointed nose, (often represented) opened mouths (with varying degrees of dental decay) and clenched fists. All of these factors help the viewer to translate the associations connected to animals (in this case apes) to the humans represented in the work.

The subjects represented here also can be distinguished due to the manner in which the illustrator has dressed them. The Irish (easily recognizable through Nast's established Irishman illustration and the top hat which was a common trend with the Irish then), are all wearing not only the top hat which helps us to recognize them but also what are obviously working class clothes. Their trousers are all thin-legged, not pleated and rolled up at the bottoms to reveal chunky boots. Additionally, the subjects of this image are all wearing sashes around their chests which informs the viewer that they were taking part in a parade or pageant, which through historical record can be proven to have been the St. Patrick's Day Parade. St. Patrick, being a patron Saint of Ireland, the subjects relationship with him and the Irish identity that he would have (and still does) represent the deep-set Catholicism of the Irish which was looked upon with such great suspicion in the United States.⁷¹

The other non-Irish group of subjects in this work however are all dressed mostly the same. They are in uniforms which would have been well known within the scopis regime as those of New York City Police Department uniforms. These men are police officers, representing not only the NYPD but also order, structure, the law and thereby, civilization or at least civil norms. The policemen are all wearing dark button-down coats, slightly lighter colored trousers and the one directly center in the picture is wearing a hat (as are some characters in the background). Besides being similarly dressed they are also similarly armed with batons, some of which are drawn back in anticipation of a blow. Various members of the

⁷¹ cf. Bartlett, Thomas. *Ireland: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Print.

NYPD are engaged in the fighting, being pinned to the ground, struck with weapons or inundated by the violence.

Between the two distinct character groups, there is also a distinction between the tone of violence involved and the level to which the subjects respond to it. The police department are drawn either as docile in surrender, agonizing in physical pain or just about to be overtaken in the brawl as is the case with the subject who is slightly right of center. The only exception in this regard is the character that kneels directly in the center of the illustration that holds a small baton in his left hand and with his right he seems to be consoling a fellow officer.

The Irish, in this case those Irish who were involved in this event on Saint Patrick's Day of 1867 in Manhattan, are depicted as the sole aggressors and using disproportionate force- the police are outnumbered. The subjects strike with their batons, have their hands wound around the necks of the police as if to strangle them, have their batons cocked in order to strike or have legs lifted in delivery of a stomp. For the most part they also display opened mouths with wide and dark mouths which show teeth. They are shown to be enjoying their deed and among them, in the far left of the picture the small figure of a baton-wielding child appears. As a group they are effective in overcoming the authorities.⁷²

To conclude the pre-iconographic analysis, it is important to notice that the subject who stands at the far left of the illustration is who poses with one lifted leg appears to be rather dancing than preparing himself for a stomp. His foot, if he were to extend his leg, would not make impact with the closest formed image in the illustration. This is certainly not a proportional mistake on Nast's part, but rather the subject is depicted dancing for joy. Additionally, he holds a baton embellished with a knob which is not very different from the others of his kind, however he is also holding in his left hand (closest to the viewer) what appears to be a container of ale or beer. So while the others of this pack are involved in the violence and the subduing of the police force with their batons and sticks, he dances and lifts his drink to the viewer and displays an expression of glee on his face. This would most certainly have fed into the generally accepted view of the Irish as drunken rebels.

In review of the zoomorphic iconography present in '*Rum – Blood: The Day We Celebrate*' it is ascertained that there is one primary zoomorphic image which is present in the illustration. This image is one which is often present in Nast's depictions of the Irish

⁷² cf. Burrows, Edwin G., and Mike Wallace. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

immigrants to the United States and which continues throughout his work in regards to this particular immigrant community. That is to say that this particular icon serves to some degree as a super-icon within the framework of Nast's illustrations as it is easily recognizable time and time again and because it is largely unchanging: the simian/ape-like male.

Clearly, the Irish men who are depicted here are to be understood as humans and yet the artist has given them faces with apish characteristics; the large gaping mouths with nearly no indication of lips, tiny noses which blend into the face and appear as only small bumps within the composite of the entire face, tiny and deep-sunken eyes which appear to be so due to the influence of the heavy brow. Their posture is also indicative of the ape, with bodies which appear to be shorter and stockier than those of their counterparts in the conflict. Furthermore, the implied motion of their limbs is indicative of apish behavior inasmuch as it recalls the flailing long limbs of primates. Indeed, the entire composite of the body is in its depiction and proportion simian- especially true for the facial features.

Examining Nast's illustration there is an immediate recognition that the Irish are humans and yet there is something different about their faces, something which more closely resembles primates. Despite the subjects being shown here as fully human and dressed, they are not to be read as fully human. It is achieved through the artist's adding of familiar images of the ape such as the lower face (jaw-line), specifically the area surrounding the mouth. This area, on most primates is a portion of the face which is hairless, or of a different color than the rest of the animal.⁷³ This is the case as well when the Irish immigrants in this piece are reviewed; the areas surrounding their mouths are either a different shade or outlined by heavy creases or folds in the skin running from the nasal area towards the mouth. This similarity is most definitely not accidental, but obviously intentional on the part of the illustrator to further reference the visual characteristics of the apes, and thereby to distort the relationship of recognition felt by the viewer toward the subjects.

Another element which we can associate with the simian zoomorphic icon in this illustration is the brute force which the Irish are displaying towards the police. Physical violence, which may be considered an inferior form of conflict when compared to intellectual debate or the function of legality, is not only present in the illustration but takes on a central focus. Not only the violence, but also the manner of the violence recalls the kind of chaotic violence and "wild" behavior one would expect of an animal in nature. The use of

⁷³ cf. Abbasi, Jennifer. "How Evolution Made the Monkey Face: The complexity or lack thereof, on a simian's face reveals a great deal about its society." *Discover* 28 Feb. 2013: n. pag. Web.

violence, particularly this overtly anti-intellectual violence, is another link which Nast forges to influence the perception of the viewer. Disorder and violence are generally considered the nemesis of civilization, and thereby would have been understood, even at this early stage in American history wherein violence was relatively commonplace, as being animalistic and not the type of behavior befitting an orderly society. Through this association the artist seeks to inform the viewer, using extreme violence (likely to some degree to have been a preexisting part of the dominant visuality of the time), that coexistence with the Irish under civilized terms was not possible.

Further physiological examples of the artist's use of zoomorphic imagery are the unusually large and opened mouths. These mouths are far too exaggerated to be realistic representations of the human mouth and again bare a much closer resemblance to the large orifice of the larger primates, or Great Apes. The human mouth is generally not capable of the level of distention that is evidenced in this picture, even when yelling which is what those depicted appear to be doing because the mouth developed in such a way that the process of speech was facilitated – not necessarily as calling but lip smacking.⁷⁴ Through the opened mouths the viewer sees that the dental structure too is not the same as in the human being. The teeth of the Irish here seem to be deeply set into the bed of the gums so that the lips cover them to such a degree that they either do not appear, or are missing altogether. By alluding to the different lips and dental details in humans and other primates, the illustrator asks the viewer once again to suspend the full conviction that those being looked upon are indeed fully realized human beings.

A final zoomorphic detail is perhaps the most subtle and that is the swarm/herd visual. It is significant that the Irishmen drawn in this picture outnumber the police officers and that they also overwhelm both the foreground and background of the illustration in such a way that focusing on anything other than the chaos of the fight is nearly impossible. By depicting the immigrants as such a multitude, the creator of the work is harkening upon nativist feelings that the nation (especially the urban centers) were being overrun by immigrants and in New York, mostly by the Irish.

On the whole, the entire composite of this illustration guides the viewer into a visual setting whereby it is difficult, if not impossible, to see the Irish as totally equal to those more established and (self-perceived) civilized immigrant communities. By using physical

⁷⁴ cf. Kelly, Morgan. "Out of the Mouths of Primates Facial Mechanics of Human Speech May Have Evolved." *Princeton University*. Trustees of Princeton University, 20 June 2012. Web. 17 June 2013.

characteristics, such as the compact body, the facial resemblance to simian species, the wild behavior and the particular facial features which recall those of apes Nast builds a composite of elements that when all placed together create a visual environment in which the viewer is strongly directed towards placing the subjects in the visual realm of animals and not into that of humans, or established civilization.

Iconologically, Nast's zoomorphic icon of the apish Irishman holds a great deal of insight into the stereotypes which would probably have been held by a significant portion of the readership of *Harper's*, as it would be highly unlikely that he would have included such elements when they would have been unknown or unreadable for the audience that the image was intended for. Furthermore, that it is traceable that Nast's simian Irishman became a prototype in his own work is another way in which it can be verified that the artist was aware of the place this visual element would take in the greater social consciousness of the *Harper's* readers.⁷⁵ This Irishman is not only depicted with physical resemblances to apes but is also placed in a visual framework which makes this image even more readable as such. Finally, the active scopic regime which his viewers would have certainly been familiar with would have also confirmed that these particular zoomorphic elements were directly traceable to either physical, but more likely, social characteristics of the Irish immigrants.

The use of the ape imagery, with its implications of primitive behaviors is used with the intent of enforcing a distance between the viewers who were to read the image and those people (in this case the Irish) to whom the images referred. The attempt to link the Irish, their social behavior and their perceived lack of social integration to the simian image is done in order to show that the Irish are somehow not to be considered totally human. Their qualities and capabilities of violence are here expressed within the simple relation to what would have been perceived as a less developed animal, both in mental and social respects. The reader's reception of the image would have been greatly informed by the context in which this image appeared and it is known to be true that the Irish were arriving in great numbers in the cities of the east coast of the United States, particularly New York and Boston. Their influence on social conditions (especially social stability) is intended to be projected as negative by Nast as if evidenced by his placing all of the subjects in this illustration in aggressive poses, armed and in one case likely drunken.

⁷⁵ cf. Walfred, Michael . "Irish Stereotype." *Illustrating Chinese Exclusion*. N.p., 1 Jan. 2014. Web. 15 June 2013.

While the artist has done well to draw the Irish in a way which is sufficient for recognition as human, he has also chosen to include implied motion which suggests force, aggression and disorder. This chaotic element certainly appealed to the views of some nativists that immigration, and with attention to certain groups such as the Irish and Chinese at this time, was a very large problem. By showing the Irish in this illustration with legs bent in anticipation of a kick, or a baton extended to strike an authority figure, he is also making a statement on the violent intent of the Irish. It is ultimately not mere chance that the victims of the event depicted are police officers as there would have been a very real discussion at the time of publication on the role of the Irish in the New York City Police Department. This discourse surrounded the concern that the Irish, who were largely loyal to the Democratic Party, were high jacking the New York City Police Department and that there were too many Irish amongst its officers. This of course also hinted at the fact that the Irish, with their propensity to apishness were incapable of maintaining the rule of fair law and that they were bound to beat down the police force and implement their special interests.⁷⁶

A further reason for the illustrator to use the zoomorphic icon of the ape here is that in so doing he seeks to pinpoint just how foreign the Irish are within the social context that they have arrived in. There were no extant hominids in North America other than humans and as that would have been common knowledge to the people who lived in the cities of the United States at the time and would have been deductible from their own experience, the ape image while familiar enough to recognize was foreign enough to disassociate with. Again, the zoomorphic imagery is used here to create a sense of separation, but in this case a specific distance is effected as result of the absolute void of primates of the kind alluded to in the illustration in the immediate environment. The need to ensure the absolute lack of identification with the subjects would have been important in the ability of the artist to create a character or subject with which there could be no chance of likeness on the part of the viewer.

It can be seen that through the use of the zoomorphic simian icon, the artist has managed to not only create a figure onto which stereotypes of human social convention are to be heaped, but also a figure who is supposed to be so totally distended from the status quo in terms of identity that the viewer could only view this subject as unequal. Additionally, given that the subjects are all engaged in one violent act or another, Nast draws upon stereotypes which were rampant in regards to the Irish and their perceived lack of socialization and

⁷⁶ cf. Wakin, Edward. *Enter the Irish-American*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2002. Print.

civilization. By including the image of one of the apish Irishmen with what could be an alcoholic beverage in his hand and what appears to be an expression of jubilation on his face, the creator of this image also alludes to the fact that the Irish were responsible for such social ills as alcoholism and brutishness. That all of the Irish in the picture are armed and involved in a fight against the police force is a hark to the idea that these gangs were going to overcome the rule of law and that they had no respect for the established institutions charged with civil protection or the enforcement of protections and freedoms.

The illustration depicts a real event that occurred on Saint Patrick's Day when a conflict erupted between the police and groups of Irishmen and in which there were fatalities but was used to highlight the tension growing in the cities of the United States regarding integration. More importantly however, it is a testament to the nativist sentiment that was prevalent in society and the degree to which the Irish were treated with hostility, resentment and above all suspicion. All of these emotional connotations are evoked rather quickly through the use of the apish icon which is recurring in Nast's work and through the placement of these simian figures inside a rendering of an actual occurrence the illustrator is able to manipulate associations which may have not actually played a significant role in the real events of the conflict. The creator's aims to defame the Irish and in particular the nativist sentiment surrounding the creation of this and other images like it by Nast and others will be investigated further in the section which follows that examines the discourse within which these images would have been visualized.

This Is a Whiteman's Government!

Harper's Weekly

1868

Thomas Nast

While the main focus of Thomas Nast's illustration '*This Is a Whiteman's Government*' is not immigration, but rather the aftermath of the American Civil War and reconstruction, the presence of anti-immigrant sentiment is also very conspicuously included in an image which would otherwise speak more to the political events surrounding the eventual security and reunion of the United States as one nation. This inclusion at a time when the question of what to do with the multitude of newly freed slaves, was certainly not nonchalant on the part of the illustrator but was likely an attempt to maintain the discourse surrounding immigration (particularly that regarding the Irish and their growing presence and role in political arenas in the major cities in the east and mostly in New York) as part of the national consciousness, and to use the occasion of unrest to capitalize on burning nativist sentiments which had been so recently stoked by the collapse of the institution of slavery and the addition of so many new 'citizens' to the populace.

Taking into consideration the greater historic context (explored in the corresponding historical analysis), this particular image has been chosen as it reflects the seriousness with which Irish immigrants were viewed, and that was on par with the magnitude of the aftermath and reconstruction of the nation shortly after the close of a war fought for, among other reasons, the cohesion of the country. While the legacy of the Irish immigration to the United States has turned out to be one which has undoubtedly contributed to the nation far more than would have been expected through their representations in the media such as this one, other issues represented here (i.e. the aftermath of the American Civil War and ongoing race relations in the shadow of the institution of slavery) are still very much of the contemporary discourse on race relations, concepts of national identity, and equality. Analyses of this illustration at the levels of both the pre-iconographic and the iconographic will immediately follow, and ultimately an iconological analysis will isolate connections between iconographic imagery in the illustration and the social discourse analysis which will be magnified later.

In terms of pre-iconographic content, this illustration contains three male standing in dominance over a fourth male with variations in costume and paraphernalia. The setting is in

front of a group of buildings which are in flames (perhaps even a town or city); this fact is not the primary concern of the subjects as they have turned their backs to it and are more concentrated upon the event depicted here in the foreground of the picture. It is here in the foreground, where the viewer is voyeuristically displaced from what would otherwise be an emergency, that the subjects are placed in broad view. The illustrator has drawn the three standing men grasping hands in the center of the image, and it could be understood that this image is what the viewer is being guided towards focusing upon. The fourth man however is without any representation in the pact and neither of his hands is present in the center of the illustration because he is displayed sprawled on the ground on his stomach and the other men, who all have one arm raised and an engaged hand, appear to be holding him down on the ground with the pressure of one foot each which they have rested on his back. Furthermore, even the most superficial glance reveals that the men standing are all exclusively of European decent and that the subdued character is of African ancestry.

The one on the far left of the image, who is supposed to represent an Irishman, is wearing trousers and a vest with a collared shirt underneath; the colors contrasting each other with the vest being slightly lighter in hue than the trousers, but lighter still than the white shirt he wears underneath with its sleeves rolled up revealing a thickly covered hairy forearm. He is also wearing a small kerchief around the collar and dark, chunky boots. A brimmed hat sits atop a small visible amount of dark hair and on the hat is a ribbon tied around with '5 points' written on it. It also appears to be slightly torn and also there could be a symbol of the Latin cross visible, although it is also possible that this is only meant to be viewed as a scratch or possible repair on the hat. His trousers are tattered (especially at the knee) with the legs rolled up to reveal his boots. In his hip pocket is an alcohol bottle and in the hand of a skyward raised arm, he holds a club with the inscription 'A VOTE' on it. Due to the consistency with which Nast displayed this type of character and the continual context this particular subject was typically placed in, he is understood to be an Irishman.⁷⁷

The standing figure in the middle of the picture looks toward the viewer with a slightly turned head making it possible to make out part of the left side of his face and his eyes seem to convey mistrust, perhaps even menace. He is wearing a military uniform of the Confederate Army of the southern states, including a long button-up jacket, a collared shirt that is tucked into his trousers and what may be either a kerchief or a tie around the collar. The style of his

⁷⁷ cf. Anbinder, Tyler. *Five Points: the 19th-century New York City neighborhood that invented tap dance, stole elections, and became the world's most notorious slum*. New York: Free Press, 2001. Print.

hat is different from that of the first subject in that it is slightly higher and the brim is more flexible, which would also be typical of the southern style. On his jacket lapel is a medal and it appears to contain some illegible words as well as what may be a bust; the style clearly militaristic. All of his clothing is light-colored and this includes his trousers which are partially covered at the bottoms by high rising rider's boots such as a cavalryman would have worn. On his belt buckle is the letter combination 'C.S.A.'⁷⁸ which is likely an acronym for Confederate States of America- the official name for the seceded southern states, also tucked into his back pocket there is a whip but purposefully not a riding whip which would blend into the attire considering his riding boots. Like the Irish subject, he too has a ribbon around his hat with some letters on it, but in this case the letters are intelligible. In his left hand he dangerously holds over the lying subject a sharp-tipped knife with the words 'The Lost Cause' on it and this probably alludes to the cause of southern independence.

The final figure standing in Thomas Nast's illustration is on the far right and is physically smaller than the two others. He appears to be a late middle-aged man who is balding but is dressed immaculately in a very formal and elegant style. His trousers are dark and he also has a dark vest with a jacket with tails which further heightens the formality of his look. At the collar of his button-up shirt there is a bow tie and at the ends of both sleeves the cuffs are held together with cufflinks all espousing his affluence. Accessorizing his look is a chained time piece which circles his waist and rests on his vest button and his finely shined black shoes also lending to his overall appearance and impressive presence. Adding to the grandeur of his person is the fact that in his right hand he is lifting a large wallet or bill-fold with what looks like dollars peeking out of the sides and on this wallet are the words, 'Capital for Votes.' Lastly, on his lapel also hangs a kind of medal with an engraving upon it although it is impossible to make out exactly what is presented there.

The final subject presented here is the black man on the ground. He is stomach down on the ground and his face, one side darkened by a shadow, looks upward towards the viewer. He is sprawled on the ground with legs and arms extended outwards from his body, save his right arm which cradles an American flag. He wears a darker jacket than his trousers and boots. Most of the characteristics which detail the personalities and backgrounds of the other subjects are devoid in his case as his body is being pinned down by the other three. Seemingly belonging to him but not within his grasp is a dark-colored hat with a band around it with

⁷⁸ cf. Thomas, Emory M. *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2011. Print.

perhaps a buckle on it and a box of some sort which rests in the lower right corner of the illustration.

As previously mentioned, these men are the focus of the illustration but not the only images present. The buildings burning in the background are difficult to identify due to the billowing smoke which comes from the fires which burn within them. The full details of this part of the background to this scene will be included in the iconological analysis which follows after the immediate section of this analysis which covers the iconographic level of this illustration, in particular the zoomorphic element.

Zoomorphic imagery is clearly evident in this illustration and yet it is basically the sole domain of the Irishman. The character of African origin, which is being prevented from standing, may also be at least behaviorally being treated like an animal, but due to the exclusion of direct zoomorphic characteristics attributed to him, it is not possible to analyze for the intent of this work to what degree the subject is being portrayed in an animalistic way. Therefore, it is necessary to systematically review the attributes which the artist gave to the Irishman to demote his standing in the synchronous visuality of the viewer, and to isolate those elements in the framework of zoomorphism and its use as a demotive device.

Focusing on the Irishman's face the immediate impression is one of a high degree of simian influence. The heavy brow, with a single small beady eye gazing wildly at the viewer, the nose which is little more than two bumps and holes for nasal passages but otherwise nearly flat to the facial surface, the narrow distance between the nose and eyes and the relative large distance between the nose and the upper lip, the mouth opened in a somewhat geometric fashion that gapingly displays only a smattering of teeth, the skin which appears thickly creased and with indentations, and the overall size and positioning of the head in relation to the rest of the body all add to the apish construct of this subject.

More specifically, if we take a look closely at the face we notice (where there are many small indentation marks above the upper lip) from the viewer's point of view there is an absolute omission of the intranasal depression (philtrum). This particular attribute certainly resembles an ape's face rather than the human face which has a markedly pronounced intranasal depression that is genetically determined and therefore highly variable among humans, while still being recognizably present between the nose and lip. This seems to highlight the planar space between the nose and lip and this makes the face appear improperly formed in terms of the physiological norms in human facial features. This is however

observable in most ape species which have, in varying degrees, the same large flat and protruding space in this area.⁷⁹

As already alluded to, the drawer's positioning of the head in this particular pose, where the viewer can only see one side of his face means that there is no chance to view this character in a multi-dimensional, multi-faceted manner. The narrow eyes and heavy brow are both easily recognizable as simian attributes and the gaze in the eye, which here portrays a sense of wild and untamed intentions, further intensifies the relation to an undomesticated, quasi-human animal. The relative size of the head when compared to the body also resembles that of simian species and in relation to the other character's heads it is noticeable that the Irishman's head is somewhat larger, more bulbous and protruding.

The illustrator has also granted the viewer sight of two of the subject's arms: one which is extended in order to grasp the hand of the character on the far right of the work, and the other (of which we see only the area just under the wrist and the hand) is thrust upwards and with the corresponding hand grasping a club. The arms are densely covered in hair to a degree which is much more apish than human. The fist holding the club displays fingers highly variant in appearance from those which grasp the hand of the other character, namely they are rounder and less defined than those on the other hand. Likewise, they are darkly covered with hair. While humans are capable of growing hair on their hands and even their digits, the coverage displayed here would be considered abnormal in humans, especially the facial coverage, but not only.⁸⁰

The composition of the subject's body is the final element which shows a large degree of zoomorphic influence. As the characteristics of his head have already been analyzed, including its positioning and size relative to the body, next the body should be considered animalistic. Thomas Nast has portrayed his Irishman with a small and compact body which bulges at the center where the belly is, and at once maintains stocky legs and yet very thin and lanky arms. The distended stomach can be found in humans but usually not in such a rotund version. This stomach in humans would be indicative of malnutrition or effects of certain water born microorganisms.⁸¹ As the character does not appear thin or necessarily weak or ill, it can be deduced that the artist wishes to highlight another simian characteristic which is not

⁷⁹ cf. Hershkovitz, Philip. *Living New World monkeys (Platyrrhini): with an introduction to primates*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977. Print.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Hunger and disease (not exclusively from water born microorganisms) are common reasons for a distended stomach in humans and non-humans, but there are also various other reasons.

found except under very specific circumstances in the human. In total, these deviations from the human form are significant enough to cite the source of these attributes to the simian species as they are mostly recognizably associable therein.

Next, in order to allow for the interpretation of the meaning within the dominant scopical regime of the time of this illustration, it is necessary to carry out an iconological analysis of the elements and to see to which degree they were used in the construction of a concept of animalism. In a more minimized sense the force of 'otherness' can also be asserted as the aim of such inclusions by the illustrator. An initial glance at the illustration may lead to the interpretation of the black subject as the victim of the greatest amount of projected prejudice, and this is probably true here and still it is important to note that the Irishman also is depicted in a manner which is biased. Not only is this character shown in a manner which is only slightly better off than the man being pinned down, but in other aspects it is evident that the Irish subject is even more vilified than the black subject and this is accomplished via the use of blatant zoomorphism.

Primarily, the illustrators insistence in adding such zoomorphic elements is that the viewer is persuaded, as previously mentioned, to see the Irishman as something other than the rest of the subjects- not quite human while not being quite beast either. Through the use of the very specific facial features present in ape species and the body-head/body-limb ratio, the sense of separation is further amplified as it would have been difficult (if not impossible) for viewers of the dominant social class to relate to the image. Furthermore, if compared to his fellow subjects in the illustration, the accessories of the Irishman's composite; disheveled and torn clothing, working class cap, even his weapon- a wooden baton, highlights the degree to which the viewer is to understand him as not only physically apish but also primitive within a social context.

Thomas Nast has actually drawn two historical, living characters although each of the characters is a position on his opposition to the Democratic Party and their resistance towards reconstruction legislation (also understood through the bottom caption which will be further dealt with in the section which covers a thorough discourse analysis). The subjects standing represented to Nast the three arms of the Democratic Party: the Irish, the white Southerner who is disparaged over the loss of the Civil War and a rich capitalist. Indeed the Irish man's hat references '5 points' a poor Irish settlement in Manhattan, the possible cross mark on his hat may be a reference to the Irish Catholicism which was looked upon with great suspicion and his clothing and the alcohol bottle to showcase his lower class status and to further stress

the repulsion and lower-class status afforded to the Irish at this time. Although it is difficult to see, there is a burning orphanage in the background and a lynched man hanging from a lamp post and these are hints towards to the Irish involvement in the Draft Riots during the Civil War in New York City.

The subject in the middle of the illustration is Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former confederate commander whose whip symbolizes his position as a former slave owner and his longing for a return to his former way of life, it is important to note that it is not a riding whip but the kind which would have been used to beat slaves into submission or to punish them for disobeying.⁸² The medal on his lapel may be in reference to his involvement in the Fort Pillow incident in which symbolizes the hideous manner in which the Confederates treated blacks. Finally, his knife with the words 'The Lost Cause' can only be a direct link to the cause of the Confederate States of America. Clearly, the artist wishes to dissuade the viewer from sympathizing with the middle subject as he is depicted as tyrannical and unwilling to allow the black man to pursue his new found freedom (this image was created only three years after the end of the American Civil War while reconstruction was still taking place and southern blacks were still trying to assert themselves into the citizenry of the United States). It is also interesting to note that Forrest was well known for being an original instigator and organizer of the Ku Klux Klan.

A likeness of August Belmont, a Jewish financier, is depicted on the far left of this illustration.⁸³ His wallet suggests that the Democratic Party was interested in buying votes and that there were wealthy donors amongst their ranks who were willing to finance this. The fact that Belmont was also Jewish could have also been a factor in including him in this piece as the capitalist, as this would feed into the anti-Semitic sentiments of some viewers and contributing an additional layer of mistrust to be conveyed.

Finally, the black soldier on the ground, identifiable by his hat, uniform and his clenching to an American flag is a stand in for the black soldiers who fought for the Union, including slaves who had ran away from plantations to fight. His left hand reaches towards an odd looking box in the lower right corner of the picture, which is intended to be a ballot box- a reference to his vote. The illustrator is focusing on the interests of these three arms of the Democratic Party in keeping blacks from their full rights as citizens after the war.

⁸² cf. Sifakis, Stewart. "Nathan Bedford Forrest." *Who Was Who in the Civil War*. New York, N.Y.: Facts on File, 1988. Print.

⁸³ cf. Katz, Irving. *August Belmont: A Political Biography*. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1968. Print.

Though each of the subjects in the illustration are individual and have meaning in and of themselves, their composition makes for the greatest impact to the viewer. That they all hover over the soldier in such a menacing manner is a clear signal that the creator sought to bias the viewer against the subjects standing. Still, it is the Irishman who is most degraded; the black character's suffering somehow ennobles him and the other white men are both depicted negatively but not as animals. The artist's personal appeal to the racist feelings of the viewing audience, and the readers of *Harper's Weekly*, is most evident in his inclusion of zoomorphic imagery to absolutely banish the visual normality of the Irishman and to distance him even further from his negative cohorts.

It is quite easy, in summation, to see that Nast has again used simian characteristics in the promotion of a negative understanding of the Irish. Through the use of apish facial features, body features and other physical attributes, he has resorted to zoomorphic imagery to form connotations in the minds of the viewers which could only, in the context given, be concluded as negative and undesirable. By incorporating the simian icon, Nast not only alludes to the primitive features of apes in relation to general human civilization, but also to the inferiority of the Irish physically and even socially. The artist's choice to attribute all of the zoomorphic imagery to one subject further amplifies its intended purpose. The section dealing with the discourse analysis surrounding this illustration will take a deeper look at the words included in the illustration and even timing as both of these elements were certainly neither accidental, nor coincidental.

4.4 Discourse Analysis Wave 2

The following section will be an analysis on the discourse on immigration of the wave two illustrations: *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners. The Problem Solved.*, *Rum-Blood: The Day We Celebrate* and *This Is A White Man's Government*. In this section the texts included in the illustrations will be reviewed for their discursive contribution towards the reading of the images insofar as they are used to fulfill the answers to those questions outlined in the methodological explanation provided earlier in this text but reiterated here as namely; a.) What activity (practice) is the communication building or enacting? b.) What groups, institutions etc. are setting the norm for this activity?⁸⁴ c.) What social identity or identities is the speaker trying to enact or get others to recognize? d.) How does the speaker's language treat other identities? e.) What sorts of identities does the speaker recognize for others in relationship to his/her own or to the analyzed subjects? and f.) What identity (or identities) is the speaker inviting the subjects to take up?⁸⁵ In essence, this short list of questions seeks to determine mainly what/who is the active agent (in identity building) and what is the identity that the active agent implements.

In addition to the immediately preceding inquiries, in a broader sense, as was also mentioned in the methodological explanation and breakdown of this work, the Foucauldian formation of objects and the intrinsic power relationships which are inherent in this formation (even if the formation appears initially to be one of random coincidence) are addressed inasmuch as the necessity for a ground or foundation of things to be established/described is present- a formation which he identifies as:

“A task that consists of not – of no longer – treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is

⁸⁴ These two questions, (a & b) comprise the analytical tool entitled, Activities Building Tool by James Paul Gee and have been expounded upon in the part of this work which deals with methodology. Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Tool Kit*. 1st Ed. New York: Routledge, 2011. 96-103. Print.

⁸⁵ These questions (c – f) comprise the analytical tool entitled, Identities Building Tool by James Paul Gee and have been expounded upon in the part of this work which deals with methodology. Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Tool Kit*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2011. 106-110. Print.

more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to language (langue) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe.”⁸⁶

In analyzing relevant discourse concerning *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed By Foreigners. The Problem Solved.* by an unknown artist working for White & Bauer (San Francisco) sometime between 1860 and 1869, it is necessary for the purposes of this work to emphasize that the function of this discourse analysis will be to explore the links between the image (previously iconographically analyzed in the pictorial analysis which precedes) and the language which is present and incorporated as an integral part of the illustration. By so doing, the illustration will form the 'foundation' of symbols and the words which accompany them will be the insight into the discursive 'more' that will be revealed. In turn, a discursive relation will become evident between the image/sign and the words which together compose the realm of influence that informs the viewing of the illustration.

This particular instance includes only the title in terms of text and that means that the viewer is left to ponder the artist's decision to include the title to this work so prominently. Yet, there is more to this illustration than simply the title, the differences in typeface of the various words of the title, and the image: numerical delineation, provided to afford the image a sequential reading invoking both time and progression in the understanding of the visual. The movement of time in this example is itself a contributor to the discursive body of the image in that it creates for the viewer a sense of urgency, time-pressure, or perhaps even anxiety or ignition to action of some indeterminate kind. As the image includes texts which would require reading and therefore the reader to remain focused upon it (likely stationary as it would have appeared in a magazine or newspaper), a discourse of time between the static image and the viewers implicitly received motion via the numbering already begins.

Additionally, the title is split into two parts, one at the top of the image and one at the bottom. This splitting of the title likewise lends to the chronological viewing of the illustration just as the numbers that start in sequence at the top, so too must the viewer read the text in a like manner in order for it to make any sense sequentially. Therefore, the illustrator asks the viewer to read both the sequence of the image (active) and the words (static) in the same way, possibly to invoke those same emotional stimuli that are triggered through the imagery (also indicating an active process, i.e. the eating of Uncle Sam). At a basic level then, it can be said

⁸⁶ Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books Ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 49. Print.

that an initial answer to the first analytical question of identifying the action being projected towards the viewer is that not only of cannibalism (as depicted in the picture) but also a sense of implied motion which exists in a distinct order within a particular timeframe.

The first line of the text/title reads, THE GREAT FEAR OF THE PERIOD, in all capitals that is more or less simply a characteristic of the typeface. But, the choice of this typeface over others containing lower case or smaller letters conveys the same sense of urgency as the numbers in that it is immediately easily readable. The immediacy is enlivened with the first three words: THE GREAT FEAR. The adjective 'great' suggests here an amplification of the impact of the word fear which with the assistance of the article highlights the definite (rather than indefinite), reminding the viewer that he should definitely be aware of the fear of the period (again the stretching of time, exaggerating not only a temporary threat or fear but instead a permanent one which lasts not for only a day but for the entire period- an ambiguous but rather lengthy amount of time). While the words themselves play a very large role in the immediate comprehension of the image as a whole, it is also valuable and would be amiss to not consider the relationship between the words included with the illustration and what is being depicted in the illustration itself, also available upon immediate viewing of the image. Therefore next, the remaining questions to be addressed here in this discourse analysis will be dealt with considering not only the text but also the '*foundation*' of the discourse in this case (as it is available instantaneously to the viewer), which is as presented - the image itself.

Looking at the image, there are striking elements which are readily available to the viewer that link the image directly to the text. The second line of the text, written in a typeface which is smaller than the top line, contains the words, THAT UNCLE SAM MAY BE SWALLOWED BY FOREIGNERS. In this second line, words are used to establish opposing forces: the known and the unknown or Uncle Sam- the easily recognizable artistic personification of the United States and well-known patriotic figure based on an actual supplier to the U.S. Army since the War of 1812,⁸⁷ and the foreign Chinaman and Irishman, who have both been expounded upon in the pictorial analysis pertaining to this image, and have been attributed zoomorphic characteristics to enforce their foreigner status. Therein lies the answer to the question of what social identity the speaker (the artist in this case) is trying to enact or get others to recognize; non-foreigner and foreigner. Also, this visual effect of creating separateness in terms of the familiar and unfamiliar is reinforced by the addition of

⁸⁷ "Forgotten Origins." *American Studies at the University of Virginia*. University of Virginia, 09 Jan. 2009. Web. Feb. 08, 2013.

the second line of the text. Thereby an intermodal means of discourse is achieved in which the text is engaged in an unspoken discourse with the image, which in turn has to be (in order for the viewer to have been able to understand both text and image and the interplay) discursive within the scopic regime of the contemporaneous viewer.

The identities of others, the next question to be dealt with, or how those identities are treated by the artist's language is answered nearly completely through the artist's clear division of subjects in the work into those that are familiar and those that are unfamiliar. Likewise, the second line of text, as well as the zoomorphic imagery used (within the iconographic framework the pictorial analyses were carried out under and which has been detailed in the methodology section of this work establishing a type of communicative agent/language of images to be read) further reinforces separateness and the identity of one familiar and two unfamiliar subjects. These subjects, different from each other and separate still from the viewer, are essential aspects in the 'Americanized' viewing of the image, interpretation of it and the understanding and correlation with it. This nativist, Amero-centric (a central element of nativism being the exclusive identification with 'America' and in turn dismissal of immigrant origin) attitude formed the means by which it is possible to experience the outsidersness portrayed:

"But the stereotypes, which began to spread even before the great mid-century wave of Irish immigration, stuck. It would be applied to other generations of immigrants from that day to this, often based on the same realities of immigrant life. To be that special creature, the American, there always had to be that other."⁸⁸

Next, the text and image ask the viewer to consider, simply via the artist's choice to include these elements together, what identities the artist establishes for the subjects in relation to their own. It is evident in the artist's creation of the image in such an exaggerated manner (nearly grotesque) that the viewer is not supposed to look sympathetically upon the subjects in the work. This is again further emphasized by the inclusion of the dehumanizing zoomorphic imagery in tandem with the text. Moreover, with the inclusion of words such as 'fear' and even 'foreigner' an imposition of a distance between the artist and his subjects-lacking a sense of commonality and of mutual experience is achieved. Only one who considers oneself to be in some sense 'not foreign' can label those who are not part of the group that they consider to be non-foreign as foreign. In this way the creator has consciously

⁸⁸ Schrag, Peter. *Not Fit For Our Society: Immigration and Nativism in America*. 1st Ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. 26. Print.

separated the subjects into two clearly differentiated groups of people and identifies personally and exclusively with only one (identification with the visual symbol of Uncle Sam is understood by the use of the symbol of the old man which reinforces the familiar, further via the threatening tone of the warning to be heeded, and lastly through the dire prognosis which the artist forecasts: THE PROBLEM SOLVED). Also, the viewer is asked through the mode of identity and the identification with the symbol to see the Uncle Sam character as familiar through the lack of use of zoomorphic imagery.

So, the unknown artist who created *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam Will Be Swallowed By Foreigners. The Problem Solved.*, managed through the addition of text to the image to evoke a sense of otherness and establish taxonomical stances that the viewer is to interpret in a binary fashion. This interpretation is underlined by the artist including not only an image that would have certainly pertained to the goings-on of the day, but also simple vocabulary that the readership of the publication would have easily had reference and access to in their own environments. As has been shown in the historic analysis for this wave, the ongoing issues between nativist sentiments and the Chinese and Irish immigrants were pervasive issues of the time and would have been part of the public consciousness. Additionally, the illustration suggests a concretely defined awareness of the roles of Uncle Sam as familiar and the immigrants as animalistic, sub-human or even non-human, not only through the use of the imagery, but also the words included in the text which are to cause fear, conjure atrocities such as cannibalism and predict a particularly negative result in the end.

In *Rum. Blood. The Day We Celebrate*, from *Harper's Weekly*, which was created by Thomas Nast in response to the Saint Patrick's Day Riots in New York, Nast too uses subjects which would have been readily identifiable in the scopic regime of the readers of the magazine to insist upon two distinct groups of people. *Rum. Blood. The Day We Celebrate* displays the same simian zoomorphic features that were evident in the previous example analyzed, yet here instead of a familiar patriotic symbol, the artist included additional prosaic symbols of local authority, namely the police force in New York City. The attire of the two groups also distinguishes them as is the case with their behavior which has been covered in the pictorial analysis for this image. The use of the simian features is however afforded a much more impacting visual connection via the use of certain evocative words; St. Patrick's Day, rum, blood, brutal, attack and riot.

The above mentioned words, which are included in a framed border, darker in color than the dominant scheme of the image, are positioned at the top and bottom. The inclusion of

the words 'St. Patrick's Day' right at the top already sets the image up for certain specific conclusions to be drawn in relation to it, i.e. pertaining to the Irish as St. Patrick is the traditional patron of Ireland (inviting prejudices that readers might have regarding the Irish). Already at the very top with the first words then, the illustrator has decided to single out one group present in this image, when combined with the implied actions which take place in the work, the trendy and identifying attire of those who are presented as Irish in opposition to those who are dressed in the typical policeman's uniforms of the time, the violence depicted and the inclusion of distressing or fear-inducing vocabulary at the bottom of the page, the illustrator is obviously involved in a discursive formation with the viewer in which he invites them to identify and recognize the Irish just as he does, thereby answering the first question being posed in this analysis concerning the activity the communication is building or enacting. An objective here is seemingly to create a mutual cognizance on the part of the image's creator and subjects, acting within a pre-existing discursive stream of images and statements, and by directing viewers in the recognition of the subjects as divisible and separate preliminarily.

Public order is generally maintained through police forces and therefore it may be deducible in this work, the artist seeks to establish the position of the order-keepers with the inclusion of the police officers. As is visible in the image and in the interplay between image and text, the police appear to be being overtaken by the angry Irish mob. The smaller text at the bottom reads: BRUTAL ATTACK ON THE POLICE. Brutal can mean several things including; befitting a brute: as grossly ruthless or unfeeling, cruel, cold-blooded, harsh, severe, unpleasantly accurate and incisive and very bad or unpleasant, and archaic: typical of beasts: animal.⁸⁹ By electing to use this word in his illustration, Nast invites the viewer to draw exclusively negative conclusions regarding the aggressors in this image. The viewer understands spontaneously that the Irish (an identity already established by the top heading text and the visual clues informing them of the two separate groups represented here) are the aggressors and ATTACK the police. Again, 'attack' suggests aggression and rather negative and fear-inducing connotations. The matter of who is setting the norm for this question is as simple as considering the inclusion of the commonplace image of the police officers, an image that viewers would likely have been ready to identify and accommodate within their visuality thereby arranging their assessment of the norm to the authority represented in the officers and the abnormal element being the brutal attack on the part of the Irish. So while the illustrator is setting the norm, it is the viewer's acknowledgement of the police as an agent of

⁸⁹ "Brutal." *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. Springfield, MA, USA: 2013.

authority which reinforces recognition thereby authenticating the enactment of a determined social identity for the Irish in the work.

Likewise, the observer's ability to identify otherness in the form of the gang of people who are not the police shows a very elementary form of segregated visibility- the ability to differentiate visual subjects. Indeed, the behavior of the mob also furthers the assertion of the Irish as outsiders as much as it asserts the rightful authority of the police. In this case this outsidership seems to implicate an abode outside the law, outside of the bounds of justice, outside of civilized and orderly society. Moreover, it could also be asserted that the illustrator seeks to banish the mobsters to identities outside of their humanity, agented via both Nast's use of zoomorphic imagery (specifically the simian features) and the text containing fear-inducing vocabulary and appealing to primitive fight-or-flight instincts. The act of unbounded group violence is itself something which not only affects fear but also exaggerates and bestializes by referencing the basic and most primitive of human aggressive reactions:

“...millions of years have endowed humans with the instinct (or whatever nativist term one wishes to substitute) for aggression, as they have endowed other species. Normally aggression remains dormant. Occasionally, however, under some specifiable circumstances, the inhibitions break down, and it is then that our ‘true’ nature- our bestiality- emerges. We then descend to the level of our animal ancestors.”⁹⁰

In evaluating only the accompanying language to consider how the image creator (acting as an agency of a discourse- as only one of the many who contribute to promotion of certain discourses- and which is perpetuated and formed by the discourse itself as a social phenomenon) has treated others' identities, again the use of exclusively negative associative words such as; BRUTAL, ATTACK, RIOT, RUM and BLOOD, all incite the reader/viewer to either draw conclusions which do not favor a balanced judgment of the Irish, play to established prejudices which are part of a dominant social domain, or it at least recalls cultural traits that were recognizably Irish within the contemporaneous scopic regime. Each of these

⁹⁰Zajonc, R.B. "The Zoomorphism of Human Collective Violence." Trans. Array *Understanding Genocide: The Social Psychology of the Holocaust*. Leonard S. Newman and Ralph Erber. 1st. Ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. 224. Print. (This work, while focusing on the psychological and socio-biological factors of human collective violence, and particularly the circumstances surrounding the holocaust, first establishes precedent for the possibility of 'lower' animalistic violent aggressive tendency, and collective aggressive tendency, based upon the work of zoologist and ethnologist Konrad Lorenz. While the aspect regarding the psychological factors of the holocaust are not important for the aims of this work, the grounding of group collective violence in the 'primitive' aspect of humanity and its being directed towards certain groups of people on an ethnic basis, is relevant here. The chapter from which this excerpt is drawn focuses specifically on the zoomorphic contribution of human collective violence.)

words connotes violence, lawlessness or drunkenness. These connotations when paired with the visual, rather imply a nomothetic bisection of society into those who abide by law and order and those who do not. The artist here, as is evident through his choice in depicting all Irish subjects with simian characteristics and either armed, in combat, drunk, or a combination of the three, establishes his own identity as one who is able to judge the behavior the Irish are displaying as uncivilized, thereby associating himself and his readership with those who side with the victimized police officers- the civilized members of society who are concerned with rule of law and keeping order. Therein the readership of Harper's is called to side with those discursive elements which reflect the attitudes espoused, and take up identities that coincide therewith.

The following year readers are again beckoned to identify with, and function within, a specific (anti-Irish and anti-black) discursive formation in the same manner as was pointed out in the last paragraph. This correlation between motives can be drawn due to the repeated use of the simian traits which have been included, as already mentioned, to alienate the reader's sense of self and place within society in juxtaposition with the positions and identity of the Irish. The Irishman in *This is a White Man's Government* displays an even more exaggerated apish face than was the case only a year before in 1867 and this could be taken to imply that the situation, from the image creator's point of view, has not improved but in fact declined, in the time period between the two images. Yet, there is a modicum of social acceptance which has been gained in the interim as the piece displays three white men joining their hands in solidarity against a free black. This shows then that the position of the Irish in the eyes of the readership sympathetic to Nast's views has been elevated, and while they are still viewed as not possessing full-human capacity, they are still to be above blacks in the new social order being reconstructed after the American Civil War. The extreme nature of the simian features enforce not only the Irishman's somewhat inferior status but also this is used as means of unfulfilled potential, a potential to be fully human- a force of human (or human-like) agency, a tactic with a legacy explored by Rebecca Bishop in her essay, *Forms of Life: The Search for the Simian Self in Ape Language Experiments*, which postulates that, "In historical accounts, both feral humans and human-like apes are endowed with a childlike state of potentiality where one might become human, or at least, human-like with an appropriate education."⁹¹ The notion of agency particular to the ape has appeared earlier in the work and

⁹¹Bishop, Rebecca. "The Search for the Simian Self in Ape Language Experiments." Trans. Array *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*. Sarah E. McFarland and Ryan Hediger. 1st. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2009. 218. Print.

is expounded upon in terms of the potential recognized by the human gaze that the non-human primate could, under the right exterior conditions, possess the ability to be human, or at least human-like:

“In the context of animal agency, these notions are further embedded in what might be seen as a politics and poetics of becoming. The non-human primate it seems, has always existed on the threshold of selfhood. Tracing a history of representations of the ape agent, it appears that discourses on animal agency consistently link the capacity for agentive communication with a training and pedagogy in the civilized manners of the ‘fully human’.”⁹²

At the top of the image appear the words, “THIS IS A WHITE MAN’S GOVERNMENT.” Most striking in this statement contemporarily is the recognizably racist tone- in effect claiming the U.S. government for white men. While this is shocking, for the purposes the image and text were intended, this word choice immediately answers the first question of what communication is being built or enacted. The message of this communication is clear- the power must be invested in the whites at the expense of the blacks. It is essentially a communiqué to the readers of *Harper’s Weekly* in 1868 that they (most likely whites) must establish and maintain their power position in society, even if it required that they marginally accept elements of the white community which were still considered undesirable. Therefore it is the white power-elite which is setting the norm for this communication as it certainly would not have been non-whites, who stood only to lose from the alliance of groups of various white (European origin) factions that had until this point been greatly involved in building social, political and economic hierarchies amongst themselves.

The illustrator is trying to get the viewer of this image, through the visual scope of the image and through the accompanying text, to own their entitled whiteness and their supremacy in the power structure of which they had played an integral part in constructing. Thereby the illustrator also seeks to assure his readers that not only are they members of a white power-elite but that blacks are not welcome in the government. Also, the illustrator through his use of zoomorphic characterization in the image exclusively, invites the viewer to not only treat the identities of the blacks as inferior but also the Irish identity only slightly more superior than that of the blacks. The identities that the illustrator has given both the

⁹² Bishop, Rebecca. "The Search for the Simian Self in Ape Language Experiments." Trans. Array *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*. Sarah E. McFarland and Ryan Hediger. 1st. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2009. 208. Print.

Irishman and the black subject are decidedly inferior to those of the white subjects and still the Irishman is afforded a finely-demonstrated superiority and therefore his identity does not assume the lowest level of social rank.

Again, the identity that the illustrator must assume for himself is that of one who belongs to the white power-elite that is being praised in this work. It follows then that the artist assures his viewers that they too belong to this privileged status, and that their world would not be a possibility if they were not themselves members of this particular identity group; that they would misread the image as perhaps conveying solidarity with the downtrodden rather than those who feel entitled to control the government is prevented through the tool of identification. To solidify this, Nast has made sure to include text which anchors the viewer's allegiances with those who oppose the Reconstruction Acts of Congress and specifically to the Democratic Platform (the Democratic Party) as is mentioned in the small text beneath the image which reads, "We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." Finally, the viewer/reader is also asked to take up the responsibility as a citizen who is concerned with the racial purity (in this case white) of government control, joining the white power-elite. The nativist reviewing this image would have been assured of his position at the head of the nation (the government), above freed blacks and immigrants.

All in all, there is sufficient evidence to show that the dominant discourse surrounding the creation of, *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners. The Problem Solved.*, *Rum-Blood: The Day We Celebrate* and *This Is A White Man's Government* was such that aimed to carry out twofold identity building; namely to create identities for the Irish and Chinese subjects which were outside the norms of acceptable civilized society and furthermore to reinforce belonging, recognition, acceptance, identification with and appropriation of the illustrator's exertion of the white gaze being that which is rightfully dominant and able to assign identities in the U.S. American society. Additionally, viewer's should identify sympathetically not with those who are placed in inferior positions in the social ranking order, but rather with the contributors to the discourse (those who consciously, or not even, form it) that place nativist ideology and race (whiteness) in superiority to those who do not take up this identity for themselves. The selection of wording, and the zoomorphic imagery, creates a caste which is incapable of assuming an alternative advantageous identity even if so desired as they would have been placed outside of its reach due to the perceptions of those within it. This 'double exile' is only highlighted by

the inclusion of texts, usually in the forms of titles or headings, which themselves act in tandem with the illustrations to form discursive blocks, images and conceptual frameworks in a mutual-modality (a kind of Borgesian Conundrum between work, subject of work and an agent of/within the discourse). Indeed this creation of identity, simultaneously evocative, reflexive and regressive, is in this case, the discursive 'more' mentioned by Foucault as the real task of revelation and description that must be undertaken in such a discourse analysis.

Finally, as Foucault reminds, the function of the text that is included with the images is not simply to describe them, but also to 'create' the creator (and their role) of those texts (statements, concepts, images, etc.) in the discursive formation that must exist for the texts (statements, concepts, images, etc.) to be read:

“...there is another principle of rarefaction, complementary to the first: the author. Not, of course, the author in the sense of the individual who delivered the speech or wrote the text in question, but the author as the unifying principle in a particular group of writings or statements, laying at the origins of their significance, as the seat of their coherence. This principle is not constant at all times.”⁹³

In effect, without the location of a dominant, or at least known discourse, the concepts cannot exist for the author (image creator) and therefore, the writer is not the instigator of the discourse but rather a catalyst which keeps the discourse recognizable, perpetuating the building blocks which when stacked upon one another constitute the form, assisting the reading of that form, and continuing the formation. This has all been undertaken here by the inclusion of the text and the particular choice of specific words with the pairing of specific imagery- the mortar and bricks which are a part Foucault's greater 'more'.

⁹³ Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books Ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 221. Print.

4.5 Conclusion of Wave 2

The illustrations worked with in the section immediately preceding; *The Great Fear Of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed By Foreigners: The Problem Solved*, *Rum. Blood*, *The Day We Celebrate* and *This Is A Whiteman's Government* have been analyzed pictorially in order to determine the iconographic elements of the composition, with consideration to the discourse of the time in the section under discourse analysis, and a historical background has been presented here as well, in order to allow for the most accurate viewing and reading of the images possible given that they were created over a hundred years ago. These images, while distinct and maintaining an autonomy in their general forms (meaning their functions as parts of mass publications), all contain the presence of zoomorphic traits which are consistently seen throughout the different waves of immigration that are being examined in the framework of this work.

Looking at, *The Great Fear Of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed By Foreigners: The Problem Solved* it is easy to see an early example of the dehumanization of the Irish immigrant as the subject is very straightforwardly presented with dominant simian features that immediately direct the viewer into questioning where the subject fits into the natural order of species- not quite animal and not quite human. Interestingly however, the Irish are not the only targets wherein the tool of zoomorphic imagery is used in order to demote the subjects in the natural order, for here too the Chinese are presented unjustly in that there are the arthropodic connotations that are associated with the particular representation of this group. Moreover, if the zoomorphic imagery present were not enough, the title of the work, as well as the implied action taking place in the illustration, concretize the intended interpretation which the artist, working in tandem within the prevalent discursive formations of his time, manages to further exile the subjects to some place outside of the fully human realm. That the subjects are involved in the act of cannibalism, a great human taboo, exaggerates the disgust with which the immigrants are to be viewed.

Likewise in *Rum. Blood. The Day We Celebrate* Thomas Nast has drawn upon the simian Irishman icon to not only devalue the humanity of the Irish subjects, but to unmistakably connote them with violence and a lack of civil and social preservation skills as well. The events presented, though factual, are done in a biased and one-sided manner so that it becomes difficult for the viewer of this illustration, given the insightful and provocative title, to empathize with the Irish in any way. The title, which gives a view over the narratives surrounding the Irish at the time, further emphasizes the general inability of the Irish to

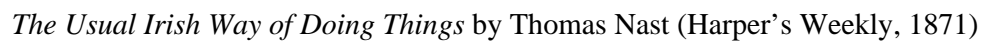
assimilate into an established cultural framework that had already been built by those who by now considered themselves 'native' U.S. Americans.

In, *This Is A Whiteman's Government* Nast again uses his already familiarized simian features on the Irish subject and this illustration does give some limited inspection into the beginnings of shifting social mobility for the Irish in the United States, especially in the eastern part of the country. The illustration which shows three white men oppressing a freed black from the south reflects the attitude after the American Civil War, that even the subhuman Irish were preferable to any increased mobility for freed blacks. This reflects of course, the fear that was part of the American discourse at the end of the American Civil War regarding both the Irish and blacks. Moreover, the illustrator's inclusion of the racial and power politics involved in this social negation, as is evidenced by the title of the work, highlights the major theme of the discourse in a contemporaneous context. Zoomorphism has been used here not only to highlight the inability of the Irish to be equals, but also the absolute assertion that even those who are highly devalued in society might still be preferable to the newly granted freedom of blacks.

What is important, for the goals of this work to be reached, is that there is an easily traceable zoomorphic imagery which consists of imagery (images and texts included) that is exclusively negative, exclusively dehumanizing and exclusively supported within a dominant scopisic regime that itself would have been shaped to a high degree via discourse. Here, an attempt has been made to show that indeed there is zoomorphic imagery present (and this establishing of a starting point will be of assistance in the tracing of the migration of the imagery throughout the waves) and that that imagery is present not only with the elements of the drawings, but also in the language being used for titles to the works and that it does not come out of nowhere but rather is a reflection of the socio-political apparatus that formed social consciousness at the time of inception. The inherent power negotiations and shuffling of social structures which took place in the years leading up to and directly after the American Civil War, are reflected in the illustrations chosen for this wave and as the aim of this work is to not trace particular icons throughout the waves, nor even particular discursive formations, but rather to trace an existing zoomorphic imagery that is brought about through the interplay between text, historic events taking place at the time of the illustrations' creation and the actual illustrations themselves on a compositional basis. It is concluded that indeed a zoomorphic imagery exists within these three illustrations and that they can act as a triggering

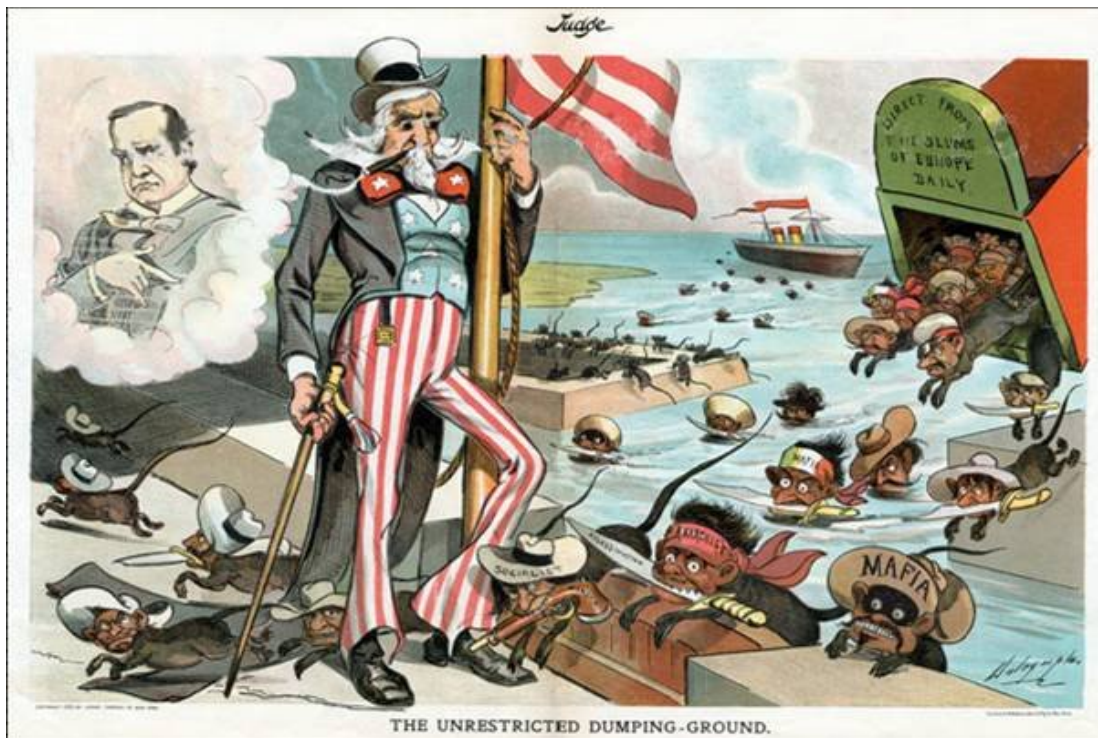
mechanism that allows for a starting point whereby the migration of that specific imagery will migrate throughout the other waves of immigration to the United States.

**The Immigrant Other: depictions of immigrants as wild apes and creatures from the sea
(ca. 1870 – 1910)**





What Shall We Do With Our Boys? by G. F. Keller (The Wasp, 1882)



The Unrestricted Dumping Ground by Louis Dalrymple (Judge, 1903)



The Fool Pied Piper by S.D. Ehrhart (Puck, 1909)

5.1 Introduction to Wave 3

The most important changing factor which occurs between those pictorial examples that were dealt with in wave two and those presented here in wave three (from around 1870 to about a decade after the turn of the next century) would be the inclusion of so called, “new immigrants” in the pictorial representations of immigrants to the United States. Of course the inclusion of zoomorphic imagery in wave three is not limited to the continued attributions placed upon the Irish and Chinese, but in this wave, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe are included. The new immigrants were often looked upon with special scorn as it was often considered that they brought with them many of the problems that were rampant in Europe at that time and this is reflected in their depictions in these examples. Furthermore, the notion that the United States would be inundated and overrun with a plethora of immigrants, who would annex the rightful place of those immigrants who had come before them and established themselves as U.S. Americans, was rampant and accounts for the disdain which is evident in the illustrations which have been chosen to prove this point in wave three.

In, *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*, the simian Irishman is again shown as being wild, uncivilized and incapable of assimilation to the societal norms which have already been constructed in the United States. While the Irish continued to be looked upon with dread, it is interesting to note that it was their growing political clout and involvement in civic affairs that is projected as the greatest threat in this wave. Thomas Nast’s, *The American River Ganges* depicts Catholic bishops as reptilian creatures set on preying upon innocents once they have reached the shores of the United States. This reflects a growing concern that the Irish Catholic apparatus, which was gaining strength at the time, posed a threat to the protestant norm and especially so in urbanized areas such as New York City. The zoomorphism is of particular interest here because it veers away from the kind of images which were previously observed in wave two and rather incorporates a water creature, invoking concepts of the great unknown and the blue abyss. The zoomorphic element here is one which is new in terms of the kind of animal attributes that have been seen up to this point.

What Shall We Do With Our Boys by George Frederick Keller focuses on a growing fear that cheap Chinese labor would leave native (or rather nativist) U.S. Americans (meaning immigrants who had come earlier to the nation and were already generations into the peopling of the country) without work as the Chinese were seen as incredibly industrious and willing to work for low wages. These themes are directly seen in the illustration chosen for this work and it is of interest to note that while the illustration is by a different artist and attributes

zoomorphic properties to a totally different subject from a different immigrant group, that again a sea creature is evoked- this time in the mimic of an octopus whose many arms working simultaneously are meant to reflect the Chinese immigrant's work ethic.

The allusion to water is not unique however to those previously mentioned examples in which creatures from the ocean are invoked, but also in the last two examples for this wave which are both comments on the "new immigrants." As the new immigrants were from countries of origin which were not common origin countries up until this point in the arc of U.S. American immigration and often arrived in very large numbers on boats and then most often lived in ethnic enclaves in urban areas they too are shown arriving by sea (as did nearly all immigrants up until this period), but in numbers which mimic a swarm or herd of animals that threatens to overrun the country. This is obviously what is being evoked in the illustration from *Judge* in 1903 entitled *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground*, whereby even the title alludes to the fact that the numbers of immigrants are considered excessive according to nativist sentiments.

Similar imagery is seen in *The Fool Pied Piper*, from 1909 and again incorporates connotations to both the water and to the swarm. The exploration of these images is carried out not only through iconographic analysis but also through the discourse analysis so that it is possible to consider what the language used is doing in terms of informing the viewer how to read the illustration. Both the language and the illustration are simultaneously assisting each other and through their means of mutual communication are thereby helping to form an idea of how these immigrants were viewed within a contemporaneous context, but also exactly what function the zoomorphic imagery is exacting. Of particular interest in this example however, is the illustrator's use of the European tale of the Pied Piper to call on a specific set of commonly held cultural points of reference in the attempt to inform the viewer of a certain position regarding immigration. While it is not possible to be certain about the artist's intentions, it is likely (as is argued further on) that this helps to enforce otherness and a sense of doom that is associated with that tale.

All of the examples given here for wave three were chosen as they best reflect the changing attitudes towards certain immigrant groups and the shifting of exclusion towards a different group. Furthermore, the samples here are indicative of an apex in immigration from areas which had not been represented in the U.S. American immigration experience previously. The sections which follow; the historic analysis, the pictorial analysis and the discourse analysis all explore how the zoomorphic imagery present in the illustrations, in

tandem with the language used, are tools of exclusion of the kind which was seen in the previous wave too, and therefore, it can safely be stated that there is a continuing imagery present here from wave three to wave four.

Furthermore, in terms of language we can also trace the presence of excluding language and language that leads the viewer to further see the subjects of the illustrations as being other than themselves. So it is quite appropriate, for the aims of this work, to look at the parallels between the language used and the images used and how in tandem these two elements play off of each other and feed the discursive formations being formed in relation to immigrants. This self-perpetuation that then occurs in the viewing of the examples is in some way also a function of the work within its place in the greater discourse. Just as discourse itself (of all kinds) is more a product of the interchange between the agent and the recipient, so too, this kind of mutual informing can be traced in these works.

All in all, the illustrations chosen for wave three are works which lead themselves to inquiry and analysis. This is why these works were chosen as opposed to others. Certainly, their proliferation could be considered a factor as well as it may give some insight into the scope of contemporaneous discourses, but that is not of any import here. The fact that these images are all from the particular media that they are from tells more about the nature of the media and transference of information at the times when the illustrations were created, than it does necessarily about the illustrations themselves.

Finally, there is more at work than simply words and images and their interplay. There is also the viewer's gaze and the inference that comes in that transaction. While it could be argued that this kind of transference is individual, it is unlikely that the illustrators would have taken such chances with having the subject matter, the subjects, the zoomorphic iconography and all of the other familiar elements on review here had they not been receivable. This creation of 'more', while indescribable and intangible in terms of the artwork, is just as much a part of the migration in these works as are the illustrations and their texts themselves. This is the imagery which migrates and which forms a pillar of this work. The following sections reviewing the examples expounded upon above, will explore these aspects in greater depth.

5.2 Historic Review Wave 3

The period leading up to the turn of the century was one which saw the largest group of immigrants to the United States in the shortest period of time to date. This third wave of the Great Transatlantic Migration also saw the arrival of what were called the ‘New Immigrants’ or those from parts of Europe (the south, east and Russia) whose representation in the migration had until this point been limited. The new immigration not only brought these new immigrants from the south of Europe but also fresh new waves of xenophobia to match the already existing nativist tendencies towards groups such as the Irish. Therefore, it is valuable in this historical review of the third wave of immigration to the United States, to not only continue the examination of the historical developments of groups such as the Irish and the Chinese who were already established within the United States to some degree, but also to track the tendencies and developments of these new immigrants coming from areas that had not thus far contributed to American immigration:

“During the century of immigration more than 90 percent of all immigrants were Europeans, and for many writers the words *European* and *immigrant* were all but interchangeable.”⁹⁴ Yet, this does not take into account the continued numbers of Chinese as well as other groups from nearly every part of the world that continued to arrive. It was in fact the impression that the Chinese were a threat to the chances of ‘natural born’ citizens of the United States in getting employment that led to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which according to historian Roger Daniels was:

“...conceived in ignorance, was falsely presented to the public, and had consequences undreamt of by its creators. That May 1882 statute, which has long been treated as a minor if somewhat disreputable incident, can now be marked the moment when the golden doorway of admission to the United States began to narrow and initiated a thirty-nine-year period of successive exclusions of certain kinds of immigrants, 1882 – 1921, followed by twenty-two years, 1921 – 43 when statutes and administrative actions set narrowing numerical limits for those immigrants who had not otherwise been excluded. During those years a federal bureaucracy was created to control immigration and immigrants, a bureaucracy whose initial *raison d’être* was to keep out first Chinese and then others who were deemed to be inferior.”⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. Print.

⁹⁵ Daniels, Roger. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2004. 3. Print.

Indeed, this century of immigration was the culmination of a nativism like never before. While nativist sentiments had been active long before this third wave of immigration began (peaking in the second wave with the formation of the Know Nothing Party), it was in this period that the political and legislative aspects of nativism began to lead to the fact that some immigrants were finding it harder to immigrate whereas before there had been nearly no bureaucracy at all. Moreover, it was only just after the start of this wave of immigration, that the United States Congress ruled in 1875, that immigration was a federal concern- and this only due to the passing of some states of their own immigration laws shortly after the close of the American Civil War.⁹⁶ Also, special to this wave of immigration was the passing of the first piece of legislature to target and restrict a particular ethnic group or immigrant community- the aforementioned Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

The historic analysis of the third wave of American immigration will therefore take into consideration, not only the arrivals of new groups from areas wherefrom immigration had until this time not been the norm, but also the continued immigration of groups which were already established in the United States (e.g. Irish and Chinese), and which were already able to boast of at least one generation of ‘natural born’ citizenry. Additionally, the escalation of sentiments against ‘new immigration’ both on the part of the preexisting immigrant communities and the long established descendants of the earlier settlers, and how this contributed to a situation in which it was deemed necessary to enact restrictive legislation, will be glanced upon in this section.

Looking first at the continued Irish immigration at this period it is most poignant to remember that the Irish were extremely distrusted due to their religious affiliation. Their Roman Catholicism, factored with the Irish diasporas’ cultural connections with the church and close personal identification and involvement with it, caused the dominantly protestant, previously arrived, and more established immigrants who now considered themselves ‘Americans’, to look upon the Irish Catholics as agents of Rome, and thereby it was considered improbable, if not impossible, that they would be able to maintain loyalty to the United States while allying themselves with the Vatican in Rome. Presbyterian minister and influential pundit of his time, Lyman Beecher (father of writer Harriet Beecher -Stowe) was

³ Smith, Martin L. "Overview of INS History to 1998." U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Services. U.S. Dept. of Homeland Security, 27 2009. Web. 1 Nov 2012.

greatly in favor of immigration restrictions in regards to the Irish as he was convinced of a papal conspiracy to undermine the United States government and he was not unique in this position. Committees (often a synonym for angry mobs) were even formed in order to combat the notion that the Irish Catholics were gaining too much influence:

“The threat of immigrants bound to obey papal teaching voting as a bloc led the nativist movement into politics. In New York City, the *Courier* and *Inquirer* called for the formation of a party to combat the Catholic immigrant threat. By June 1835, the Native American Democratic Association had developed a platform opposed to Catholicism, to the immigration of criminals and paupers, and to office holding by foreigners. In 1836, they ran their first candidate for mayor, Samuel F.B. Morse. They lost their election. The next year they were more successful, partly because they used the 1837 depression, caused by a fall in western land values and by government decisions regarding how to handle the money supply, to complain that immigrants were competing with native workers for scarce jobs. In 1841, Morse tried one more time to run on an anti-immigrant issue, to prevent Catholics from receiving a share of tax monies for parochial schools....after the Irish potato famine sent a number of impoverished Catholic Irish to the United States, it emerged as a national issue.”⁹⁷

Anti-Catholic sentiment culminated often in the destruction, or threatening of church property such as the cathedral of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in New York City which only avoided being ruined by a mob due to police intervention at the last minute. Additionally, in Maine, Ohio and Massachusetts, instances of Catholic churches being utterly destroyed by disgruntled mobs of Protestants, or at least anti-immigrationists, who viewed the influence of the Catholic Church as the utmost threat facing American democratic intuitions during this period, were reported.

Moreover, the Irish who were coming to the United States during this wave were not only attached to the Catholic Church but were also taking a more active role in the political sphere in the large cities on the east coast of the country, especially in New York City and Boston and were the fundament of the Tammany Hall political organization. Tammany Hall was a political apparatus of the Democratic Party in New York City (and New York state) and had been run by William M. Tweed, also known as “Boss” Tweed during the 1850’s when he was elected with massive support from the Irish to the U.S. House of Representatives; later elected to the New York County Board of Supervisors. Tweed was able to garner such support due to his ability to manipulate the contracts for public works projects in the city and

⁹⁷ Hayes, Patrick J. *The Making of Modern Immigration: An Encyclopedia of People and Ideas* (Vol. 1). 1st. ed. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2012. 95. Print.

in turn offer employment to Irish arrivals. Tweed became a senator in the New York State Senate from 1868 to 1873 and therewith was able to procure favors for many of the industrialists of the day thereby making many valuable and influential contacts. Through his tactics he was also made a board member for some of the largest companies of the day. His downfall would slowly begin however around 1871 when he banned an Irish protestant parade and an ensuing riot (referred to as the Orange Riot) broke out and which was widely covered by the city's press and its illustrators. Thomas Nast, working for *Harper's*, was most scathing in his depictions of Tweed and what he perceived to be the city's political abduction by Irish Catholics and through his work he was able to help turn public favor against Tweed. After being brought to the courts on various charges, including corruption, Tweed would eventually die in jail in New York City. Although Tweed was not the head of Tammany Hall for many years, his ascent through the political machine in the city and state of New York was seen by many as proof of the Irish Catholic wish to dominate American politics and to enforce Catholic religious dogma and customs upon the general populace and thereby bring with it the inevitable corruption and criminality which was so synonymous with the Irish during the 1870s.⁹⁸

While the immigration on the east coast was mainly European, it is of equal relevance here to consider the west coast of the United States during this period as well and the continued arrival of Chinese and the rising animosities which were occurring due to the perception that the Chinese sought to undercut the American worker. As was explored in the historic section of the first wave which has been analyzed previously (actually the second wave of immigration), the Chinese had arrived on the west coast in great zeal during the Gold Rush in California and during the building of the railroads often coming on contracts procured via Chinese agents, were referred to as '*coolies*', and not given the option of citizenship due to a perceived inability to become Americans. Therefore, the negative opinions of the Chinese often held by Americans was not exclusively one based on the typical problems of immigration necessarily (such as employment competition, religious animosities, etc.), as much as on the idea that the Chinese were incapable of understanding what it meant to be an American in any sense because of the foreignness of their home culture.⁹⁹ As people who could not understand the notion of free choice and democracy they were looked upon with great suspicion and even considered only slightly higher in social standing than slaves:

⁹⁸ "William Magear Tweed." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web. 2 Nov 2012.

⁹⁹ Soennischsen, John. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2011. 38. Print.

“[Furthermore,] the arrival of the largest numbers of Chinese came during a period in which the United States was fighting a civil war that was at least partly fueled by conflicting national views on slavery. By the end of the war, people had become weary of the issue of slavery. The national weariness and animosity was at least partially responsible for the attitudes regarding Chinese and citizenship.”¹⁰⁰

After the Civil War and turning into the 1870s, the Chinese problem became greater due to the continued arrival of Chinese, still overwhelmingly to the west and particularly to California. The mistrust of the Chinese continued as did the ever-present notion that they could never really assimilate to the new country:

“Using an almost circular form of logic, many Americans reasoned that anyone who was willing to submit to enslavement did not deserve the privileges of citizenship...Because the *coolies* were deemed unworthy of citizenship, they were denied it. Then, a series of restrictions were placed on non-citizens, as if their non-citizenship had been their own choice.”¹⁰¹

Even those characteristics which would normally have been praised in immigrants, and for which the Irish were loathed in the east for not displaying, contributed to the idea that the Chinese should be excluded from the count as Americans, “as far as most Americans were concerned, their long hours, frugal lifestyles and simple clothing all suggested the Chinese workers must actually be slaves.”¹⁰²

The close of the Civil War in the United States did not only turn people weary of slavery and its associates, but it also brought about a devastating economic downturn that led to a shortage of jobs available. In the west, the scapegoat for such frustration and anger was the Chinese who were seen to be undercutting workers by doing jobs at low wages that ‘native’ Americans would not do. Also, hard physical labor that was often dangerous was usually work in which the Chinese were highly represented, especially in mining.¹⁰³

During the postbellum period and into the 1870s the anti-Chinese atmosphere in the west continued to increase and escalate, including the outbreak of racially motivated violence in the form of riots and murders perpetrated against Chinese laborers and civilians alike including episodes (here only a selected list) that have come to be called: The Chinese

¹⁰⁰ Soennischsen, John. *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*. Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2011. 40. Print.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Aarim-Heriot, Najia. *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848 - 82*. Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2003. 95. Print.

Massacre of 1871 (October 24, 1871)¹⁰⁴, The San Francisco Riots of 1877 (July 23-24, 1877)¹⁰⁵, The Rock Springs Riot (September 2, 1885)¹⁰⁶, The Tacoma Riot of 1885 (early November 1885)¹⁰⁷, The Seattle Riot of 1886 (February 7, 1886)¹⁰⁸, and the massacre at Hell's Canyon, Oregon (May 1887)¹⁰⁹. This short list confirms the staggering frequency in which nativist, Sinophobic fueled aggressions occurred in the period which led to the very first piece of restrictive legislation concerning a specific ethnic group in American history- the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.¹¹⁰

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (usually referred to simply as the Chinese Exclusion Act), "permitted the entrance of certain Chinese: teachers, students, merchants, and 'travelers for pleasure.'"¹¹¹ All Chinese who did not fit into these three categories of permissibility were forbidden to enter the country for a period of ten years were also explicitly denied the possibility to seek naturalization thereby making it impossible for any Chinese person who was not already naturalized to become so, which in turn, meant that the possibility of family reunion, or the possibility of marrying a Chinese bride, an impossibility for single Chinese men working in the United States (a majority of those present at the time) as mentioned by Daniels (1997). While the impact of Chinese exclusion cannot be accurately measured in practical terms, numerically it is observable that, as would be logically expected, their numbers decreased, but there were other peculiar cultural patterns that would form within the Chinese-American community which would have long-lasting impacts due to Chinese exclusion:

"The long persistence of a heavily male sex ratio, characteristic of the early stages of migration, is unique in the history of American ethnic groups. Thus the Chinese-American community was an aging one. In 1920, for example, 35.6 percent of Chinese males were over

¹⁰⁴ "Chinese Massacre of 1871." USC Libraries. University of Southern California, 23 2002. Web. 4 Nov 2012.

¹⁰⁵ Heart, Jerome A. "The Sand Lot and Kearneyism." The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco. The Museum of the City of San Francisco, n.d. Web. 4 Nov 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Rea, Tom. "The Rock Springs Massacre." WyoHistory.org. The Wyoming State Historical Society, n.d. Web. 3 Nov 2012.

¹⁰⁷ "Seattle mob rounds up Chinese residents and immigrant workers on February 7, 1886. Essay 2745." HistoryLink.org: The Free Online Encyclopedia of Washington State History. HistoryLink.org, 1 Jan 2000. Web. 3 Dec 2012.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Nove, Michael J. "Ambushed: The Hells Canyon Massacre of 1887." Oregon State Bar Bulletin. Nov. 2007. (2007): Print.

¹¹⁰ Daniels, Roger. Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890 - 1924. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997. 14. Print.

fifty years of age, and the median male Chinese age was forty-two years. Chinese females, on the other hand, predominantly native born, were a young population. Nearly 70 percent were under thirty years of age, and their median age was nineteen years. Such a population, in which there were few women and families and always more older men than younger ones, was not likely to be as receptive to acculturation as were most other immigrant communities. The largely bachelor society that dominated Chinese America until after World War II was highly conservative.”¹¹²

The aftermath of Chinese Exclusion and its long term consequences also receive attention in the other parts of this section and therefore will not be discussed here further. It is however, of great importance in the reception of the visual examples which have been selected for this wave of immigration, that it is not forgotten that already in the time period covered by wave two (ca. 1820 - 1870) the formation of nativist organizations was proof of a growing sentiment of nativism which clearly spilled over into the next wave (herewith also showing the congruent trends which make it difficult to completely and uniformly divide events occurring in especially waves two and three). Also, it is right to recognize that in reaching a peak through the apparent victory of nativist interest groups with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, previous actions which had been occurring already in wave two of immigration to the United States and reflecting growing discontent with the state of immigration policy, forced this drastic stop to a period of basically free entry into the United States from all over the world.

Besides the Irish and Chinese in the third wave of immigration (and in addition to their heavy representation throughout the second wave of immigration), the third wave also includes the arrival of immigrants from parts of the world which had, up until this point, not been a point of departure for immigrants to the United States including southern Europe, and Jews from various parts of Europe and Eastern Europeans. There were also other groups who migrated in lesser numbers during the period covered here in wave three, but as their numbers were usually fewer than the aforementioned groups and their representation in illustrations is also therefore far more limited, they will not be dealt with here other than to say that they came from nearly every area of Europe including those areas that had already established an immigration history to the United States, from Russia and even Arab lands. The omission of such groups in this analysis is not meant to undermine their contributions to the immigration

¹¹² Daniels, Roger. *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890 - 1924*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997. 15. Print.

history of the United States, but rather the reasons lay in the lack of representations of these groups in illustrations.

Italians, a group who were slightly later to come to the United States in relation to other immigrant groups with similar interests in immigrating, form a strikingly significant migration because so many of them arrived in such a very short time:

“Before 1870 fewer than 30,000 Italians had come to America; more than 50,000 came in the 1870s, 300,000 in the 1880s, 650,000 in the 1890s, and in the first ten years of the century more than two million arrived. Before 1880 most came from northern Italy; afterward immigrants from provinces south of Rome predominated.”¹¹³

However, not all of these new immigrants stayed in the United States and Daniel’s states that the Italians were amongst those immigrant groups with a very high return rate:

“Italian immigration to the United States was highly male, about 75 percent, and was marked by a high remigration rate, perhaps 45 percent. Relatively large numbers came more than once: one survey at Ellis Island showed that some ten percent of incoming Italians said they had been in the United States before. Of those who stayed in America, perhaps 70 percent settled in the cities of the Northeast, though there was a sizeable community in California, mostly of northern Italians, who were prominent in the development of the fishing industry as well as viniculture and other agricultural enterprises.”

Still, for those who did stay, they often found menial work and employment requiring intensely hard physical labor and in this respect mirrored the Irish immigrants who had come before them. Also, their strong community bonds often manifested in their forming of ethnic enclaves within urban settlements; also somewhat similar to the Irish. The ‘*Little Italy*’ neighborhoods which were formed in American cities by Italians reflected, “...reinvented forms of what in Italy is called *campanilismo*, the notion that the only people with whom one has real affinity, outside the family, are persons who live within earshot of the local bell tower.”¹¹⁴

What is likely most distinguishing between the immigration of the Irish and the Italians is the relationship to the Roman Catholic Church. It has already been expounded upon

¹¹³ Daniels, Roger. *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890 - 1924*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997. 68. Print.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70

in previous sections the extent to which the Irish were connected to the church and how they had used it as a means of social and political agency in the gaining of power in their new home country. The Italians, while closely connected with the church in a cultural sense tended not to, Daniels argues, extend the influence of religious life into other areas in the United States and were often mistrusting of the institution, especially its American wing, as they perceived it to be run by the Irish with an interest in the aims and goals of the Irish to the utmost:

“Although overwhelmingly Catholic, Italian Americans had a very different relationship to the Roman Catholic Church than did the Irish. The reasons for this lay partly in Italy, partly in America. Whereas in Ireland the church functioned as a protector of Irish against British oppression, in much of pre-1870 Italy the church was the state, and after 1870 the church tended to identify with landlords rather than with the peasantry from which most of the immigrants came. Thus Italians, particularly Italian men, developed an almost reflexive anticlericalism. In America they found an Irish-dominated church which was usually indifferent and sometimes openly hostile to their form of religion...A community aphorism, obviously exaggerated, insists that most Italian-American men went to church only three times in their lives: to be hatched, matched, and dispatched, that is to be baptized, married, and buried.”¹¹⁵

While this displays more initial ease in assimilation than was the case with the Irish, it does not insinuate that the Italian immigrant's chances of social mobility were greater and as already mentioned, the Italians usually were employed in construction and labor level work, and while this would have certainly caused some friction among nativists, the Italians were not involved in the same kind of group aggressions and violence which had been witnessed with the Irish, and therefore it can be postulated that for this reason they were slightly more tolerated.

In addition to Irish, Chinese and Jews, many other groups of people immigrated to the United States during the third wave of immigration and while some continued to stream in from places where immigration to the United States was already a norm, others came (as the Italians) from places or regions which had been largely missing from American immigration numbers up until that point. Additionally, the Italian immigration through the virtue of its sheer speed and volume represented a kind of express immigration which had not been the case thus far, and for reasons given above, they were often met with less vitriol than was true

¹¹⁵ Daniels, Roger. *Not Like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890 - 1924*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997. 69. Print.

for the Irish or Chinese. Indeed the Chinese, with their high levels of immigration to the west and readiness to undertake low waged jobs in industries which were dangerous and undesirable, would be the victims of violence and legislative disadvantage, but also would suffer from long-term demographic issues and representation in the United States' social apparatus. Also, present in this trans-Atlantic migration were Jews from throughout Europe and Mediterranean people from throughout that region and from Asia this period marked the beginning of the Japanese immigration. The latter groups never compared significantly in sheer numbers with the former groups who had already established an immigration chain before them, but nonetheless their contributions to American society have been many as mentioned by Daniels (1997).

To summarize the historic events herein condensed, is innately to omit certain historic occurrences which while important, were deemed unnecessary insofar as these histories were determined to not necessarily help in the reading of the images selected as the basis of this work. The events presented here are also only those representing the three groups which are relevant again for the viewing of the images which have been selected. That these elaborations coincide with the volume of immigrants (in regards to ethnic groups) that immigrated is not vital to the analysis of the illustrations as such. What has been sought after in the preceding historic summary is to simply offer a historic context into which the viewer of the illustrated images will be able to place the subjects in their proper contemporaneous context to such a high degree as is contemporarily possible.

Without the assistance of some background facts and information the images which are to be analyzed, could only be left to be viewed as they would be using norms and standards from the present. This would however do great injustice to the purposes of this work and to the analysis of the images in general and so it is with this intention that a historic analysis has been written with the particular ethnic groups of immigrants which are represented most frequently in the images. As above mentioned, these groups certainly do not represent the total spectrum of immigrants to the United States during this particular wave, yet they (the particular ethnic groups represented) are those which comprise an important element of the illustrations which have been chosen and are therefore with this intention thus selected and included.

The continued struggle of the Irish throughout wave three, the unabashed nativist induced obstacles which the Chinese immigrants had to face and which eventually led to anti-immigration laws being uniquely enacted against them and even the arrival (most

expediently) of Italians and immigrants from 'new' points of origin make the third wave somewhat special in relation to the first and second because it was only in this wave that the wide opened door which had been entry to the United States, slammed shut in such a way that immigration would slow (although never stop) in the decades that proceeded Chinese exclusion. These developments will be further explored in the historic analysis which covered the more up-to-date immigration patterns developing in the United States in the historic section of the final wave- wave four.

5.3 Pictorial Analyses Wave 3

The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things

Harper's weekly

1871

Thomas Nast

Representing an apex in anti-Irish sentiment in the United States, and particularly in the New York City area, *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things* printed in the late summer of 1871, highlights the ongoing tensions between the already established immigrant communities in New York, the native born inhabitants and the Irish immigrants of the period. Pre-iconographically, the most striking visual element is the central character sitting on a powder keg with the words, 'Gun Powder' and 'Uncle Sam's' written on it. The subject is also wielding a bottle of rum (indicated by a label on the bottle) in his right hand and in his left hand a smoking torch. The illustrator, Thomas Nast has penned his name in the lower right corner and has used his archetypal Irishman, which is recognizable from illustrations which document earlier waves of immigration and is consistent with his depictions of the Irish as sub-human, animal-like and violent.¹¹⁶ By using easily recognizable symbols which would have been understood by contemporaneous viewers (as well as possibly contemporary ones), such as a powder keg and torch, it is apparent that at the pre-iconographic level Nast sought to appeal to as broad a viewing populace as possible in order to immediately convey the message on a purely visual level, that the Irish were a menace to society with possibly explosive repercussions.

Structurally, within the range of artistic method, Nast has used a relatively simply hatching technique in order to give most of the detail of the subject and the environment and a cross-hatching technique to create the background and to provide contrast to the bellowing smoke coming off of the lit torch. The hatching technique is quite simple to achieve and is a kind of primitive drawing which does not necessarily showcase Nast's full abilities as an illustrator but which do serve to underscore the primitive nature of his subject. The rough 'scratching' of the cross hatching promotes the visual prompting of this illustration in which the subject is to be understood as a rather simple being and likened to an ape which is obvious

¹¹⁶ cf. Walfred, Michele. "Irish Stereotype." *Illustrating Chinese Exclusion*. N.p., 1 Jan 2014. Web. 15 June 2014.

in the facial rendering.¹¹⁷ While this illustration accompanies an article in *Harper's Weekly* of the same title, Nast also included textual elements in the work which are evidenced by the writing on the powder keg and the placarded wall which forms the background setting which is covered in anti-Irish postings and warnings of the threat to the republic which the Irish waves of immigrants were supposedly bringing with them. Most significant of these textual elements is the wording, 'We must rule' to the immediate left of the main subject. This particular choice of words perpetuates the idea that the Irish were uncivilized and outside of the common rule and that it was paramount that civil rest and rule of law were respected, also by the Irish. Nast's choice to use these words as a visual element also functions on the pre-iconographic level by capturing the reading public's attention with the marriage of both the image and the words. This combination would have (and continues to) strengthened the overall message while allowing the impact of the intent of the illustrator to have been well understood by even those who were not educated enough to read the text and would have only viewed the image.

Here, it is also important to identify elements which could be iconographic but which due to ambiguity cannot be fully read within the context of this iconographic analysis. The primary unknown element in this illustration is what appears to be a ticket of some description, or possibly a stamp on the barrel. The element reads, 'spirit no. 76' and could perhaps be a mention of some historical event or even to one of the gangs (or semi-militias) which was active in New York at the time, but could also simply could have been drawn by the illustrator to add authenticity to the picture as goods are often stamped with customs or other official markings. Another possibility which could explain this ambiguous element is that the text 'spirit of 76' may refer to the year 1776 in which the American Revolution began. This could have theoretically symbolized, through Nast's eye, the desire of self-determination and revolutionary spirit encapsulated in the contemporaneous Irish experience.

Using an iconographic analysis of *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things* it is possible to identify icons which are both historically and legally relevant in terms of the implications which were present for the reading of the immigrant situation during the third wave of immigration. The icon which we can identify most readily is Nast's simian Irishman. Nast's Irishman is a blatant use of zoomorphic iconography and is an attempt to debase the viewing of a human being and demote him to the ranks of a near animalistic being that is incapable of the normal human (and thereby social) implications of civilization. The large lower jaw and

¹¹⁷ cf. South, Helen. *The Everything Drawing Book*. : Adams Media, 2004. Print.

gap-toothed mouth which hangs open and from which the viewer can imagine the escaping of a primitive grunt, are the major elements which lead the viewer to understand that the subject is being compared to, if not realized as an ape.¹¹⁸

Additionally, the drawing of the eyes as deep-set and proportionately small in relation to other facial features and the overall structures of the head, are reminiscent of the features of simian faces. The creased facial expression of the mouth and nasal area is another recall to the primate and more specifically to the nature of the call of primates and the nature of their facial expressions during calling which involve various facial contortions; amongst these however are the large open mouth and the near grimace of the face, calls which are used to denote aggression, danger, etc. Using the same hatching method, Nast has also drawn the subject's face in a dark and aggressive pose which is evidenced by the slight narrowing of the eyes under a heavy brow. While this expression is not used by apes alone, but also by humans, the viewer is seemingly meant to disregard the more familiar self-association in favor of the zoomorphic, which can be gathered by the further reading of the other icons in the picture and which lead the viewer to an unmistakable zoomorphic association.¹¹⁹

The fledgling arms are yet another zoomorphic reference to the behavior of apes. While primates flail their arms not only in times of aggression but also in times of joy and positivity, it can be understood through the use of the icons of the staff under the subject's arm, the lit torch in dangerously close proximity to the powder keg, and the upturned bottle of alcohol that the intent is to convey aggression and violence. The behavior is especially zoomorphic in the face and implied limb movement of the subject and would have certainly been clearly readable to the audiences the image was intended to reach, mainly those who were sympathetic to anti-Irish and often anti-Catholic sentiments.¹²⁰

The distended barrel-shaped stomach, which itself mirrors the shape of the keg upon which the subject is sitting, is yet another element which is iconographically linked to large primates. The Irishman's belly also beckons to excess, which in this particular case seems to be indicative of violence, unrest, and drinking. The buttons of his clothing appear to be at the brink of popping off, which further heightens the sense that the current situation is at a tipping point, also echoed in the smoking torch which seems to be about to light the powder keg

¹¹⁸ cf. Waller, B. M. "Understanding chimpanzee facial expression: insights into the evolution of communication." *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*: 221-228. *Oxford Journals*. Web. 3 June 2012.

¹¹⁹ cf. Wrangham, Richard W., and Dale Peterson. *Demonic Males: apes and the origins of human violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996. Print.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

which is called 'Uncle Sam' an anthropomorphic attribution given to represent the United States government and to an extent also the union and its precarious cohesion only six years after the end of the Civil War. Indicates that these apish characters would be in such a position that they could actually force the union to the point of explosion, is the intent of Nast in both his use of the zoomorphic imagery and in his harkening back to the Irish unrest in the nation of Ireland and the sectarian violence involved therein. This theme will be further explored in the iconological analysis of this work.¹²¹

Lastly, a final zoomorphic element is represented in the subject's posture and his manner of sitting. He sits atop the powder keg with his legs wide open, and one leg seems to be working distinctly independently of the other, which is a behavior that would often be associated with the primate and their agile abilities. While this particular posture and movement would not be impossible for a human to mimic, it would most likely have been an undignified position to sit in in public according to the prevalent social norms of the time and remains so. A gentleman, representing the peak of masculine education and civilization, would have of course never been depicted in the manner the subject is portrayed in this illustration and this goes on to further exacerbate the perception of a lack of civilization and a carefree attitude in the face of social norms.

In *The Usual Irish Way of doing Things* when viewed within the frame of an iconological framework is an interesting visual example of the ongoing and volatile situations of the Irish in New York City especially but also the U.S. in general. The Irish were seen to be of two distinct kinds, the Catholic and the Protestant. While anti-Irish sentiment was rife regardless of religious affiliation, many felt that the sectarian problems which had plagued the Irish in Ireland had simply followed them to America. When The Irish Catholics ended up killing some Orangemen (Irish Protestants) in the Orange Riots of 1870 and 1871, a clear message was sent across the nation that the Irish were incapable of leaving their old strife in Ireland. The fact that the Irish Catholics, particularly those affiliated with Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall were considered leftist nationalists and Irish people were generally thought to be heathen alcoholics who had no interest in peace and decency as is evidenced perfectly in Nast's illustration.¹²²

Nast sets the Irishman in a context in which he can only be viewed as an animal. He is drawn with characteristics which are unmistakably simian and furthermore, the volatile nature

¹²¹ cf. Gilmore, Russell S. "Orange Riots." *The Encyclopedia of New York City*. (1995) ed. 1995. Print.

¹²² *Ibid.*

of the setting attests to the extreme sense of threat that was felt by the growing Irish influence and their actions in the United States. Moreover, the fact that the illustrator has chosen a primate, which allows the viewer to accept a certain amount of likeness or even self identification with the subject, is quite telling. Iconologically, it could be gathered that this particular symbol, the primitive ape, embodies exactly those characteristics that immigrant communities who were already more or less assimilated into mainstream American culture (i.e. Germans, Dutch, English, etc.) detested and found most threatening about the new arrivals from Europe. The ape in this context is a symbol for all that they left behind and how far that they would have come from that towards the advancement of creating a place where different people of different ethnicities or sectarian affiliations could cohabitate peacefully. In a sense, the ape wielding his fiery torch is the element that just may set all that has been established up in flames.

In the light of the Orange Riots of 1870 and 1871, it is clear to understand that the primitive element of the society was perceived as the most dangerous. The newest arrival, not yet having assimilated and learned to live within the context of the new country and outside of the context of religious or ethnic boundaries, would have been viewed within the social context which was prevalent at the time, to have been retarded and incapable of evolution into the kind of citizen which was becoming already mainstream in the United States. This inability, or this clinging towards ethnic identity and within religious confines, would have seemed underdeveloped and dangerous to the stability which had already been tenuously established by other immigrant communities which had come earlier.¹²³

Within the specific context of the iconological analysis we can also look at circumstances under which the image would have been viewed to determine if the zoomorphic content may have been used for a specific purpose. In this example, as is stated above, this particular image's intent was likely to induce further anti-Irish sentiment, and to support the viewing of the Irish as uninterested in the civil customs and order already established. The ape, being a relative of the human being, yet also being quite distinctly non-human in regards to socialization (particularly in reference to highly socialized institutions such as manners, conventions, etc.) is chosen here as a perfect example of the immigrant who has not yet assimilated. The imagery of immigration would have been easily observable to anyone who had themselves immigrated earlier. Even those who had been in the United States

¹²³ Interestingly, the same behavioral patterns are visible in subsequent waves of immigration and it would seem to be a kind of forgone conclusion that the newest immigrants are those to be most disapproved of and held in contempt and suspicion.

for generations would have quickly been able to see that while they too were of immigrant origin, that the Irish such as the one presented in the illustration, represented a new and invasive immigrant who did not appear capable of adopting the social conventions which were already commonplace.

Furthermore, the icon of the powder keg plus a lit torch is an easily understandable precursor to an explosion. The Irishman set atop, seemingly careless as to the consequences of his actions, gives insight into exactly to what extent the Irish were mistrusted at this time. The impending explosion, which seems so near, appears to be the single handed fate of the Irish to determine. The entire safety of the union is in effect placed into the hands of a belligerent and drunk half-ape who through his own nonchalant disinterest in the common well-being, endangers the construction of a society that was meant to be fundamentally devoid of such divisive agents such as creed, allegiance to a former homeland, sectarian differences and territorial delineations based upon ethnic, or supposed ethnic variations.

To conclude the iconological analysis of *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*, one can deduce that Thomas Nast's use of the zoomorphic icon, and particularly this zoomorphic icon which is a direct reference to apes within the scopic regime functioning, would have been read as a rather matter-of-fact summation of the problem of the large influx of Irish that flooded into New York City (and to an extent the country at large). Interpretively it can be stated that the simian icon with its primitive connotations, and in such a setting as the one given, would have likely been both a confirmation for those holding anti-Irish views that they could not be assimilated, and for those who were undecided regarding the Irish situation, persuasive in downgrading the Irish to underdeveloped semi-humans who were incapable of helping to build a union and were an immediate threat to its survival.

In lieu of the Orange Riots, the Irish problem would have been heavily covered in the media of the times and that includes the visual media. While this example is a rather ambiguous subject (meaning we are unable to determine if the subject is intended to be protestant or catholic), we could venture to say that the illustration uses an archetypical icon of the Irish ape which is present elsewhere in Nast's work to depict Irish-Catholics. His disapproval of the usurping of city politics, particularly through the advent and rise to power of Tammany Hall with Boss Tweed in control of city politics in New York City and therefore influential to some degree throughout the nation, is also a conceivable source. In a possible effort to ally readers and possibly even other media outlets, Harper's published this

illustration with an article which in a contemporary context could likely be considered as the incitement of hatred towards a particular ethnic group.¹²⁴

However, it is also important to note that while Nast's efforts may have been to seek allies, those allies would most probably have been those in opposition to Tammany Hall as it was perceived to be a political arm of the Catholic Church active within the legislative framework of an American city of great importance which should, by charter, have been without religious affiliation. Despite affiliations, it must be said that in all fairness Nast was by no means practicing a journalism which by contemporary standards could be considered unbiased or neutral. Through the regular appearance of such cartoons in Harper's and the fact that Nast maintained an archetype illustration of a generic Irishman, one can deduce that the intention was also to underline not only the religious but also the ethnic superiority of one group over another. In this case the protestants, mainly Germans, Dutch and English immigrants would have found visual evidence and support in their convictions of superiority over those simpletons from Ireland who were neither capable of forgetting their sectarian differences which they had carried over from their homeland but also their inability to reach the same level of civilization as the aforementioned groups.

In summary, various symbols are present in Nast's *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things* and the individual and most basic elements would have been those most immediately available to the casual viewer. These superficial icons would have included the powder keg and torch, the placarded background, the bottle of alcohol and the apish face which was attributed to the Irish. From this single zoomorphic icon of the simian face, one can then begin to decipher further zoomorphic attributions given to the subject, with are mainly behavioral such as the movement of the arms. To end, in the iconological analysis it has been gathered that the likelihood of this particular image being used to foster anti-Irish sentiment in relation to the current events of the time is quite great. Nast uses here a familiar motif for readers of Harper's in which they could quickly grasp an immediate understanding through their own scopic reality and a zoomorphic element as the central catalyst from which the implications of the social shortcomings of the Irish immigrants would have been easily understandable in 1871.

¹²⁴ "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things." *Princeton University Digital Library*. Princeton University Digital Library, n.d. Web. 4 June 2012.

The American River Ganges

Harper's Weekly

1871

Thomas Nast

At the pre-iconographic level we are able to identify many familiar aspects of this illustration by Thomas Nast, the first of which is people and an emotive depiction of them as intended by Nast. Obviously, the children on shore are frightened as is evidenced by their hiding behind what appears to be an older child who himself is protected by a bible tucked into the breast of his jacket (this personalized relationship with the bible insinuates that the subject is likely protestant). What appears at first glance to be an onslaught of crocodiles, are actually bishops wearing the vestments of their office emerging from the water. It is of interest that the children are of varying ethnicities and that the Caucasian children are closest to the water's edge. On the cliffs above the shoreline one can see a dilapidated school building which seems to have been bombarded, above it flies the American flag albeit upside down. On the bank, a single child is being led away by two adult men and in the background is a gallows. Finally, in the upper-right of the illustration, there is a building which superficially resembles Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome with the words Tammany Hall engraved on it and additionally, 'The Political Roman Catholic School.' On this same building flies the flag of the Vatican bearing the papal insignia.¹²⁵

This illustration on a wholly simplistic level formally provides the viewer with the structural contrasts of water and land (including their meeting point), adults and children, at least one adolescent, ornate architecture as well as decaying and ruinous architecture, the human and the animal and finally the clothing of the bishops and the laity. Other details, it can be assumed, are simply conventional rather than purposeful attempts at contrast and these would include elements such as the cross on the vestments of the bishops surfacing from the water, the number of children versus the number of crocodiles, the ages of the children (roundabout fitting the age of school children) and the narrow negative space between the bishops and the children.

There are other symbols which are less clear and which one has to deduce their significance on the iconological level, leaving them with little certainly on the level of

¹²⁵ Nast, Thomas. "The American River Ganges." Library of Congress (PPOC). JPG file. Web. 4 June 2012.

iconography. An example from *The American River Ganges* is the gallows on the plateau nearly at the upper right edge of the illustration. While all of these symbols fit into the overall historic context and may be relevant within the historic events which occurred factually, they do not, in the realm of the pre-iconographic or iconographic analyses offer any legitimate support to the location of icons, especially not zoomorphic icons.

Using an iconographic analysis of *The American River Ganges*, it is possible to identify icons which have a relevance to both the historical and the legal implications of this illustration. Such icons include, but are not limited to: the American flag (here presented upside down in a symbol of distress), the large Tammany Hall building, which in reality did not resemble the St. Peter's inspired depiction by Nast in the illustration, and predatory animals which in this particular case are evidenced as crocodiles.¹²⁶ In fact, the iconic use of religion itself within the context of this illustration, in the sense that it is symbolically represented here, both by the domed building mimicing the Vatican as well as the vestments of the crocodile-bishops, and even the bible tucked into the adolescent boy's jacket, indicate that the active aspect of religion is secondary to the socio-cultural and political consequences of it. The shore too could be considered an icon if the unique history of the United States and the primary form of immigration being via water travel is considered. Finally, another primary icon in Nast's illustration is the school building, decrepit and falling apart, devoid of purpose and function and also representing the institution of public education within the American context and even more specifically within the framework of the New York educational system's control via Tammany Hall and the perceived threat on the behalf of the established protestants and their schools.¹²⁷

Taking each icon separately, we can isolate certain implications which may be used to direct the viewer towards the dominant discourse surrounding the protestant view of the control of New York City politics by Tammany Hall. The religious symbolism used is especially evocative as it is known that Tammany Hall, as ran by Boss Tweed, was partial towards Roman Catholics. Similarly, if the building representing Tammany Hall is focused upon, it might be argued that the building could possibly represent any given building of roughly mixed Baroque and Neoclassic styles with a dome, and must not necessarily be a reference to Rome. Again however, within the popular social discourse of the events depicted

¹²⁶ Struefert, Duane. "Flag Etiquette." *USFlag.org: A website dedicated to the Flag of the United States of America - Flag Etiquette*. N.p., 20 Nov. 1994. Web. 2 Feb. 2012.

¹²⁷ Kennedy, Robert C. "Cartoon of the Day: The American River Ganges." HarpWeek, LLC, n.d. Web. 1 June 2012.

in the illustration, as well as recall of historical facts, the visuality of the day would have most certainly offered interpretation of this particular symbol as a reference toward the power position of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome and what was thought to be its arm (the Democratic Party) in New York City, and more directly Boss Tweed. From this we can then gather that it is necessary to isolate particular icons within social discourse or historic record, and still other icons can be isolated to assist the viewing of the images on a more iconological or interpretive level.

As the primary aim of this work is to examine the instance of zoomorphic imagery it is most obligatory to focus upon the obvious animal image available in the work. In order to isolate this icon, initially any references to historic or factual events need not be considered. The zoomorphic focus in this illustration would be the bishops in the water, approaching the shore. While it becomes clear after examination that they are in fact bishops wearing the traditional garments of their office, upon first glance the visual elements manipulates the viewer into seeing them as crocodiles. Their rendering is so accomplished by Nast that the points of their miters recall the pointed mouths of the aforementioned reptiles. Similarly, the detailed vestments that they wear appear to be bumpy and calloused mimicking the skin of reptiles such as crocodiles and alligators.¹²⁸ Furthermore, the cross of the western right church is a visible symbol on the vestments of the crocodile-bishops.

The zoomorphic principle evident in this illustration depends not only on the resemblance of the bishops' superficial appearance but also upon zoomorphic patterns of position and behavior. The crocodile-bishops in the middle ground appear to be making land in the style of quadruped reptiles, which associates the given visual prompt towards the intended zoomorphic comparison. While it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the illustrator's understanding of zoological factors such as the aggressive behavioral tendencies of crocodiles or their patterns of surfacing, it should also be noted that the miters are so sketched that they hint to the open mouthed manner of consumption practiced by these ancient reptiles. As the crocodile swallows his food in large chunks rather than devouring it slowly and chewing, the teeth must likewise be sharp and adept at cutting and tearing, and this too is suggested in the jagged tips of the inner edges of the miters.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ "Reptiles and Amphibians: American Alligator." *Fact Sheet*. Smithsonian National Zoological Park, n.d. Web. 1 June 2012.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

The long tails of the vestments worn by these reptilian clergymen also resembles the long narrow tails of the crocodile. As is depicted in *The American River Ganges*, what is specifically true of those figures drawn in the middle ground is the thinning of the allegorical tails of the vestments to resemble those of the crocodile. The behavioral mimicry is again evident in the fact that the tails of the clothing drag the earth, exactly in the fashion of a crocodile. Likewise, the bishops faces, which appear on the underside of their bodies at the junction of the extensive miters and vestments resembles those of Nast's archetypical Irish Catholic immigrant. These faces do not accidentally appear at a place where one imagines the crocodiles would also anatomically possess these folds of skin, which would appear less scaled and hard than on the rest of the body.

From the iconological perspective, the illustration offers an incredible amount of interpretive value and the discourse analysis to follow will also expound upon the social aspects surrounding the creation and intent of this illustration. It is however, safe to say without necessarily knowing the context in which this particular image was done that this picture represents a threat. The basic principles of human body language, which while not universally similar, would nonetheless have been recognizable to Nast's viewership and convey a message of anxiety and fear under the threat of attack. The themes of threat, decay and ruin are obvious in the illustration within the representation of the humans alone. Considering the faces of the children on the shore, as well as their body language, i.e. crouching and hiding behind larger persons, insinuates that they feel that they are threatened by the creatures coming from the water.

While it appears that some of the people onshore are desperately trying to get to higher ground, there are the images of one adult male who seems to be dropping the children down the steep cliff to the shore, another adult male stands behind him in a manner which is passive if not threatening and finally a third man possessing a beard and large round features seems to be keenly aware of and nonchalant about what is happening before him. It could very well be that these men depicted are supporters of Tammany Hall and the round man may even be a reference to Tweed himself although this cannot be sufficiently proven without a doubt. It would however, in the context of the historic and social facts of the time make sense that Nast sought to depict the Tammany supporters as sacrificing the children of New York City to the predatory Roman Catholic Church. The accompanying article would support this position as is evidenced by the title *The Priests and the Children* which appeared in Harper's also on September 30, 1871 and was penned by Eugene Lawrence.

Considering that the element of threat is clear in the illustration, it is of greater importance within the bounds of this work, with the aim of analyzing particular zoomorphic images, and in this case the crocodile-bishops, to find iconological conclusions regarding the unique choice of animal imagery chosen to be blended with human imagery and the implications thereof. The choice of crocodiles in this image is surely an intentional choice. This conclusion can be drawn based upon the fact that New York City and its surrounding bodies of water are not the natural habitats of the American crocodile. In fact, the waters of the Northeastern seaboard of the United States would be far too cold and turbulent for crocodiles to survive in and additionally, crocodiles do not live in the oceans but rather in freshwater environments usually. It is possible that the illustrator seeks to reinforce the sense of invasion by alien forces by drawing this animal exactly because it would have been an animal foreign to most inhabitants of New York directly. The fact that these animal would have not been found in this area of the United States exacerbates the sense of lack of belonging and qualities of the 'outsider'.¹³⁰

The crocodile is behaviorally a predator which can and will eat mammals if hungry or threatened. It is highly uncommon that a crocodile would make land and pursue a target as it would usually wait in still silence on the surface of the water with great patience in order to capture the prey in its enormous jaws, after which it would quickly begin spinning in order to force the oxygen from its catch and then immediately pull them under the water which would lead to drowning in the case of mammal species. Since it is unlikely that a crocodile would make land in such a manner as depicted in *The American River Ganges*, it can be deduced that the intention is to emphasize the predatory nature of the crocodile, highlighting its aggressive tactics rather than to accurately portray the crocodile's true hunting patterns. The behavior, while atypical serves the function of reinforcement in the sense that it asserts the power of the feeling of being under distress which is also visible in the upside down American flag, which is itself a symbol of distress.

Considering the decision to create bishop-crocodiles rather than a different sort of animal, leads to the question of what function in terms of the discourse surrounding the image is carried out. In cooperation with the title of the illustration and its reference to the Indian river Ganges it is clear that the intended sense of threat is not from the bishop-crocodile as such, but by what this particular hybrid could imply. The crocodile, being a symbol of

¹³⁰ cf. "Reptiles and Amphibians: American Alligator." *Fact Sheet*. Smithsonian National Zoological Park, n.d. Web. 1 June 2012.

aggression, but also a very ancient animal which is neither native to the Northeastern seaboard of the United States, nor to the named Ganges in the title, is taken out of its rightful habitat and exploited in terms of its sheer aggression. The Ganges, which is nowhere close to New York City or to the hinted at St. Peter's Basilica, would have suggested a distant context inclusive of its polytheistic, highly mystical and myth driven reputation within Indian culture to the contemporaneous viewer. The significance of the inclusion of both of these elements (the exact animal choice as well as the a-contextual environs) are doubtlessly attempts to highjack these particular iconographic units to perpetuate an anti-Catholic, anti-Tammany Hall agenda which it is known was indeed espoused by Harper's.

Zoomorphism has then, in this example, served as a tool to forward a biased opinion of a particular party (in this case the Roman Catholic Church and by proxy Tammany Hall). What is more, is that zoomorphic representation in the form of the icon serves to perpetuate a position in the general social discourse which would have been active and ongoing at the time of publication. The social discourse was clearly rather two dimensional as opposed to multifaceted. The direct role which this particular image played within the context of the larger scopic regime and thereby its influence on the discourse of the day, will be further explored in the pages devoted to discourse analysis for the third wave of immigration later in this work.

As it has been proposed that the image of the crocodile-bishop is not an accidental one, and argumentation has been provided to suggest the biased intentions of the illustrator, it can be said that the crocodile as an icon, is being used here as a stand in for certain perceived threatening and aggressive characteristics (historically known to be the fierce debate and successive uproar surrounding state funding of religiously affiliated or operated schools). The crocodile, albeit removed from any semblance of natural habitat and also behaviorally misrepresented, is a reptile which comes from the water - which it could be said is a symbol for the great unknown. It would then follow that this kind of representation would have been possible with any water creature save for the ability to visually compare the similarities between the attire of the bishops with the form and characteristics of crocodiles and this animal's reputation as a predator. Moreover, the animal itself could likely be interchangeable so long as it was a water creature and was adapted to certain actions outside of its normal patterns. The 'super-icon' (the greater icon) would be that of the water creature, representing the unknown which lurks just beneath or on the surface and is ready to make land when

necessary. Additionally, the water creature has to be somehow adaptable to land and intrinsically aggressive in order to fulfill the illustrators presumed intention.

To summarize the iconographic analysis of *The American River Ganges*, a pre-iconographical summary of the different symbols present in the illustration has been undertaken and from that basic step, individual iconic symbols have been isolated. Furthermore, deeper stratification of the isolated icons highlights the zoomorphism which in this case is evidenced by the hybrid crocodile bishops which is the primary finding of the iconographic analysis in this case. From the identification of the zoomorphic icon it is then possible to pass on to the post-iconographic or iconological level where the illustrators choice of zoomorphic imagery is weighed in relation to the greater discourse surrounding the image and of course also with historic facts and events of the time. Finally, through a contextual understanding of the elements which created the image in its socially relevant extent, it is possible to conclude that the zoomorphic imagery here portrays a likeness both in physicality and to a lesser degree, in behavioral aspects. It can also be stated that the particular zoomorphic image may have been chosen for aesthetic reasons on behalf of the artist but could have, in another work still reflecting on the same discourse, been replaced with a different predatory water creature. This is not to say that the illustrators choice was flippant, as it has already been pointed out that there were doubtless aesthetic factors leading to the choice of the crocodile as the zoomorphic part of the equation, but rather to suggest that the water creature icon in general represented certain elements within the greater discourse which would have been easily accessible to the viewer and in the viewer's familiar socially influenced scopic regime.

What Shall We Do with Our Boys?

The Wasp

1882

George Frederick Keller

The extent to which the Chinese presence on the west coast in particular unfolded and its reception by locals, is brilliantly portrayed in George Frederick Keller's illustration of the multi-armed worker, industriously succeeding in accomplishing tasks faster and cheaper than their American counterparts and leading to unemployment amongst the later group. While the prevailing discourse must be understood, and will be explored in a later analysis, by simply viewing Keller's illustration on a pre-iconographic level we can determine that there are already a few basic key symbols that would have allowed the viewer to read the image with a particular intent, even if further symbols (zoomorphic and otherwise) would not have been immediately transferred.

In viewing *What Shall We Do with Our Boys* the most elementary overview gives us the impression that there are two opposing imageries at play here: the active and the inactive. The left two-thirds of the illustration depicts an Asian (in this case Chinese and most likely male), who with multi-armed efficiency is simultaneously working toward the completion of various labors. The left third of the illustration however, reflects inactivity insomuch as the subjects in this part are very sedentary and static. They are as equivocally inactive as the subject on the left is over-industrious. Whereas the right side of the image implies excessive motion and a sense of rapid timing, the left side harkens to a more bucolic and pastoral pace save the image of what at first glance appears to be a factory in the background. It could then be said that the primary pre-iconic symbols are actually movement itself as is highly contrasted by its opposite.

Beyond motion, the image also is full of symbols, although the right side is more symbolically loaded than the left. The subject on the right holds two different kinds of hammers in the hands of his different arms. These are no doubt suited to the task before him to which they are intended to be used, seemingly those of a cobbler and those of a box builder or woodworker. In a further hand he holds a saw, an additional tool used in woodworking. With the hands of the other arms, he is seen to be rolling cigars or cigarettes which we can gather through the placement of a bale of tobacco just behind him to the right and still further

back in the picture we can see two hands ferociously sewing garments. Yet, there is one other hand which clutches a bag of earnings with a tag attached which reads, 'FOR CHINA.' It can be gathered that this bag contains his earnings due to the dollar marks on the bag that is being placed in a rickshaw. As the rickshaw would have been a popular mode of transportation in China at the time, and a mode not used in the United States, this particular accumulation of symbols in this order allows the viewer to gather that the intended meaning is that of remissions to China.¹³¹

Additionally, the box in front of the subject on the right contains various tools necessary for the manufacturing of shoes and boots. These tools include shoe moulds and what appears to be one boot placed upside-down on a mount. The sewing machines, representing the textiles industry and the papers used for rolling cigars are supplementary icons which are to lead to the understanding of various branches of industry and manufacturing. Thereby, on a pre-iconographic level it is even possible to denote the status of a symbol to a particular kind of manufacturing such as is evidenced in the picture; namely the kind which involves a great level of speed and handiwork.

The clothing of the Asian subject and his exaggerated ethnic features are also pre-iconographic symbols by which the observer is to immediately understand the origin of the industrious laborer. The subject's queue recalls the Han Chinese habit of wearing the queue as was imposed by the Manchurian court. As this hairstyle would have been unique to the Chinese who were coming to the United States at this time in, contrast to the hairstyles of immigrants from other countries, the queue would have been a symbol readily identifiable as 'Chinese' within the prevalent scopic regime. In collaboration with the aforementioned symbols of the rickshaw, the tag on the money sack denoting its destination and the clothing of the subject, the reader of the image most certainly could not have mistaken him for anything other than an immigrant Chinese laborer with an unmistakably traditional hairstyle.¹³²

In final regards to the left two-thirds of the illustration, the Asian male has a loose board under his left foot (the viewer's right), with the inscription 'CHINESE TRADE MONPOLY.' The pre-iconographic element here lies in the fact that the inscription is aimed

¹³¹ cf. Geens, Emily. "The History of the Rickshaw - Exploitation or Tradition?" *New Histories: The free online History magazine* 14 Apr. 2011: n. pag. Web. 16 June 2012.

¹³² cf. Godley, Michael R. "The End of the Queue: Hair as Symbol in Chinese History." *China Heritage Quarterly* 27: n. pag. *China Heritage Quarterly: China Heritage Project, The Australian National University*. Web. 16 June 2012.

at American and exclusively English speaking readers. The choice of including English language in this part of the illustration serves to anchor the setting (America) and to contrast the Asian tone set by the subject's image and activity.

The remaining third of the illustration, while not as symbolically rich, still manages to be quite quickly read on a pre-iconographic basis. Again here, we see fashion being used as an obvious external icon to identify the origin, and most likely ethnicity, of the subjects being depicted. The rather wide brimmed hat being worn by the subjects is of a decidedly western style and in sharp contrast to the conical 'rice hats' worn by Asian laborers. The fact that the Asian subject is missing his hat is likely intentional; its absence further exacerbating the sense of exoticness through the consecutive inclusion of the western hats (without exception) worn by 'boys' referred to in the title of this illustration.

In the foreground, five boys seem to be loitering just outside the exterior wall which contains the efficient Chinaman. Some of the boys, of which there are six, are either leaning against walls or sitting on a box on the ground. The sixth boy is being carried away by his collar towards an industrial complex in the background which is easily recognizable through the chimney stacks as well as the writing on it that reads, 'SAN QUENTIN IDUSTRIAL ESTATE.' The industrial estate of course being a place set aside for the purposes of building manufacturing centers or other industrial infrastructure. What is of note is the placement of the boys in relation to the factory and how far away the viewer is intended to perceive the concept of labor from that of idleness and joblessness. As idleness, it is claimed, can lead to criminality amongst youths within certain conditions, the man carrying the boy away wears a hat which may be understood to be characteristic of the police (or some authoritarian figure).

Besides the obvious human subjects which can be used as pre-iconographic markers, here we can again view industriousness and its lack as an icon. The whole mood of this right side of the work suggests stillness and stagnation. Whereas the Asian's efficiency and skill imply a force of motion, the bored and static motion of this third of the illustration is itself a major indicator that the viewer is supposed to immediately see the contrast between the industriousness on the left of the image and the immobility of the subjects and settings on the right.

Within the scope of the zoomorphic iconographic analysis of this image is the recognition of certain zoomorphic qualities, primarily concerning the depiction of- and exaggeration of- the Asian and his ethnic characteristics. Whereas the initial draw may be

towards his nearly deformed face, the more prominent zoomorphic features are more visible in the similarities of the subject to that of a sea creature and in this case an undeniable resemblance to the multi-armed octopus. The sea dwelling octopus is not the only zoomorphic source of inspiration here however, as examination of the queue displays a resemblance to the tail of a rodent, perhaps a rat. Here then it can be deduced that there are at least two major zoomorphic influences at play. The primary zoomorphic iconography is based upon the image of the octopus and the more secondary and less obvious influence being that of the rodent. These two different elements will be examined individually in the following iconographic evaluation of each respectively.

Firstly, the image of the octopus is conjured initially through reference to a multi-armed creature which is capable of independent motion and tasking with the various arms. In this case, the same is clearly possible for the subject of the illustration who is able to multitask through the use of his various arms. Furthermore, the arms seem to radiate from the body like spokes which mirrors the same nature of the octopus whose arms extend from a central body. While octopi actually have two sets of four arms and the sets usually act in tandem, the same behavior is nearly similar to those of the Chinaman here who has at least a couple of arms involved in each particular task. It is not the case that his arms act independently with each completing a divergent task in relation to the others. Moreover, while the illustrator's use of a multi-armed subject does beckon the comparison to an octopus, it should be noted that the subject in fact has more than eight arms and this would certainly not be the case found in nature. This implies that the use of zoomorphism is iconographic rather than factual and that through the use of the multi-armed figure, with a rather bulbous central body, an automatic attribution on the part of the viewer would end up at an association with the particular skill set of an octopus.¹³³

As previously mentioned, it is also of note that the relationship between the body of the Asian and his arms is remarkably similar to that of an octopus. In nature the bulbous center of the octopus harbors its organs and vital functions whereas the arms are used functionally in terms of tactility. Additionally, the subject maintains two 'legs' which do not function like arms. This is also quite similar to the behavior of octopi in nature whereby they are observed to use two of their arms (one set) to act more like legs than arms. Here too we

¹³³ cf. Norman, Mark Douglas. *Cephalopods, a world guide: Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Atlantic Ocean, Caribbean, Arctic, Antarctic*. Hackenheim, Germany: ConchBooks, 2000. Print.

see the legs anchoring the subject and one is even given the task of grounding a board with the words 'CHINESE TRADE MONOPOLY' printed on it.¹³⁴

Next, the matter of the zoomorphic reference inherent in the Chinaman's queue is a clear cue to the tail of a rodent, perhaps a rat. It is generally accepted that rodents are not desirable creatures and that would not have been otherwise in 1882 when this illustration was printed. Rats, and other rodents, have historically been blamed for the carrying of disease and malady, particularly in their proximity to humans. The shape of the queue is not very indicative of the shape of a Manchu style queue which would have been largely of uniform width from start to end and braided or bound with yarn or string. The queue here however, begins from a tuft of rather bushy and unkempt hair on the subjects head to a wispy point. This eludes to, in zoomorphic terms, the tail of a rodent which also is thicker closer to the body of the creature and thins toward its end. Here then, it can clearly be read to be a direct reference to the rodent, and possibly perceived elements in the behavior or the projected behavior imposed on the Asians by the illustrator. Through his use of this particular image, it may be that he is trying to create a definitive negative stance towards the Chinese for which the use of the sea creature icon would not have been sufficient as in this particular context it also makes a possibly positive reference to the efficiency of the subject.

Having identified the major iconographic elements in the illustration it is also important to investigate the iconological implications of the use of these zoomorphic images in particular. The function of the symbols is intrinsically linked to the function that they would have served for the viewer within the prevalent social discourse. Thereby, a scopic regime would have existed, or would have been being formed (in which case *What Shall We Do with Our Boys?* could be considered a model) during the timeframe leading up to and encompassing the image's realization. As has been reviewed in the historic background accompanying this image, the advent of sentiments unfriendly toward the Chinese pivoted around the idea that the Chinese were a threat to the workforce of the United States. The nativist attitude would have been highly unfavorable towards the usurping of gainful employment by the cheaply paid Chinese and the subsequent unemployment of their own sons.

The choice of these two zoomorphic icons on the part of the illustrator has greater implications than might be immediately noticeable. While the initial reading of the image

¹³⁴ de Bruxelles, Simon. "How many arms does an octopus have?" 13 Aug. 2008: n. pag. Web. 22 May 2012.

leads to conclusions of something foreign and inhuman through the use of the grotesque facial features and a bulbous body emanating arms in all directions, the overall impression is that although the subject is a monstrous being, he is also efficient and capable of earning enough to send funds back to his origin and to help those there. An argument, that this may have led to feelings of empathy for the subject, are then quickly eroded by the depiction of his queue in the manner of a rat's tail; an animal widely loathed and considered by many to be the epitome of filth and disease.

The very specific functions of these two zoomorphic elements, as would have likely been understood within the contemporaneous scopic regime, informs the contemporary viewer of the illustrators probable intent in using these two elements together. One intention, it can be gathered, was to highlight the super-human industriousness of the Asian immigrants, and simultaneously to defile them. Moreover, the illustrator induces a sense of fear and insecurity, particularly in the white Anglo-Saxon protestant (WASP) working-class American psyche. The assumption that this particular viewing group was targeted is insinuated at already in the publication's title.

The greater iconological reach of the illustration comes from the knowledge that the period in which the illustration was produced was leading up to a surge in anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States and especially on the west coast where the publication was published and greatly circulated. Any additions to the scopic consciousness of the time would have only further enflamed sentiments amongst those who felt dispossessed by the influx of Chinese immigrants. It can then be said that the function of the zoomorphic imagery is to lessen the humanity of the subject and to thereby justify a sense of loathing toward him and his whole kind at large.

Within this attempt to juxtapose more anti-Chinese imagery into the mainstream media, *The Wasp* through the hand of Keller, added to the growing social unrest which was caused by cheap and efficient Chinese laborers. The addition albeit only one example, was likely only a reflection of a popular mood which had taken a position of prominence in communities that were affected by this situation, and an appeal to their nativist sympathies. Communities on the west coast in this case, would have been exactly those people that were dealing with the economic implications of cheap Chinese workers and the unemployment of 'boys' who would not have been able to find work due to their inability, or unwillingness to work as efficiently or as cheaply as their Asian counterparts. In this respect it can be observed that this publication practices a kind of direct appeal to the readership by touching upon an

issue that is specific to them in a way which is also somehow sensitive and recalls negative feelings of inadequacy.

In review of the previous analyses, the pre-iconographic, iconographic (with special regard to the zoomorphic iconography used) and the iconological, it can be gathered that the zoomorphic use of the octopus icon and the rodent icon serve as a counterweight to each other and simultaneously work to further the impact of the image and likewise enable the viewer to quickly and easily read it. By placing the contemporaneous issue of Chinese labor and its threats to the domestic workforce within a context it is possible to understand why these two icons were used. While the illustrator's intent is to vilify the Chinese subject in the illustration, by showcasing his efficiency and apparent determination, he actually appeals to rather desirable aspects of the worker. Yet, he is careful to counter the image by depicting this subject as inhuman and by using the icon of a sea creature and conjuring up images of the unknown and thereby inducing a sense of insecurity. To be ultimately safe and clear in the negative reading of the subject by the viewing group, Keller makes sure to include another icon: the rodent-like queue to highlight both the foreignness of the subject and to benefit from the negative associations which people usually have with rodents.

Finally, by combining the zoomorphic imagery with other iconographic imagery, it is to be understood that the illustrator is creating a sense of contrast. The pace of the left of the picture as compared to the pace of the right of the picture is itself indicative of the fact that the momentum of the Chinese influx and taking up of jobs was rapid and worrying to those who were already established in those communities. The ability of the Chinese to not only work for cheaper but also to save money and send it back to their homeland, induces inadequacy and claims of illegitimacy amongst the WASP community which would have been the readership. So, it is clear that one aspect alone would not suffice to offer an immediate understanding of the image, and so two opposing imageries were used, that of zoomorphism (and therein also two separate icons were used) and that of implied speed or motion. As previously mentioned, while it would have been possible to read the image without the contrast, the contrast of these elements serves to solidify the viewing groups understanding by appealing to experiences which were actually happening around them.

The Unrestricted Dumping Ground

Judge

1903

Louis Dalrymple

A pre-iconographic analysis of *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* by Louis Dalrymple for *Judge*, a weekly magazine published in New York cannot be undertaken without notice of the obvious similarity to illustrations in *Puck* a similar satirical magazine of the time. The styles bare many of the same visual elements because the former was in fact founded by ex-members of the latter's staff. The image of an old man dressed in the stars and stripes, and in the same motif as the United States' flag, is one which would have been familiar to the viewer if not due to their having seen a very closely resembling image in appearance in the other publication around this time, then as part of the established visuality of the time. The most familiar of the pre-iconographic images would then certainly be the old man dressed in the flag motif and the flag which is just visible which he holds.

Another pre-iconographic symbol is that of the rodents being dumped into the water en masse. The rodent, certainly to those people living in the cramped and filthy cities of the United States of the time would have been easily recognizable. The rodents hold long knives, a pistol, and machetes while wearing large brimmed hats and headbands and sometimes displaying words written on them such as; mafia, anarchist, socialist, etc. On the grip of the pistol one can read the word 'murderer.' In the background a ship sails with a red flag at its mast as it seems to travel along the coast in calm waters. The container that dumps the rodents ashore contains a heading on what appears to be its raised door which reads, 'DIRECT FROM THE SHORES OF EUROPE DAILY.'

The image of Uncle Sam, wearing the colors and design of the flag of the United States holds a flagstaff in his left hand, while in his right he holds a sword which is cast downwards with the tip resting on the ground. He wears wide-legged trousers which mimic the detail of the red-white stripes of the flag and his vest recalls the stars and the blue setting from the upper left corner of the flag. Additionally, he is wearing a long jacket with tails and a bow tie, again with stars on it. His posture is slightly imbalanced with his left leg bent. The subjects head is slightly downcast and although his face is embellished with a copious amount

of facial hair, a pair of dark eyes can be seen gazing downwards. Uncle Sam is also smoking what is either a long cigarette or a cigar.

The smoke of this cigar or cigarette is used to create a cloud in which the image of the recently assassinated President William McKinley is evident. McKinley's facial expression hints at displeasure and he holds his right arm across his left with a gesture that is indecipherable. The image of the former president is largely without color whereas the rest of the picture is preserved in very vibrant color and detail. This image crowds into the upper-left corner of the illustration which is opposite the container freeing the rats in the upper-right corner.

With the exception of the space just right of center that forms the upper part of the background, the illustration is visually very busy in terms of both content and color. As mentioned, the bright colors used draw contrast to the sedated tones of the McKinley image and the lines and details of this image are very strong and well-defined. For the most part the image also fits into the frame of the image on the page with the notable exception of the top hat worn by the Uncle Sam figure. Compositionally, the images of the mass of rodents contrast with the rather singular human figure in the image in a way which manages to be evident and intentional. Furthermore, the implied motion of the rodents and the ship is in opposition to that of the images of Uncle Sam and the assassinated president.

Within the iconographic analysis of Dalrymple's illustration, we can very quickly isolate the two main icons: Uncle Sam (representing the nation) and the rodent herd which is quickly invading. Clearly, the first of these icons is wholly human and does not display zoomorphic qualities and therefore it can be said that it is used to represent a singular concept- the United States. The rodents however display human heads, with human head gear and human weapons. It is the zoomorphic image which is of primary interest to this work and will be analyzed in further detail here.

The immigrants in this illustration possess the bodies of rodents and the heads of humans. It can be deduced that the illustrator's intention is for the viewer to perceive the zoomorphic subjects as representations for humans, while exploiting the associations that rodents would have held for the viewers of this image. Additionally, the fact that the faces are stereotypically characteristic of Italians (evidenced by the large mustaches and olive-skin tones) and that they even wield weapons that could clearly only be used by humans is further proof that the viewer is supposed to view these rodents not only as vermin but as humans who

simply carry the same social implications that a rodent infestation would. As rats also do not dress themselves, this inclusion too is intended to ensure that the subjects are seen not only as animals and capable of the same things animals can do, but also that they are human and are capable of carrying out human undertakings such as organized crime, anarchy, violence and political organization as is hinted at in the illustration through the inclusion of the word ‘SOCIALIST’ which is written on the hat of one of the menacing rodents.

Primarily singling out the icon of the rodent, one can assume that the illustrator’s wish was to inform the viewer of the behavioral traits of these newly arrived Italian immigrants by comparing them to violent rats. Dalrymple asks the viewer to at once accept that the image is a human one and a zoomorphic one and in so doing creates a disconnect between the viewer themselves and the subject viewed. The disassociation between the viewer and the viewed is accomplished through the use of an animal which is largely considered to be offensive or unpleasant at the least and dangerous bringers of disease at the worst. This parallel between the Italian immigrants (known to be Italian through the inclusion of the Italian flag being used as a headband by one of the subjects) and these social illnesses of civil unrest, organized crime (here hinted at to be the mafia) and violence would have been one which would have made sense in the context of the contemporaneous scopie regime. The viewer, even if untrained in reading the symbols, would have been able to quickly recognize the Italian characteristics of the immigrants including; their features, coloring, and even hats, and in case it still would not have been directly clear, the inclusion of the Italian flag and stereotypical word associations such as ‘mafia’ would have left little doubt that aversion was intended to be directed toward the Italian immigrants which would have been noticed increasingly in the cities of the United States, particularly the east coast port cities.

Perhaps most strikingly zoomorphic in visual scope are the bodies of the rodents which are unmistakably those of rodents, however, the manner in which they are depicted in terms of quantity is also iconographic in that it represents a herd or swarm. The herd/swarm icon, while accurate in relation to rodents, is itself a tactic in offering a more aggressive intent on the part of the immigrants and their means of arrival. Due to the large numbers of southern Europeans arriving at the time that this illustration was drawn, it could have likely seemed that there was a very real inundation of immigrants from places such as Italy. Within the connotation of the swarm icon, a sense of aggression and being overwhelmed are induced in the viewer and were most probably reflective of the feelings of some who were closer to the

nativist ideology of the time. The herd-mind has already been explored previously and so will not be expounded upon further here.

Of interest is the artist's choice to include the zoomorphic subjects on both land and water. While it is not totally uncommon for rats to be near the water, they are not voracious swimmers although it is possible for them; an ocean would obviously constitute a distance too great for them to swim. The inclusion of them in such open waters as is suggested in the illustration would be improbable. The ability for the rat to jump from such a great distance onto land is an exaggeration used here to show the force with which the immigrants were arriving on the shores of the United States. Furthermore, the idea of having the rats in a water setting as well as on land alludes to the water creature icon.

The water creature icon, while not totally explicit here, is a part of the illustration due to the fact that the immigrants were arriving daily (as is suggested from the heading title on the top of the container dumping the rodents onto land) from Europe. As it was most common for these new immigrants to arrive from eastern and southern Europe, the fact that these rodents are Italian is simply reflective of the fact that this was the point of origin for these new arrivals. Arriving by sea, the sea creature is therefore a rather convenient allusion to the unknown threat which is embodied in the sea creature icon. While it cannot be said that this is a primary zoomorphic image, it is a secondary support in relation to the association of threat and aggression and this is further constructed through the inclusion of words which would have been loaded with stereotypical associations with implications of negative aspects of the Italian experience in Italy and their carrying over of those problems to the United States.

Dalrymple's choice to include both of these zoomorphic icons into *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* highlights the initial reading of the images within the contemporaneous visuality to such a degree the illustration is perhaps more time specific than some other, more general examples from this period. The sheer number of immigrants arriving from Italy (in this case) and their perception as criminals would have alone been enough of a reading, but in drawing the subjects as rodents with human heads, the illustrator has asked the viewer to recognize not only those prejudiced images which are drawn upon in regards to the Italians but also, the degradation of the immigrants as not being totally human, yet human enough to pose significant threats to the status quo. By using the rodent, he draws upon the connotations of rats as unclean, disease carriers. Through the use of the hoard or swarm icon the illustrator induces the feeling of being consumed and outnumbered and in setting at least some of the subjects in a water environment, he not only harkens to their real origins but also to the icon

of the water creature who is unknown and mysterious and represents not only the unknown but the unknown element of threat. While threat is a primary emotive characteristic of the illustration its prevalence and impact upon the reading of this image (and images similar to this one) is more a matter for the discourse analysis section to come later.

At the level of iconological interpretation the illustration, from the gaze of the contemporary and the contemporaneous viewer, it is immediately understandable that the artist's aim was to depict the Italians (in this particular case the single immigrant community is the focus subject through which identification is accomplished via the use of words, colors, national symbols and stereotypical attributes) negatively as a whole immigrant community. This is despite the fact that there are only men as subjects in the illustration and no women or children. Within the specific zoomorphic context, only a certain kind of Italian man is represented, mainly the ones prone to aggression and somehow involved with organized crime.

The illustrator has mirrored the reoccurring sentiment that the immigrants to the United States did in fact not seek new beginnings and fresh new starts, but rather that they wished to continue their socially corrosive tendencies in their new homes. By anchoring the viewer solidly in the United States (visible through the images of Uncle Sam and the former president) and drawing upon patriotic, if not nativist sentiments, the artist's aim is perhaps to reinforce the distance in relation between the Italian immigrants and the communities already established in the United States. In using the image of the rat, he has not only separated the subjects from their common humanity, but through zoomorphism, has also highlighted that although these immigrants are humans (evidenced through their heads, the centers of cognitive function in the human and therefore alluding to the unique human cognitive processes which seemingly separate the human from the animal), they should not be viewed entirely as such.

Therefore simultaneously, the artist is able to evoke the nativist sentiments of the viewer and to coerce a sense of belonging and ownership in the United States, and to allow those who would read the image and would have been subjected to the norms of the visuality at that time, to disassociate themselves from these immigrants. In seeing themselves as humans and the Italians as rats, the viewer is able to solidify one's own 'Americanness'. Through the use of the rodent icon the subject is dehumanized and seen to be less-than or not fully formed within the context of the prevalent social norms.

The use of loaded words and imagery, such as; mafia, socialist and anarchist, and the use of easily recognizable styles or symbols associated with the Italians such as; the colors of the Italian flag, the style of headgear and facial hair, added to the use of the herd/swarm icon induces feelings of being under siege or flooded with these criminal elements which are socially undesirable. While the swarm icon serves to add gravitas to the situation, the implied motion of the rats running right by Uncle Sam is an additional tactic of the illustrator's to convey a sense of urgency and momentum. The inhabitants of the cities of particularly the upper East Coast in the United States would have been familiar with the arrival of new immigrants from southern Europe and prominently from Italy, their scopic regime would have already included images which somehow related to those drawn in *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* and which they could have readily drawn upon to correlate with the images from *Judge*.

A final area of iconological interest in this example is the picture of President McKinley who had been assassinated only weeks earlier by an anarchist who was also the son of Prussian-Polish Catholic immigrant parents. The assassination by an anarchist was certainly a direct threat at the stability of the United States government and the established *modus operandi*. The United States would not have been an environment in which most immigrants fared wonderfully well and yet it is of importance that the illustrator alludes to the assassination of a president to evoke a sense that the dominant way of life was being undermined. In the urban centers of the United States during this wave of immigration, maintaining stability amongst the 'native' U.S. Americans, and the various immigrant communities (which were entitled to maintain militias of their own) was of primary importance and would have been viewed as highly susceptible to exterior negative forces. Similar suspicion was also cast upon the Irish Catholics and the Chinese. The fact that most Italians were also predominantly Catholic would have further lead to distrust as this faith group has been under suspicion throughout much of U.S. American history.¹³⁵

To close the iconological analysis, Dalrymple's choice to use certain human images to draw upon the patriotic attachments of the established communities in the United States and to use other contrasting zoomorphic images to incite disassociation was reflective of the ever growing nativist sentiment in the third wave of immigration to the United States. This immigration wave included many people from countries which were not previously highly represented among the immigrant groups of America and many of them were also Catholics,

¹³⁵ cf. Ellis, John Tracy. *American Catholicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Print.

which for many years to come, and even up to modern times, would be a point of contingency among U.S. Americans regarding their loyalties to Rome.¹³⁶

Furthermore, in his use of the rodent icon, the 'native' viewer is further distanced from the immigrant even on a biological level. While the contemporaneous scopic regime would have been a sufficient source for viewers to draw upon in relation to the images, in order to separate them from self-identification with the new immigrants, they were depicted as filthy rodents whose aim was to infiltrate the United States and spread anarchy, socialism and organized crime, and were directly linked to the recent events of instability in the American political atmosphere. The rodent icon here is used primarily to enforce 'otherness' and to imply that the Italians sought to bring with them only aspects which were perceived as negative by the artist. Moreover, the rodent icon is used to highlight those negative aspects due to the negative connotations which human civilizations have usually held in regard to rats- viewing them mostly as pests and carriers of disease. In the case of *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* those diseases would have been social rather than biological in nature, yet they were considered such a threat that zoomorphism was incorporated into the illustration to prevent any type of familiarized relationship which other immigrant groups who had previously immigrated might have initially drawn in the case of the Italians.

¹³⁶ cf. Ellis, John Tracy. *American Catholicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Print.

The Fool Pied Piper

Puck

1909

S. D. Ehrhart

In *The Fool Pied Piper* Ehrhart draws upon the old German tale of the Pied Piper. In doing so he has certainly chosen an image which would have been readily available to recall on the part of most of the viewers. Still, the illustration warrants deeper study in that some basic elements have been altered in order to utilize the connotations from the historic tale while at the same time incorporating symbols and imagery which would have been a part of the everyday scopic regime within the contemporaneous context. So while the image is canonized in a sense, it also manages to be transcendent of any particular time or circumstance. A review of the elements will follow, and later an analysis of the discourse will evaluate the role of the image within the environment it was created and furthermore, how the traditional aspect of the tale of the Pied Piper might be interpreted within the events depicted (in a greater sense more particular to the United States) in the picture.¹³⁷

At the pre-iconographic level a man playing a pipe is just left of center in the illustration. He is wearing a costume which is red white and blue and is dotted with stars, an allusion to the flag of the United States of America. The piper here also has very recognizable facial features for most U.S. Americans as Uncle Sam, who is a U.S. American patriotic figure representing the government and plays a pipe with the words 'LAX IMMIGRATION LAWS' imprinted on it. Moreover, a plethora of rats pours forward from the streets of what appears to be a town or city with buildings built in traditionally European styles. Additionally, from the tops of many of these structures flies the flags of various European nations including; France and Russia and possibly also Austria-Hungary as well as the shadows in the background which allude to more such flags. In tandem with the flags, one can see various rulers of Europe dancing as the rats enter the water following the piper. Across their chests they wear sashes with the names of different European nations such as; France, Russia, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Greece.

The sky and the water are both blue and the sky holds a bunching of clouds as well. In the far left of the illustration one can make out the silhouette of the Statue of Liberty in New

¹³⁷ Ehrhart, S.D. "The Fool Pied Piper." Library of Congress. (PPOC) JPG file. 12 June 2012.

York Harbor with a shining light from the torch she holds in her up-stretched hand. Furthermore, there are the two shores which are visible, although only a bit on the U.S. American side. The European shore darkens in the background most likely in an effort on the part of the artist to add depth to the illustration. The water between the shores is calm and one can see that some of the rats have already started to swim in the direction which is to be understood as the United States.

Most interestingly are the rats which come forth from the background of the painting, as only a nearly formless shadow of a figure, into great detail and individuality in the foreground. For those rodents in the well-formed foreground, it can be seen that while the initial gestalt recognition of relationship between background and form encourages the reading of the image as a rat, the rodents actually contain the heads of humans and have the words; JAIL BIRD, MURDERER, THIEF, CRIMINAL, CROOK, KIDNAPPER, INCENDIARY, ASSASSIN, CONVICT, BANDIT, FIRE BRAND, WHITE SLAVER and DEGENERATE on them. Furthermore, not only do they have human heads but they have also been drawn with characteristic faces and distinguishing hats. Some of these hybrids even carry objects in their mouth. Among these objects are; lit torches, knives and pieces of paper with the words 'BLACK HAND' printed on them along with the impression of a black hand.

Finally, in the far right of the illustration the illustrator has placed the corner of a stone building with metal grating on the window which could be meant to be understood as a prison. Where the building meets the water there is a tunnel with a rat swimming out of it. This tunnel could be understood as a sewage tunnel acting as an escape route for the inmates of the prison, in this case being the rats. The idea that this might be a prison is further supported by the means by which Ehrhart has drawn the building giving it mass and the look of having been constructed out of heavy stone- possibly for containment reasons.

The obvious zoomorphic depiction in this illustration is apparent in the rodent bodies which are attached to the human heads of the European vermin which are being lead away by the piper towards the United States. The image of the rat, with its connotations as a disease carrier and a filthy animal which lives and thrives in environs which are most usually inhospitable to humans, is repulsive and used here as a symbol of distaste and disdain in connection to attitudes which were held in regards to the immigrant influx to the United States at that time. The heads, which are highly individualized and the bare looks of malice on their faces, are only a small portion of the separate image (meaning the image taken independently of the zoomorphic composite or swarm of rats as a whole) of the zoomorphic imagery that is

mostly comprised of the rodent body. The illustrator's intention therefore is to highlight the animalistic tendencies of the subjects rather than the human ones. This decision is clearly ascertainable in the choice of the head as the identifiable human attribute. The human cannot exist without a head and indeed it is here that those faculties which separate the human from animals lies; namely logic and reason. So while the bodies of the rodents actually constitutes more of a singular icon than the human head, it would be incorrect to assume that this is an example of anthropomorphism as that would entail the subtraction of the animal qualities in favor of human ones and the case here is clearly the opposite.

The zoomorphic icon which is at play here is the rodent, but again we can see that there is a clear connection to the sea which might represent the unknown. It is also an obvious point that the Atlantic divides the North American continent and Europe and there would have been no other way to travel to the United States at this time except by sea. However, if this obvious logistics issue is set aside, it could also be said that the illustrator seeks to bind the negative insinuations of the rodent icon with those of the sea creature. As it would have been impossible for the rats to swim all the way to the United States and they would have surely drowned, as is the case in the historic story in which the piper leads the rats into the river Wesser where they die save one, it cannot be concluded that the artist's aim was to show the eventual demise of these negative factions which are here symbolized by the human-headed rodents. This is evident in the fact that the Statue of Liberty beacons the immigrant rats to the shore of the United States thereby giving them a destination and lending a sense of perpetuity to the subjects movement.¹³⁸

Additionally, the sheer number of rodents which pour forth from the city with its varied European architectural styles mirrors the masses of people who came from Europe particularly heavily in this third wave of immigration to the United States. While it is not entirely foreign in human behavior for people to take on this kind of herding quality, it is not wholly instinctual and humans often acknowledge the animalistic nature of such behavior and thereby tend to avoid it in attempts to separate themselves from animals or what might otherwise be considered to be uncivilized behavior. Furthermore, humans often tend to become aggressive in such crowds unlike other pack animals which feel a sense of safety in such a vast numerical unit. The illustrator wishes then to acknowledge that while these people are humans (to be understood through the drawing of the human heads with highly

¹³⁸ cf. Mieder, Wolfgang. *The Pied Piper: a handbook*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2007. Print. (This is a comprehension examination of the origin and use of this tale in both narrative and visual history.)

individualized characteristics), the behavior they display is decidedly zoomorphic; animalistic in nature.

A further zoomorphic element which leads us to understand that the human-rats are to be viewed as animals is that they follow a leader who gives a tonal cue which they follow en masse. While this is again not a totally unknown phenomenon in the human realm, it is very often the case in large scale herding that the animals are directed through a series of prompts one of which can be sound. This especially brings to mind a herd of sheep that follow a shepherd. The uniform nature by which the movement implies in this illustration mimics the uniformity that such a herd of domesticated animals (of which rodents are not included) might show. The illustrator's intention, while not totally perceptible, could likely have been to convey a sense of gullibility and incomplete mental development on par with that of the human and as might be imagined in large scale domesticated animals or other animals which live in herds. Yet, this instinct is not solely animalistic although it is usually identified as such. Still, the notion of the herd-mind is one that is well-established with an ancestry reaching back as far as Trotter.¹³⁹

The final element, in terms of zoomorphic symbolism lies in the fact that some of the rats are holding torches, knives or papers in their mouths. Again, this is done to remind the viewer that these rodents are actually people who simply display all of the characteristics of rats. The words painted on the rats bodies which incite negative judgment by the viewer are done again to assure the viewer that these are not the relatively harmless although filthy and slightly dangerous rodents that they might be familiar with from overcrowded cities but that this breed of rodent is clever enough (via the human head) to be dangerous which is why the leaders of the European nations are so gleefully dancing on the shores of Europe and glad to see them go.

It can be determined then that there are three major zoomorphic icons at play in Ehrhart's illustration. Chief among these is the icon of the rodent and which brings illness and is unclean. The rodent is clearly to be vilified here as can be told from the grimacing faces and the weapons they hold in their mouths. Not to be overlooked are the pieces of paper in their mouths with the words 'black hand' on them with a black hand imprint. This is a reference to

¹³⁹ cf. Trotter, W. *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War, 1916-1919*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953. Print.

the mafia and the negative elements of organized crime.¹⁴⁰ Next, the herd or swarm icon is used to induce an element of fear based on simple numeric scale. This is separated from any human tendency towards similar behaviors by its great uniformity and single-mindedness. The last zoomorphic icon used here is in connection with the sea creature and while the rodent itself is not an amphibian (making a life in the water impossible for him) the connection to other symbols (which would have been actively viewed within the contemporaneous situation) would have formed a powerful association with the great unknown as evoked by the sea. Also, the fact that in reading the image the viewer is to understand that the rats would have a destination to reach, namely the United States symbolized here by the Statue of Liberty, it can be said to be an equation to sea worthy creatures.

Iconologically, the viewer's environment and the contemporaneous political goings-on would have greatly supported the reading of this image and specifically the icons previously mentioned, due to the incredible number of immigrants from Europe which were entering the United States through the processing station at Ellis Island, New York and flooding into the cities of mainly the north of the United States, most notably in New York City and Boston.

Just after the turn of the century, when this illustration was printed in *Puck*, the influx of immigrants was greater than ever before due to the demand for workers in the industrialized cities in the northern United States. Furthermore, the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the subsequent reconstruction had nearly come to an end meaning that there was peace and due to industrialization, prosperity of sorts that had been theretofore unknown. The great number of people fleeing lack of opportunities in Europe would have been looked upon with great suspicion from those immigrants who had already settled and made a life for themselves in the United States. It is also notable to remember that many immigrants had been enlisted to the Union Army and had actually fought for the unity of the country. The masses of new people were surely a threat to them and to their status quo and the peace that they had secured in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Thereby we are obliged to view the subjects of "*The Fool Pied Piper*" as immigrants who are coming to the United States not as seekers of opportunities which were formerly unavailable, but rather as criminals and elements destructive to established society. It follows that the viewer is also to view them as solely negative elements, for while they are drawn with

¹⁴⁰ cf. Nash, Jay Robert. *World Encyclopedia of Organized Crime*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1993. Print.

rodent bodies (utilizing all the negative ideas which come along with that image), the part of them which is human (their heads) holds weapons and display faces with expressions of aggression. The impulse to view them as people is squelched by the criminality which is attached to them, either through context or direct labeling using words.

The herd or swarm icon used by Ehrhart is an attempt to further highlight the number of the immigrants and the feeling of being inundated. The contemporaneous viewer of the day, especially in New York City where *Puck* was published, would have noticed the increasing number of new immigrants in the city and would have naturally wondered when the flow of immigrants would end. This uncertainty is highlighted by the fact that the illustrator uses a somewhat tenuous linkage to the water creature icon in order to intensify the viewer's feelings of uncertainty and a feeling of being at risk. The use of this particular icon deepens the sense of not only the unknown but the sheer scale of greatness that the introduction of new immigrants was taking. It also alludes to a section of the social milieu who was calling for a quota to be set on the number of immigrants allowed, and perhaps even in regards to country of origin. This would have not been an entirely unheard of motion considering the Chinese Exclusion Act had already set precedence for such legislation.¹⁴¹

In considering the reach of the contemporaneous scopic regime and its ability to match the social changes which were occurring at the time it is clear to see how a viewer would have read this illustration with a genuine sense of wariness. The goal of the illustrator is obviously to literally paint the picture as a negative one; the onslaught of criminality and social unrest and all due to the perceived lax immigration controls which were in place and the increasing rise of nativist sentiment among already established immigrant communities. In this case then, the illustration serves as a kind of foreshadowing mechanism, a warning of a sort, which would have been interpretable to the readers of *Puck*.

The choice of the rodent icon would have meant that the immigrants were to be devoid and inhuman and less civilized than the immigrants who had previously made their way to the United States. In addition, it would have been used to summons a level of fear and mistrust by highlighting that the numbers involved were so great that the 'native' inhabitants would be overwhelmed and unable to fight off the maladies which the rodents were sure to bring with them. The icon also symbolizes a foreboding unknown element as they were sure to arrive by sea and not perish as normal rodents might under such circumstances. Finally, the criminality of these rodents was such that they were sure to damage the foundations of the society as it

¹⁴¹ The Chinese Exclusion Act is discussed at length in the historic analysis regarding this period.

was already established. Moreover, the rodent icons serves to represent all three of these various negative implications in one while at the same time not forgetting that these animals were in fact people capable of unknown terrors and even sometimes involved in criminal organizations.

To conclude, "*Fool Pied Piper*" is an illustration which utilizes the basic fears that would have been surfacing amongst the old immigrant communities due to the high volume increase in immigration from Europe at the time of the images production. In using this easily recognizable icon of the rodent, the herd or swarm icon and the ocean creature implication, the artist combined the major elements of this civic phobia into one single picture in which he names the U.S. government as the culprit. The piece is by this means inherently political and not necessarily in a partisan way as has been seen in other illustrations with similar themes. There is no particular group vilified here outside of the rather general umbrella of European governments. As society at this time would have been subject to increased issues with integration, the decision to forego any particular group was likely done to achieve a kind of social cohesion among those who were to view this image. By attributing the zoomorphic characteristic to these immigrants, Ehrhart has attempted to totally erase their human qualities with the exception of those which would be highly undesirable to the contemporaneous society. The icon is used here to symbolize qualities which are dangerous, unwanted, undesirable, feared, hated and held in contempt and all of this negative value is expressed in this icon combination, but mostly through the use of the rodent.

5.4 Discourse Analysis Wave 3

While it can be assumed that the discursive formations as the basis of the previous wave's imagery (and as is evidenced by the illustrations and texts that enforce the acceptance and perpetuation of them), will be carried over into the next wave and the discourse which supported the creation of; *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*, *The American River Ganges*, *What Shall We Do with Our Boys?* *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* and *The Fool Pied Piper* will continue to exist within a contextually specific place; it is also valuable to realize that the discourse active in the second wave has evolved in some ways since the wave preceding it. What is more, the inclusion of examples which depict both the Chinese and the Irish are indicative of the ongoing tensions and social jockeying, shuffling and reorganizing which would have been taking place at the time but, interestingly the inclusion of immigrant groups heretofore unrepresented in this work (such as Eastern Europeans and Southern Europeans) shows the shifting demographics of immigrant arrivals and populations that were beginning to appear on the societal radar and which had previously either not been present in significant numbers in the United States of America, or at least were considerably absent from illustrations of immigrants until this point.

Another aspect that has been mostly unseen in terms of illustrations up until wave three is that of religion. Despite the projected reputation of the United States as a beacon of religious tolerance, imagery such as that which is presented in, *The American River Ganges*, began to shine light on the building anxiety felt by both nativist and already established immigrant communities who were largely protestant Christians, in relation to a perceived rush of Catholic immigrants and their ever-growing political influence. Notions of loyalty to the nation were becoming, for the first time in a long time, a very real hot-topic as there were doubts considering papal authority at a time when the end of the pope's sovereignty over the Papal States was just coming to an end. The idea that Catholics could bow to the church in submitting to the hierarchy which it entailed seemed to be counterintuitive to U.S. American sensibilities. Furthermore, the Catholic priesthood, who were active organizers in their communities, was thought by many to be possible agents of Rome who sought to overtake even the most banal aspects of American life such as school curricula. The growing clout of particular Catholic figures and their involvement in local, regional, and sometimes state legislative processes, was considered by many to be dubious and rife with the kind of corruption that many associated with the church at that time. This has been extensively reviewed in the historic section regarding this wave and through this and the pictorial

analyses, it can be seen how intimidated nativist sentiments were by the social mobility of the Irish in this new wave as well as by the arrival of many more new immigrants from that country who naturally brought their faith and particular customs with them. Statistically speaking, Catholicism also usurped a power position in regards to American confessions:

“[But] Catholics from various countries were the most numerous – and most noticed. In 1850 Catholics made up only five percent of the total U.S. population. By 1906, they made up seventeen percent of the total population (14 million out of 82 million people) – and constituted the single largest religious denomination in the country.”¹⁴²

The religious aspect is not the only new factor in the third wave of immigration represented in the illustrations chosen for this work however, also the growing distrust, resentment and calls for dealing with the Chinese issue are clearly present here. The work, *What Shall We Do with Our Boys* displays perfectly the tide of Sinophobic notions and attitudes that was pervasive. As also mentioned already in the historic section for this wave, the contemporaneous economic conditions, and a perception that the Chinese could never really be American, as well as the threat of cheap and efficient Chinese labor, all contributed to the calls for Chinese exclusion. The Chinese in the United States would later become the first ethnic group to have legislation enacted to restrict and end their immigration to the country specifically. The work chosen here illustrates how the more established U.S. Americans, who would have considered themselves ‘natives’, perceived Chinese industriousness/mobility as a leading contributor to such social ills as high unemployment. The Chinese were themselves however fleeing economic hardships in China caused by a great lack of proper administration:

“All these problems- faltering administration, widespread corruption, degeneration of the military and the pressures of a rising population – indicated that the ruling power had passed its peak. Ironically, internal economic and social changes, not unlike those taking place in Europe, only served to highlight the ineptness of the state...The country by 1800 had become vulnerable to both internal rebellion and external invasion. In this milieu, social dislocations intensified and, against such a backdrop, both migration and emigration became viable, even necessary possibilities for survival.”¹⁴³

¹⁴² Byrne, Julie. "Roman Catholics and Immigration in Nineteenth - Century America." *The Nineteenth Century*. National Humanities Center, Nov.2000. Web. 1 Apr 2013.

¹⁴³ Tong, Benson. *The New Americans: The Chinese Americans*. 1st ed. Westport, CT, USA: Greenwood Press, 2000. 19. eBook.

Furthermore, in this wave the appearance of not only the Irish and Chinese immigrants but also the Italian, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Greek immigrants who were arriving at this time in ever greater numbers, proved to be problematic and was seen as a threat not only to nativists but two other immigrant groups who were earlier arrivals and were insecure regarding their gains made in the climbing of the social approval ladder. As is evidenced through the inclusion here of, *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground*, the Italians were perhaps generally thought to be agents of organized crime and additionally threatening- Catholic (this has already been explored in the historic analysis). Certainly the prejudice that Italians would bring with them the criminal element which was associated with parts of their homeland and the behaviors that accompanied that was present. A similar effect was achieved with, *The Fool Pied Piper* which illustrates not only the fear of criminal and undesirable elements of society but also the continued flooding of immigrants into the United States from areas where immigration to America was previously not the norm. Countries from Eastern and Southern Europe were now also beginning to be represented in the U.S. American immigration fabric, but not without friction.

The following analysis will follow the same trajectory as was used in the discourse analysis for wave two and therefore, Gee's tool-kit questions will also be used here to assist in the directing and refining of the exploration of the discursive formations that were present in the environments surrounding the creation of the illustrations.¹⁴⁴ Again, the text which accompanies the illustrations will be examined insofar as they inform the reading of the images and help to shine light onto the contemporaneous attitudes and beliefs which were somehow attendant in the making of the illustrations. Finally, as was previously the case, these reviewed semi-structures will show how the viscosity of the time would have been informed by the prevalent social norms and also by the particular scopic regime which was to some degree already established and functioning. This in turn will help to form the links between the different waves of immigration and to show that there is indeed imagery which is consistent throughout them.

Taking the example of, *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*, by Thomas Nast for Harper's Weekly, there are immediately similarities between the subject being depicted in this sample and depictions from the preceding wave. Most striking is the reusing of the simian, apish iconography which causes an immediate reading of sub-humanity, and the implied aggressive action evoking the same connotations of carelessness, lawlessness, recklessness

¹⁴⁴ These questions have been provided at the start of the wave two discourse analyses along with their respective footnotes.

and a lack of civilization that was seen in Nast's previous works in the wave two examples. As the previous works reviewed have not contained such a large amount of text as this one, it is important to take into account the illustrator's decision in including these words, which form a kind of backdrop to the keg, resembling a wall behind, upon which sits the Irish subject and reads: EVERYTHING OBNOXIOUS TO US SHALL BE ABOLISHED. SLAUGHTER OF PEACEFUL LAW-ABIDING IRISH CITIZENS. MASSACERED BY RIOTOUS MILITIA. SEE THE IRISH PAPERS. FENIAN COUNCILS. HANG THE DUTCH GOVERNOR. ENGLISH GOLD. IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC CAN STAND THE TABLET. OUR LIBERTY HAS BEEN TAKEN AWAY-KILLING ORANGEMEN. DOWN WITH THE BASE HIRELING POLICE. PEACEFUL CITIZENS MUST AVENGE THE MASSACRE OF THE 12th INSTANT. THE WRETCH-THE BUTCHER OF DUTCH DESCENT. MASS MEETING. WE MUST RULE.

Just as has been seen before with Nast's illustration, the text included in the illustration in this case, induced fear and anxiety. Certainly words such as slaughter, massacred, riotous, militia, hang, doubtful, taken away, killing, base, avenge, the wretch and the butcher do not lend themselves to interpretations which are immediately positive. The activity which is being communicated here is nothing short of anarchy and lawlessness. Though these words are plastered behind the subject and seem to act as a kind of platform for his position, listing Irish complaints with the societal conditions and the dealing with of the Irish by government officials and police, espousing their sense of victimization as 'law-abiding Irish citizens', the sentiment is ironically against the Irish, purposefully juxtaposed by the inclusion of the dehumanizing zoomorphic imagery. This effect is brought on not only because this text forms the background but because the creator of this work has chosen these words in particular and put them together not only with the zoomorphic iconography and the greater image that the illustration is composed of, but more so that they are all there together; still all together the entire composition creates a distinct discursive formation agented via this illustration:

"...more than a statement is often required to effect a speech act: an oath, a prayer, a contract, a promise or a demonstration usually require a certain number of distinct formulas or separate sentences: it would be difficult to challenge the right of each of these formulas or separate sentences to be regarded as a statement on the pretext that they are all imbued with one and the same speech act. In that case, it might be said that the act itself does not remain the same throughout the series of statements; that in a prayer there are as many limited, successive, and juxtaposed acts of prayer as demands formulated by distinct statements; and that in a promise

there are as many engagements as sequences that can be individualized into separate statements.”¹⁴⁵

Gee, in regards to images specifically, echoes the same notion that the agency of the words/images is not restricted to the single unit of communication but a new, or at least different meaning can be gathered through the composition:¹⁴⁶

“But many images contain words as well. When an image contains words...the words play two roles. In one role they are elements in language that we can analyze [along the lines of this book]. In another role they are elements in the image and need to be analyzed as part of the image. We always want to ask what do the words add to the image (or its elements) and what does the image (or its elements) add to the words and how and what did combining the words and image communicate that could not have been communicated (at least not in the same way) by images or words alone.”¹⁴⁷

Furthermore, the status quo being bucked here is that of the powerful non-immigrant groups, which Nast is channeling, and this is clear because though a simple reading of the background text might insinuate that the Irish are enduring great injustices, the choice of anxiety and fear inducing language, combined with the imagery and finally the accompany text which is borrowed from a publication called *Irish People*, mean to instill a sense that the Irish are prepared to seek vengeance and have gone mad with a vendetta against the rule of law as they declare ‘we must rule’. And, through this pairing of image and wording, a discursive formation arises which, in tandem with the already established history of marginalization of Irish immigrants expounded upon in the previous wave, make it possible today to read this image (with a degree of certainty) as it likely would have been read in the time of its publication.

Those who side with the institutions that the Irish feel wronged them, have in this example, a cause to mistrust the Irish and continue seeing them as uncivilized and crazed. The viewer/reader is asked to take up the identity of one who appreciates the benefit of authority and rule of law. Additionally, an identity being reinforced here is one of a ‘true’ U.S.

¹⁴⁵ Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books Ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 83. Print.

¹⁴⁶ It is important to note here that both Foucault and Gee do not limit the agency and its full expression, definition and interpretation to only these compositions and recognize that ‘more’ can be, and is, created via precisely unknowable factors such as the author’s/illustrator’s personal convictions and intentions.

¹⁴⁷ Gee, James Paul. *How to do Discourse Analysis: A Tool Kit*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 2011. 190. Print.

American citizen as is evidenced by the inclusion of phrases such as; law-abiding Irish citizens, see the Irish papers, and Killing Orangemen. With the use of these phrases, the viewer can instantaneously deduce that the subject is being shown to be someone who identifies more with Irishness than with U.S. American citizenry, for the subjects are referred to not as U.S. Americans but as ‘law-abiding Irish citizens’ and are thereby cast in the role of foreigners and outsiders. Finally, a biased protest view is identified with which is understood by the inclusion of, ‘KILLING ORANGEMEN’ and by that, the killing of mainly Northern-Irish, Protestant Irish immigrants to the United States who likely would have already been more established. Furthermore, the accompanying text excerpt from the Irish publication, indeed paints the Irish as being not only opposed to law and order as commonly understood but also in opposition to the Orangemen, thereby in opposition to the Protestant Anglo majority who had established order through previous waves of immigration and the building of society and social order once arrived and over the course of many years. This displayed recognition that the Irish would continue the strife that they had perpetuated in Ireland between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. All of these are subtleties used to push the subject outside the bounds of normalcy, beyond what is acceptable and trustworthy:

“The otherness of the ‘they,’ the sixteen million new immigrants from Ireland and Southern and Eastern Europe, had to be exaggerated – even to the point of equating other ethnicities with various types of low animals – in order to emphasize what was, in the end, a constructed notion of dominant, Anglo ‘whiteness’.”¹⁴⁸

Finally, the words included on the keg, the bottle and what appears to be either an appliqué or a piece of paper near the Irishman’s left boot, also inform the viewer of the status of being ‘other’ or an ‘outsider’ in terms of lawfulness as is indicated by the words; RUM, GUM POWDER- UNCLE SAM’S and SPIRIT OF ’76. The word rum (used here to label the bottle so that the viewer cannot doubt its contents) definitely connotes strong alcohol and the social ills that can arise from over-consumption, something which the Irish were stereotyped with. Furthermore, the other labeling, that on the barrel tells us that its contents are gun powder and that it belongs to the U.S. government (Uncle Sam being a ubiquitous symbol and name for that institution). Of course, the combination of gun powder and fire is explosive and that may be why ‘spirit of ’76’ is included to conjure images of the revolution against Great Britain and simultaneously for the viewer, images of war, destruction and anarchy. The religious aspect was but one contributor to the characterization of the Irish as being unsuited

¹⁴⁸ Kobre, Sidney. *The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism*. 1st ed. Tallahassee, FL, USA: Florida State University , 1964. 2-3. Print.

to Americanization and they were looked upon with great disdain and suspicion mostly due to their religion and economic standing, an attitude that had existed previously but which solidified in around 1830 and by the time of the second wave was a bona fide reality of the Irish immigration:

“In New England, many Americans thought the Irish threatened Anglo-Saxon civilization. Irish immigration coincided with the democratic worship of the common man popular during the era of President Andrew Jackson. Some Yankees questioned Irish allegiance, doubting that they could become ‘true Americans’ because of dual loyalty to a religious monarchy and a liberal democracy. For a time, some Anglo-Americans even refused to accept Irish immigrants as white people because ‘whiteness’ for them included more than complexion. Because of their poverty and their Roman Catholicism, the immigrant Irish sometimes occupied a rung on the social ladder not far above slaves and free blacks. In anti-Irish editorial cartoons of the era, the immigrants often appeared as primates more evocative of chimpanzees than of *Homo Sapiens*.”¹⁴⁹

The theme of religious strife continues in the second example of the wave two illustrations as is clearly seen in another Thomas Nast illustration, *The American River Ganges* also from Harper’s Weekly. A primary scanning of this work leads to an instantaneous recognition of the presence of fear and fright which is represented here through the use of the figure of a group of children on the shore who are being protected by a larger subject. The larger subject, though displaying resolve and strength, shields the younger, smaller, more vulnerable children who are obviously distressed and frightened. It is perhaps not instantaneously understood from what the children are being protected, nor what they are so frightened of, but upon very close review of what appears to be crocodiles that are approaching the shore, it can be deduced that these reptiles are actually human subjects-attired as Catholic bishops. The human subjects, through the use of zoomorphic imagery have been dehumanized and turned into amphibious and mysterious creatures of the sea that intend malice and are predatory in nature. So, the initial impact of the work is one that displays simultaneous fear and then also displays the predatory and aggressive nature that is conveyed by the particular use of the similarities of the particular vestments of Catholic bishops and the non-human form of crocodiles. This image is especially shocking in relation to the American ideal of heroism coming from the sea, even more so from European shores to those of America, an archetype which reaches back to Columbus’ arrival in the ‘New World.’ The

¹⁴⁹ Olson, James S., and Heather Olson Beal. *The Ethnic Dimension in American History*. 4th ed. Chichester, UK: Wiley - Blackwell, 2010. 75. Print.

construction of identities concerning those who have crossed the sea, but also of the sea itself (and presumably for this text, all that is in it) is explored by Donald P. Wharton in his essay on symbol and myth in sea literature. While the focus here is on literature, if the scope is broadened the same conclusions can be drawn concerning pictorial images inasmuch as they are a communicative medium such as literature is:

“As readers, our capacity for sea literature rests in large part on our receptiveness to this archetypal journey which speaks to mythical truths transcending cultures. In this journey the sea assumes a double role. It is the field of action on which separation and transformation are played out.”¹⁵⁰

Indeed, the notion of transformation, applies to the vast oceans that are the extreme east and west of the United States, but when transposed here to the bishops-cum-crocodiles, transformation applied also to the journey from human to animal and the ocean as the journey field upon which that transformation becomes possible through the appropriation of contemporaneous issues, “So it is that sea literature is always among other things, a struggle between timeless myth and the literary style of a particular age. The experience is elemental; the telling is shaped by language and culture, which are always changing.”¹⁵¹

As the identity of the Catholic immigrants evolves in this work into one that is predatory and aggressive, it must be assumed that the viewer is to understand that there was a general mistrust of the growing influence that Catholics (particularly Irish Catholics) had, to understand this however, the viewer must assume the identity of one who is able to recognize the non-human, or at least the severely threatening subjects as Catholic, here likely Irish. The imposing structure in the background, mimicking St. Peter's in the Vatican, certainly would have been understood to be a symbol of the Catholic power structure and its imminent invasion via immigrants of the United States. The viewer is then not only asked to assume the identity of the normalized Protestant majority, but also as one who realizes and sympathizes with anti-Catholic sentiments and this is at least partially carried out with the zoomorphic imagery which is used to debase and disassociate.

As it is known from the pictorial analysis that the larger subject standing in front of the children in order to protect them, is likely a Protestant, it can be said that within the dominant

¹⁵⁰ Wharton, Donald P. "Hudson's Mermaid: Symbol and Myth in Early American Sea Literature." Trans. Array *Early American Literature and Culture: Essays Honoring Harrison T. Meserole*. 1st. Cranbury, NJ, USA: Associated University Presses, 1992. 40. Print.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

visuality of the time, that the viewer is asked to take on the identity of a protestant protector of innocence (an innocence that may even represent the young nation of the United States). Further, the viewer is asked to identify as sympathizing with the sensibilities of those protestant children and not those of the animalistic and opportunistic Catholic hierarchy which many new Irish immigrants would have known of and been familiar with and which contemporaneously involved itself with schooling leading to a protestant backlash and the passing of legislation in many states and nearly an amendment to the U.S. constitution.¹⁵² The viewer should relate to the need to protect the innocent and what has been established on this new land, and not with a foreign element wishing to exert control in this case particularly in the school system.

Additionally, a binary has again been created in this illustration as has been seen before in the wave one illustrations. The binary is to be built by the viewer from pre-existing notions which would have been actively incorporated in the discourse surrounding the creation of these images. Nast can certainly be considered an agent of this discourse as he was at the time working for a major media outlet such as Harper's Weekly with an active agentive role in molding not only the scopic regime but the discourse which simultaneously informed, perpetuated and reformed itself.¹⁵³ The binary shaped here is that of the innocent and vulnerable and therein the good, and on the other hand, the reptilian, mysterious sea being who is actively invading the shore with open mouths and in a manner which would be totally contrary to how humans swim according to their physiological limitations, and therefore again, immigrants and those aligned with them, have been dehumanized through the use of zoomorphic imagery. This time however, the imagery is so vastly foreign and non-human that

¹⁵² Duncan, Kyle. "Secularism's Laws: State Blain Amendments and Religious Persecution." *Fordham Law Review*. 72.3 (2003). Print.

¹⁵³ This refers to Gee's concept that images (and language) do not merely communicate the wholeness (akin to the Foucauldian 'more') but are contextually specific whereby there is an element that is also not communicated or 'unsaid' because it does not need to be as the reader/viewer will be able to complete the communication due to their experience with the medium and from personal and societal experiences. Therein, the language/image does not simply convey communication but is agentive (there is something which it compels to be done) in that it asks or provokes the reader/viewer to finish the communication. This reading of images in cooperation with the viewer's task of finishing its meaning within a given context is what Gee refers to as a 'social language.' Like real language, social language is patterned and possesses style but more importantly it possesses a channeling power. The surrounding context, including societal and personal factors, all play a role in the pattern making process which in turn are converted into units which make it possible for the receiver to 'finish' the communication. Furthermore, these units are not stagnant - being highly susceptible to change according to context and the experiences of the receiver and therefore are reformed, perpetuated and morphing ceaselessly.

even land animals have been ignored as a whole in favor of cold-blooded animals from the water.

Of interest here is also the language, particularly the title; *American River Ganges*, which evokes images of foreignness and distance but also of the mystic and religious connotations that that Indian river would have held in the popular imagination and again the implication that this distant river, a waterway, was unknown; recalling the mysteriousness of water and thereby the creatures that inhabit it. It is possible that with this inclusion the viewer is meant to identify the non-human subjects as being as foreign as possible and not only dangerous in an immediate physical sense but also culturally. Therefore, the taking up of identities on the part of the viewer happens in such a way that the viewer is not to identify with the entire environment geographically (evidenced via the insertion of locations which do not exist in the American landscape such as St. Peter's in the Vatican and the Ganges of the Indian sub-continent). The bishops, who represent not only the church's power, but the growing power of the Irish immigrants and their foundations of civic empowerment through the church apparatus and affiliates,¹⁵⁴ are viewed as not only dangerous and threatening, but also foreign, not belonging and strongly opposed to the norms which have already been established in society before their arrival in the country.

What Shall We Do With Our Boys by George Frederick Keller again summons the notion of a foreign sea creature (an octopus), but this time, without any water at all. The Chinaman who is depicted as a multi-armed, multi-tasking, job thief in this illustration is in stark contrast to those 'American' boys who wait outside for work. The Chinese subject here has been depicted by Keller in a grotesque and contorted manner so that it is possible for him to complete many tasks at once. This is a direct statement regarding the efficiency and ambition of the Chinese in the United States and the fear that they will leave the 'natives' jobless. The entire backdrop here being the general economic depression (1882 – 1885) that was taking place contemporaneously and the loss of jobs, while at the same time the Chinese image was seen as one, which through their willingness to do menial jobs for lower wages, undermined the chances of 'native' workers who demanded more compensation for their work.

¹⁵⁴ An example of an affiliate organization would include Tammany Hall, a socio-political institution that was tied to the Democratic Party ticket and was supported widely by the urban Irish immigrants of New York City. (See historical analysis for wave two for more on Tammany Hall)

Just looking at the image, we can see that the illustrator has included a wall between the Chinese which the viewer can see through but which separates the image into two defined visual fields, the larger belonging to the Chinese which is perhaps also a mention of their domination, or at least a feeling that they are consuming more of the social, public or even economic sphere than deemed appropriate through the dominant power elite's gaze which is exacerbated by the animalistic imagery in that the human-animal binary is also traditionally fixed and static with a boundary clearly drawn between human and animal. Thereby the activity being created here is one of delineation between two separate groups of subjects; the Chinese and the nativists. The identity of the 'other' or the outsider is established with the use of the zoomorphic attributions (this has been expounded upon in the pictorial analysis) and the exclusion of zoomorphic imagery in regards to the non-immigrant subjects. Two identities have been constructed here; human and non-human or the insider and the outsider. As calls for quotas on the numbers of Chinese allowed into the United States were becoming louder and leading up to an eventual legislative response which was Chinese exclusion, this image would have certainly played to viewers sensibilities that felt the same kind of insecurity which is highlighted in this work. Therefore, it can be said that the norm here is being established by the white power elite who had been accustomed to safe and secure job positions and that due to the economic conditions at the time and their unwillingness to do menial tasks at cheap prices, the Chinese 'outsiders' must be the cause and the enemy. This socio-economic exile is indeed highlighted by the wall separating the subjects and their species specific characteristics and thereby the exclusion of the Chinaman from the human category, seeing him rather as a threatening animal, the primal other:

"If humanism is the doctrine of humanity, then it is also the doctrine of its 'others.' To be able to place humans at the center of the world, one must firstly separate them from that world. Humanism therefore relies upon making an essentialist distinction between humanity and its others, let us call them 'non-humans,' as the word is fittingly anthropocentric in its logic, presuming such human uniqueness as would render the homogenous category of 'non-humans' somehow meaningful. This division takes many forms, but perhaps the most basic and persistent is the subject-object dualism, which has structured Western ontology since Ancient Greece, and is nothing less than foundational for modernity. Humans are subjects, while non-humans are objects, it tells us, and from this essential difference all else follows...., [But] humanist discourse supposes this dialectical interrelationship, rendering it an asymmetric dualism and inscribing humans and non-humans as incommensurable, as though they belong to different ontological domains or sectors of reality. This in turn enables humanity to be elevated and centralized, while its necessary other – its very conditions of

existence – are suppressed and marginalized, relegated to the status of a ‘context,’ a mere ground upon which the human subject stands.”¹⁵⁵

Of interest is also the use of text in the image, which while sparse is effective in its support of the asserted identities discussed immediately before. First, the title of this piece, *What Shall We Do With Our Boys?* uses the possessive pronoun; the creator of the image has constructed a basis of identity and belonging, but where there is belonging there is automatically one who does not belong. Also, by referring to the non-Chinese subjects as ‘boys’ those who would have viewed this image sympathetically would have likely been called to take up the identity that comes with siding with the young, innocent and those who are ‘our’ wards. Within the visuality that dominated at the time, viewers would have certainly felt compelled to identify themselves with the poor ‘native’ victims at the hands of the Chinese who undercut their economic chances.

The phrase printed on a plank of board, CHINESE TRADE MONOPLY encourages the viewer to relate this behavior of monopolizing and eschewing healthy competition to the Chinese immigrants and their industrious ways. Moreover, the phrase asks the viewer to fully understand the threat posed not only to the socio-dominant elite but also to the economic health of the nation as the word monopoly is, within a capitalist context, undoubtedly negative and is itself the result of aggressive action opposed to free market enterprise. This means that the Chinese subject, through both the use of zoomorphic imagery (the alluding to the sea creature/octopus) and selected vocabulary which bring to mind concepts which are contradictory to those which the U.S. Americans identify as fair and part of the established American socio-economic system.

Next, illustrator Louis Dalrymple working for Judge created the image entitled, *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* where again the image of an animal emerging from the sea displays a kind of invasion and infestation of foreigners who bring with them the recurring disparities and conflicts that arise within each and every immigration wave to the United States. Through the use of the rat as a stand-in for the immigrants, the artist calls upon the connotations of the rat as a bringer of disease and also an animal which thrives on filth and sanitary disorder. Furthermore, that the rats are wearing hats and some of them head bands which display slogans or words calling back the socio-cultural problems that many of them

¹⁵⁵ Nimmo, Richie. "The Making of the Human: Anthropocentrism in Modern Social Thought." Trans. Array *Anthropocentrism*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2011. 60-61. Print.

were fleeing in their homelands in reality but were seen in nativist terms as being possibly the only contributions of these new Americans and is an imagery that is solely negative.

Using the icon of the rat, the viewer is reminded of a kind of early and primitive recognition that has existed between the human species and the rat for ages. While the rat is seen almost universally in western terms as an animal which brings diseases such as the plague, the idea that these rats are imported rather establishes a norm which is set exclusively by those nativist sentiments which exist already in the United States. If this were not the case, then there would be no inclusion of the imagery regarding importation such as the ship and the rats swimming to shore necessary. The idea that the rats come from the sea, which recalls the sea creature and those connotations which were explored in relation to the previous illustration, is unrealistic yet effective in that it stresses not only the vileness of the rats but also the invasive tendency they possess, in this case coming from shores afar to invade those in the United States of America.¹⁵⁶

The identity socially that is being enacted here is that of the 'outsider', 'the invader' and the 'other' and in the construction of those identities there is also the inherent exclusion of them as humans and a nearly complete identification of them as non-human animals (in this case rats from the Old World bringing the problems of the Old World to the new). The identity is not only negative and seen as foreign and not belonging, but also as diminutive in the face of the giant Uncle Sam who towers above them and is visually much mightier, and yet in this illustration it is noticed that there is only the one Uncle Sam figure and a multitude of foreign rats being dumped onto the shores of the U.S.A. in such an unrestricted manner that the illustrator even used this particular word in the title of the work. The size of Uncle Sam in comparison is great in relation to the animals, but they are so many that he is inundated and overwhelmed by their onslaught. While these interpretations have been included in the pictorial analysis, it is important to review them here as they are parts of the identity building process and the reading of this image contemporaneously would have obviously taken the connotations which are synonymous with rats, even contemporarily, into account.

Looking at just the title of the work, *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground*, it is firstly clear that the inclusion of the word 'unrestricted' is done in order to express a lack of control on the part of the U.S. government. To be without restriction rather insists that anything is possible and that there are no rules. Again, the viewer has been faced with anarchy and is

¹⁵⁶ Werness, Hope B. "Rat." *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*. New York, NY: 2006. Print.

further drawn to this conclusion through the use of words such as a 'mafia' which is displayed on the headwear of some of the rats. This inducing of fear by concluding that the introduction of these new immigrants would bring about organized criminal organizations can be carried out with the inclusion of this single word- mafia. Therefore, clearly the language used treats the immigrants as outsiders who are not only numerous, but invasive and a negative influence on U.S. American society determined to bring along with them the criminal activities for which they had been infamous in Europe.

Also, by including the words, DIRECT FROM THE SLUMS OF EUROPE DAILY, on the box which is being emptied onto the shores at the feet of Uncle Sam an identity is being recognized for the immigrants that is thoroughly negative but also from a socio-economic standpoint, also biased through the implication that only poor and destitute slum dwellers were arriving in the United States from Europe daily. While it is certainly true that the majority of immigrants to the United States from Europe were seeking economic opportunities unavailable to them in their original countries, the connotations which are called upon with the word 'slum' informs the viewer as to how they should certainly view themselves as superior in at least socio-economic means to those new arrivals. Therein, the identity being constructed has been compounded to include not only filthy, dangerous, negative and outsider, but also poor and economically uncompetitive.

Indeed, the subjects are invited to take up identities which adhere to every immigrant cliché possible, which would have been known and circulated amongst those already settled in the United States (as is the nature of a cliché), and are invited to see the United States as a land that is a 'dumping ground' and not a place of civilization at all. They are asked to see their new homeland as a place where things are 'unrestricted' and thereby lawless and without order whereby they can invade and have their way with any criminal or negative intent that they may wish to assume. All in all, the viewer of this work is called upon to view the immigrants as sub-human agents of anarchy and the immigrants themselves, are afforded a view of the United States as a land where they are free to do anything (exclusively negative) that they wish to.

The Fool Pied Piper, by S.D. Ehrhart for Puck magazine is another image which draws heavily on the sea imagery, but also on the rodent as a harbinger of malice and bad luck. This work completed and published in 1909, six years after Dalrymple's work with similar themes shows the discursive formations surrounding immigrants from Europe had not really evolved in that time period. Furthermore, this work also attests to the fact that a general

feeling of unrestricted and unbridled acceptance of immigrants to the U.S. American shores was still viewed as damaging and negative. Taking into consideration the historic context of the image of the pied piper and the story, it is easy to see that the view here is in fact negative and that would be so even if the piper were not being trailed, as is the case, by rodents from various European nations (but certainly implied would have been those countries in Europe where immigrants were newly immigrating from, such as Italy and the Eastern countries) bound for the United States. Therefore it can be seen here that again, the activity of fleeing origins and flooding into the United States without any measurable hurdles is being built. This action, on the part of the immigrants would have been not only accurate but easily observable during the time in which this illustration was created as this particular wave saw a huge influx of immigrants from nations that were previously underrepresented in the U.S. American immigrant identity. The notion that immigration is being allowed without any restraints and that the United States is to suffer for this is quite evident and is symptomatic of the shock felt by 'nativist' sentiments about these 'new' immigrants:

“There is no question that the harsh reception and outright discrimination that Italian immigrants faced was conditioned by contemporary phenomena, such as neo-Darwinian racist theories that saw Italians and other Mediterraneans and Eastern European immigrants as belonging to inferior groups.”¹⁵⁷

The title of the work includes the word 'fool' and this denotes idiocy or some aspect of simple-mindedness. In this way the discursive environment has then simultaneously created and perpetually identified (at least since 1903 as was seen in the previous example within this particular context and pertaining to this particular imagery) again, a binary position between the immigrants and that image of the piper who is an anthropomorphic representation of the United States although not quite the Uncle Sam figure so common place in the visual culture during the time of the image's inception. While the piper is here also not to be sympathized with as he is leading the rodents (representing refuse and disease) to the U.S. shores and thereby participating in something detrimental to the U.S., he is still less abhorrent than the rodents- humans that have been reduced to animals via the use of zoomorphic imagery. As there is no visible morphology in the rats, we have to look at that which has been undertaken by Uncle Sam in relation to the immigrant subjects. Therein is the polarization of the two groups: motley European immigrants and a dumbed-down Uncle Sam/ Pied Piper, who is actually through his benevolent ignorance, harming the society that he represents. The norm is

¹⁵⁷ Connell, William J., and Fred Gerdaphe. *Anti-Italianism: Essays on Prejudice*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010. 18. Print.

being set by viewers who have no interest in the continuation of open and welcoming immigrant policies but also who see the actions of the government in relation to immigration policies as foolish.

The active discourse(s) surrounding these images must have been such that it would have been possible for viewers to determine that the sentiments intended (or at minimum those which were being expressed in a public enough fashion that the traditional story being usurped here for the purposes of anti-immigration propaganda would have been easily identifiable and recallable) would have clearly recognized and sympathized with the United States as the destination where these rodents were destined to end up. Moreover, as was similarly the case with the former illustration in which immigrants were depicted as rodents, the identities that are being imposed upon the immigrants here are of a disease bringer, problem bringer, the impending herd which will swarm and take over and who is bent on destruction. This can be safely assumed due to the illustrator's choice to use a zoomorphic icon which would be so easily recognizable and which brings such negative connotations with it.

Here again, a power elite is the discourse catalyst for the reading of this image as is seen by the dehumanization of the immigrants, the mockery of the government and even more so, there must have existed a group for the illustrator to use as inspiration when creating the image so that he could be sure that the images in the illustration would be readable. This all means that discursive agents must have been in a dominant enough position contemporaneously that readers/viewers would not have read themselves in the work, but 'other' different immigrants who were bringing nothing but trouble with them. It could be therefore implied that those who properly read this image as it was intended to be read at the time (although this is something of an educated guess as there are no illustrator's notes or explanations available), were actually enabled through their own place in society as discourse creators and supporters, to dehumanize the immigrant subjects, to make a fool out of the American government due to perceived negative or lagging immigration restrictions, and to be ensured that they themselves were not being displayed in this illustration but rather the newest immigrants- the European rejects.

Lastly, this identity as belonging to an earlier immigrant group, a nativist identity, that is capable of casting judgments on the quality and intentions of newly arrived immigrants, only further strengthens the assertion that the identity being reinforced here is not only the negative one which is projected upon the immigrants but also the negative nativist ideological

one which is being paired to those immigrant communities which were already well established in the United States and were starting possible to identify themselves more with their new country than with their homelands. Viewers are asked through the visual reading of this image to take up the identity of one of the trouble making new arrivals or as an American, established in the United States and following (and adapting to) U.S. American customs.

5.5 Conclusion of Wave 3

The analyses that have been undertaken in this chapter have all been done so with the aim of showing that there is an identifiable presence of zoomorphic imagery that is pervasive from the former wave to this one. Additionally, the illustrations chosen here are also indicative of the contemporaneous changes that were taking place in the United States due to increased immigration. In fact, the wave three illustrations chosen in this work demonstrate, as would have been parallel in society at the time, the apex of immigration as it showcases the largest collection of examples pertaining to one wave in this work. This is because, as has already been stated in the historic section, immigration to the United States peaked during this wave.

The illustrations chosen here; *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*, *The American River Ganges*, *What Shall We Do With Our Boys?*, *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* and *The Fool Pied Piper* were all chosen as they demonstrably contain zoomorphic iconography, and because they are proof of a solid link between the zoomorphic iconography that was seen in wave two and this third wave. In fact, the presence of Nast's already established Irish ape is the subject of the first work which was examined in this section- *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*. The simian features are again observed in the subject and Nast has again used a familiarized (by this time) but wholly unflattering means by which to convey the continuity of the Irish immigrant problem in the United States.

The pictorial analysis of this particular work is also a result of a standard iconographic analysis and later a secondary textual analysis undertaken in regards to the text and the title, but also the placing of the imagery within observed discursive formations. Additionally, all that is written here in this particular illustration is very much an agent for the fully negative visual image that accompanies the text. There is therefore interplay between the visual and the text based material with mutual contributions to the illustration on the part of the illustrator as result of his inclusion of small texts in this and other similar works. It can then be assumed that although the primary end of the work was to enflame nativist sentiments and turn people against the Irish for being wild and crazy, that it also serves as a means by which the Irish are associated with the fear of social upheaval, the fear of a catastrophe and the fear of looming American racial issues and even a certain tension with hierarchical awareness.

The dehumanization is no less in, *The American River Ganges* whereby the threat of Irish Catholicism and its influence over political mechanisms is presented. The Irish are

similarly dehumanized as they were in the previous illustration and yet a whole different animal life form is called upon. The imagery of the Irish as alligators or crocodiles, predatory and aggressive, works in tandem not only to propel the viewer to understand the priests as dangerous but also to see that these subjects, despite their impressive attire, are not really human at all but sea creatures from the unknown who wish to instill havoc. Further, with the inclusion of the discourse analysis for this picture the consideration that language plays in the reception of the image is highlighted by the title of the work and then the connotations which immediately come to mind appertaining to India and the river Ganges.

Another sea creature is presented next in, *What Shall We Do With Our Boys?* and again the image is being used to instill the kind of fears invoked from unknown situations and unexplored oceans. The previous sections have shown that the octopus iconography used here to portray the Chinese is relevant within the this work in that it shows that the iconography migrates even within the individual waves and in slighter time increments, but it is the discursive formation which informs that image that is actually impacting not only the image, but further discourses and in turn influences the imagery's migration too.

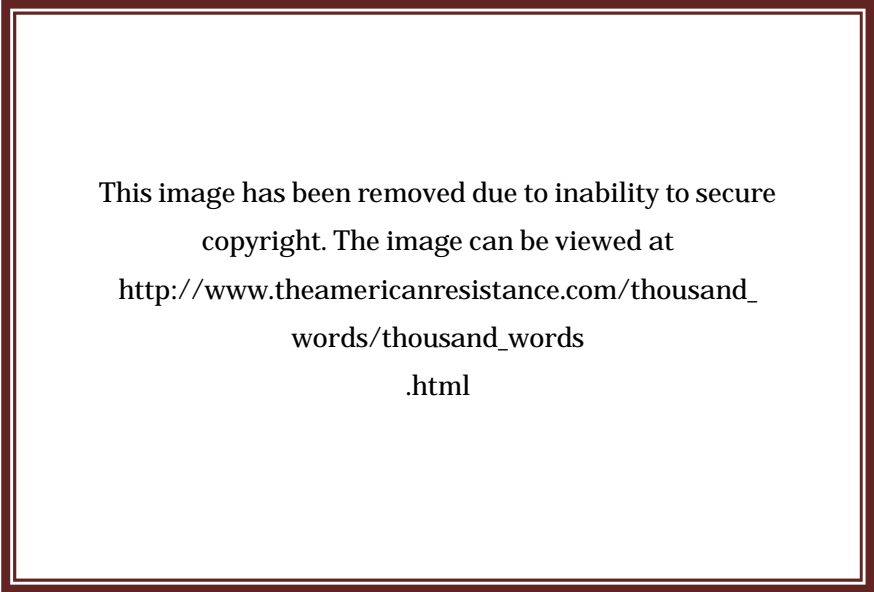
The final two examples chosen for this wave can be coupled together because in both; *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* and *The Fool Pied Piper* immigrants are drawn as rats and moreover rats coming either from or to the sea, as if it were normal for rats to live in water. The various negative connotations which accompany the image of a rat are a part of what is being said here (about immigrants) in addition to what is seen - and the words/titles being used also form a pillar upon which the interplay between social discourse, zoomorphic iconography and the important events of the day all act and react so that they at once create and are created by each other. This self perpetuation is the formation itself and the formation, in this case, is an imagery which migrates from the 1870s to nearly a decade after the turn of the following century.

Finally, it is observable that in the timeframe established for wave three in this work, that there are clearly imageries which have migrated from the second wave of immigration; the simian Irish and the animalistic Asian (although it is valuable to note that the consistency of the assigning of specific animal characteristics to the Asian subjects seems to be much more random than with other subjects). The imagery includes, as mentioned, not only the pictures here but also the title of the work which gives insight into the interpretation of the image and so it is easy to accept that the two elements which compose this work complement

each other in their dehumanization (through zoomorphic iconography) of the immigrant subjects.

6.0

The Immigrant Swarm: contemporary depictions of immigrants as insects and rodents (post 1960)



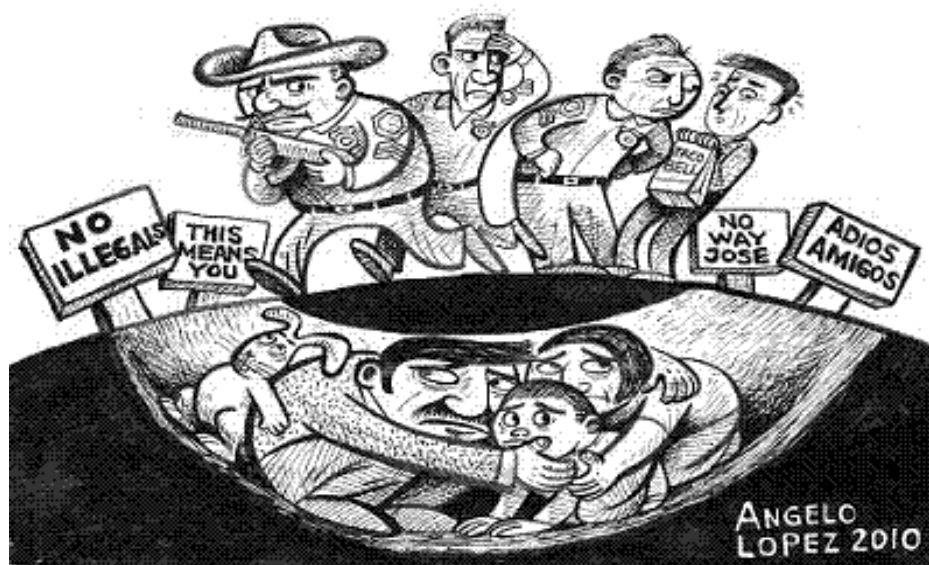
This image has been removed due to inability to secure
copyright. The image can be viewed at
[http://www.theamericanresistance.com/thousand_
words/thousand_words
.html](http://www.theamericanresistance.com/thousand_words/thousand_words.html)

Sleeping Uncle Sam Is Overwhelmed By Illegal Alien Invasion by Bill Garner

(The Washington Times, ca. 2005)



Shadow Immigrants by Pat Bagley (Salt Lake City Tribune, 2006)



Underground Immigrants by Angelo Lopez (Everyday Citizen, 2010)

6.1 Introduction to Wave 4

The illustrations chosen for the wave four analyses are all prime examples of a kind of implicit zoomorphism, which while not as obvious as the zoomorphic examples included in the previous waves, shows that there is a continual use of zoomorphic imagery even up to the present. These examples also all include text samples which just as in the examples already presented here, help to further the exclusion of certain subjects while working in tandem with the zoomorphic iconography. Finally, there is also the historic background which needs to be taken into consideration and this reflects issues that are contemporary, for these examples take the analyses all the way up to today and encompass the ongoing debate regarding immigration to the United States. This current immigration, and the discourse surrounding it, deals mainly with that immigration that is from Mexico and Latin America and this is reflected in the illustrations: *Shadow Immigrants*, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion* and *Underground Immigrants*.

Shadow immigrants by Pat Bagley appeared in the Salt Lake Tribune and reflects the larger issue of immigration in and around the area served by that publication. Also, the artist has skillfully implemented a kind of reverse, less stated zoomorphism which is not immediately noticeable. The illustration focuses on a demonstration or rally in regards to immigrant rights in the United States and which has been especially impacting on the southwestern states which have been strongly affected by the immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries. The inclusion of text in the form of banners and protest slogans, as well as the interplay with the Spanish and English languages also reflects the growing presence of Spanish language social participation in the United States. Additionally, the artist has included various flags of the United States which are scattered throughout the public and which form a motif amongst the arthropodic beings that are rudimentarily drawn and are to represent the immigrants and their advocates. All in all, the illustration draws upon the familiar swarm/herd icon as well as the reversal of blatant zoomorphic characteristics that in turn requires the viewer to take sides in order to be able to place the work within a visuality that can be understood in the context of the publication.

Next, Bill Garner's, *Sleeping Uncle Tom is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*, having appeared in the Washington Times, draws upon exactly the same kind of iconography which is present in *Shadow Immigrants*. The insect-like swarm seems to be intent on overtaking the Uncle Sam subject who is asleep as is suggested by the onomatopoetic letter emanated from his head. To underscore the slumber of the subject meant to represent the

nation of the United States is the fact that it resembles Rodin's sculpture, *The Thinker*, a work that is part of the collective vocabulary of visual culture in western art, if not the world over. While the text in this example is only minimal, it is effective in that it manages to carry out the intended aim of 'othering' a group of people with a remarkably economical use of only two words, 'ILLEGAL ALIENS' so that the viewer, is upon only a passing of the image, immediately aware of who is being represented by the elementary shapes that form the hording mass that is climbing over the old man.

Indeed, this work manages in its economy to carry out the same inferences that have been used in other works presented here, but in such a manner that the text does not need to accommodate the illustration in any major way and serves the function of a name tag essentially, allowing the viewer to quickly recognize the insect-like invasion as the intended immigrant subjects. Seeing as this work was also created within the visual context and social discourse that surrounds the current debates on Latino immigrants in the United States, it is easy to notice parallels between this work and the previous one, and this is to be expected as they comment on exactly the same issue at roughly exactly the same time.

Finally, *Underground Immigrants* by Angelo Lopez calls again upon the tool of a rather implied zoomorphism and not the blatant use of clearly zoomorphic iconography which was so clearly present with the examples in previous waves. Certainly, this more subdued version of zoomorphic imagery reflects changing attitudes in society about the dehumanization of others and yet, the immigrant subjects in this work are being dehumanized as they are forced to hide with an animal underground (which interestingly possess a high degree of anthropomorphic characteristics) and are hunted as such by the subjects drawn as law enforcement officers. This work, does not draw upon the swarm icon which is present in the other examples in this wave, it does however use the same kind of reverse zoomorphic implication as was observed in, *Shadow Immigrants*.

With the above mentioned examples, there is also a historic overview given in the following section that allows the reader to get the historic context needed to properly read the images and which is present in this work for all of the previous waves as well. Also, the discourse analysis further places the images within a context that allows the reader to understand how words included in the images further the conclusions to be drawn that might not be as strongly hinted at in the illustrations and their included iconography alone. As mentioned, this final wave's following analyses are somewhat different from those previously dealt with because the issues being taken on are not yet resolved in the ways that those

commenting on the Chinese or Irish are. The immigration of Latinos to the United States is an ever-present part of the contemporary American experience and the imagery used in these works is indicative of the very events taking place even at this time. The use of zoomorphic imagery, whether pictorial or text based, is as present however here as it is in the other waves before it, and that, as the goal of this work, is why these examples have been chosen for this final wave of immigration.

6.2 Historic Review Wave 4

American immigration history after the year 1960 has been largely influenced by the presence of Latino immigration to the United States from Mexico, Central America and South America and this is verifiable through the shift in demographic statistics reflecting the growing presence of persons of Latino heritage (both immigrants and those who are the successive generations of Latinos) in the United States. This period also marks something of a reawakened series of immigrations from groups who had found it up until this point difficult to enter the United States due to the quota system put into place in the 1920s which restricted entry based upon set numbers of immigrants being allowed in according to their countries of origin, including notably Asians. Due to shifting social attitudes of the time (certainly influenced by the America civil rights movement) the quota system came to be viewed as biased in favor of immigrants from Northern, Western and Central Europe and to a degree those from the western hemisphere, accounting for the arrival of many people from Mexico, the Caribbean and South America. Even President Kennedy spoke in disfavor of the lingering quota system during his time in office and called for its end.¹⁵⁸

As already mentioned, Latinos (the largest group of immigrants arriving post 1960), had already been arriving frequently during the decades since the 1920s as they were not affected by the quota system. In relation to other socio-political events however, other non-Latinos arrived as well before the 1960s and these included Jews from Europe. Many Jews arrived from Europe fleeing the Nazis before the onset of World War II but also those abandoning Russian/Soviet controlled Europe and hostilities toward Jews experienced there. Additionally, after the war many Jews immigrated to the United States. Hungarians, attempting to avoid persecution after their failed uprising in 1956, were also permitted, just as the Jews were - on a case-by-case basis, as was also the case for Cuban refugees who chose to abandon or escape the Castro regime in Cuba.

Other groups such as Filipinos saw the revision or abandonment of previous immigration laws which allowed them to immigrate to the United States; benefited in this instance from the revision of the Tydings-McDuffie Act and the enactment of The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.¹⁵⁹ U.S. American involvement or passive alliance in foreign wars or aggressions also led to immigration from those countries where conflicts

¹⁵⁸ Foxman, Abraham H. "A Nation of Immigrants: Forward by Abraham H. Foxman." *ADL: Anti-Defamation League*. Anti-Defamation League. Web. 13 Dec 2012.

¹⁵⁹ Posadas, Barbara M. *The Filipino Americans*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999. eBook.

occurred (a precedent clearly set during the second World War (1939 – 1945) in the case of refugees and displaced persons from Germany and similarly in the Korean War (1950 - 1953)¹⁶⁰ but also including Cuba and Hungary (while the U.S. was never involved in the uprisings politically or militaristically in Hungary, immigration was offered to those who were able to slip through the Iron Curtain). Furthermore, new immigrants also arrived from European countries from which immigration had been stifled due to the set quota-immigration policies in place (e.g. Portugal, Greece and Italy) and non-European sources including China, India, Pakistan, various African nations and continued immigration from Korea. In the 1970's, involvement in the conflict in Indochina also sent many Southeast Asians to American shores as refugees.

The most visible immigration however, has come from Mexico and includes immigrants who reside legally in the United States with relevant and valid documentation, as well as those who do not. Those who are legally resident in the United States do account for the majority of immigrants and amongst illegal immigrants the majority of them were able to enter the United States legally and have simply allowed their documentation to expire. Moreover, considering total immigration numbers to the United States, illegal Mexican immigration accounts for 60 percent of all illegal immigration.¹⁶¹

It is important to remember that Mexican immigration to the United States is however not a new phenomenon and has been ongoing since immigration laws have existed and were an important part of the agricultural apparatus in the United States. It has been and remains difficult however, to determine how many illegal immigrants from Mexico are present in the country at any given time. Texas, has been at various parts of its history comprised of territory from Mexico, the Confederate States, and briefly even a republic, and contains a source of 'native' Latinos, called the *Tejano*, and this state is only one example of the complications that arise when determining who qualifies as 'illegal' in historical assessments when concerning Latinos in the United States. Today, Latinos are often called *Chicano* although this term has yet to gain complete acceptance and usage and the demonym Mexican-American is common in reference to legal citizens of the United States of Hispanic ancestry. Therefore, it is valid to consider the Latino presence in the United States as one with a clearly

¹⁶⁰ An armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953 but the Korean War has not officially or legally ended.

¹⁶¹ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. 311. Print.

established position within the U.S. American fabric of ethnic and cultural inclusion despite the fact that many Latinos of foreign birth have very low naturalization rates:

“Less than a quarter of the foreign born Mexicans counted by the 1980 census – 520,000 of 2.2 million- were naturalized. If one subtracts the number of those who told the census taker that they had arrived in the period 1975 – 80 and thus were not yet eligible for naturalization, 65 percent of the pre-1975 arrivals from Mexico were still not citizens (950,000 of 1.47 million), while only 34 percent of such Asians were unnaturalized (460,000 of 1.34 million).”¹⁶²

This then leads to the question of why it is the case that naturalization rates among Mexicans in the United States are low and moreover if this statistical fact is not the basis behind the established belief that the majority of Latinos are illegals (although there is no implicit negation of legal status based solely upon the fact of lack of naturalization). Daniels, while admitting that the reasons are multifaceted, suggests that this phenomenon (indifference to naturalization) could lay with the idea that many Latinos have that they will return home (mimicking earlier return migrations such as by the Italians) and in fact do just that, as well as; low rates of political participation (especially by women), a distrust of Anglo-politics and disadvantage in the economic class structures of the civilian society in the United States.¹⁶³

The ongoing debate on the role of Latino immigrants (primarily from Mexico but not exclusively) in the composite of U.S. American society is complex in that some Latinos are ‘native’ to the land that has become the nation, while others may have few if any ties to the country itself and come seeking economic, social or personal gain for complex and most often external factors- just as the Irish were ‘pushed’ by their circumstances in the previous waves of immigration. Furthermore, legal definitions meld with socio-cultural nomenclature making it difficult to speak of a single ‘Latino’ identity and not only because of the various countries and cultures represented in the hispanosphere but also due to the presence of territories which form a part of the United States and are obviously within the hispanosphere such as Puerto Rico, a commonwealth/organized unincorporated territory of the United States, whereby Spanish language, heritage and ancestry is dominant. It is therefore impossible for these Latinos to be immigrants to the United States since their territory forms part of the nation and furthermore, illegality is a non-issue. Clearly then it becomes much more complex

¹⁶² Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. 317. Print.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

considering the various Hispanic communities, immigrant and non-immigrant, to immediately determine naturalized status, thereby making regulation, documentation, and representation subject to scrutiny (even with prejudiced practices such as racial/ethnic profiling). This may be one reason that the issue of illegal immigration has been so hotly debated throughout U.S. American history and continues to be a divisive and sensitive issue with dimensions beyond politics.

Of most contemporary importance to the history of Latino immigration in the United States are the events surrounding The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007 (in full: Secure Borders, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Reform Act of 2007 (S. 1348))¹⁶⁴ which was never implemented but would have offered a means of legitimate naturalization to the estimated 12 – 20 million illegal immigrants present in the nation at that time. Although not the only piece of legislature aimed at dealing with illegal immigration from Mexico, it was arguably the most contested both among the political liberals and conservatives in the United States. As the motion failed and was not turned into law the measures it sought to introduce never came into practice and therefore there is still currently no means for those who reside illegally in the United States to obtain a green card.

In addition to the federal discussion about illegal immigration of Latinos (particularly from Mexico), state laws also have been introduced in reaction to what has been perceived by some to be a mass immigration of illegal immigrants to the United States. This is especially the case in those states that share a border with Mexico and therefore ensure a quicker means of entry for the immigrant. Of all illegal immigrants present in the United States as of 2009, 62 percent have an origin in Mexico with California and Texas (both border states) possessing the greatest number of illegal immigrants.¹⁶⁵ It was however the border state of Arizona which brought the illegal immigration issue blatantly to the forefront of American politics and media with the passing of Arizona SB 1070, also known as The Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act. Arizona SB 1070 requires all aliens to register with the U.S. government and to have registration documentation on their person at all times. Offenders of this law face misdemeanor charges in Arizona and law enforcement officials are given the power to stop and request documentation at anytime and under any circumstances

¹⁶⁴ Reid, Sen. Harry. "Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2007." *Bill Summary & Status, 110th Congress (2007 - 2008) S. 1348 (2007): The Library of Congress THOMAS*. Database. 13 Dec 2012.

¹⁶⁵ Hoefer, Michael, Nancy Rytina, and Bryan Baker. United States of America. U.S. Department of Homeland Security. *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 1999.

which has led to dissenters who claim that the law encourages racial profiling.¹⁶⁶ This case even made it to the Supreme Court of the United States and was upheld in 2012 (although not in its entirety with some select parts being ruled preemptive by federal law). Those paragraphs which were considered to be the most enflaming such as those that allow on-the-spot checks for documentation were upheld as constitutional.¹⁶⁷ The passing and enforcement of the Arizona law has thrust into the public eye a contemporary example of unchecked immigration, which has always been, as shown here, an issue of contention and open to semantic argumentation and interpretation.

As formerly stated, the Latino and especially the Mexican immigration to the United States of America, while forming a very visible majority of immigrants, does not account for all the immigrant groups who have arrived in the United States during the modern and contemporary eras. Sources of immigration from areas around the globe which were not earlier considered to be typical origins for immigrants to the United States have lent their influences to the immigrant face of the country and yet they have largely been able to avoid the same perception that many Latinos are received with- primarily that they are too many or are too invasive. The Latinos, most certainly due to their sheer numbers, are generally the most obvious and visible of immigrant groups and therefore the ones which in this wave have had the greatest impact both on the demographics of the nation but also on the visibility of the culture. This may thereby account for, or be a factor in, the reoccurring depictions of immigrants as a mass, swarm or herd present in this wave of immigration.

During this period the United States also became (not for the first time) a destination for refugees. Therefore, in relation to the growth of communism and the rise of the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe and Russia and with the assistance of legislation passed in 1953 entitled The Refugee Relief Act, immigrants from these places also began to arrive in the United States under the provision in the act which broadly defines an immigrant as:

“any person in a country or area which is either Communist or Communist-dominated, who because of persecution, fear of persecution, natural calamity or military operation is out of his usual place of abode and is unable to return thereto, who has not been

¹⁶⁶ ACLU Foundation. "Arizona's SB 1070." *ACLU: Because Freedom Can't Protect Itself*. American Civil Liberties Union. Web. 13 Dec 2012.

¹⁶⁷ Savage, David G. "Supreme Court strikes down key parts of Arizona immigration law." *Los Angeles Times* [Los Angeles] 25 Jun 2012. Web. 12 Dec. 2012.

firmly resettled, and who is in urgent need of assistance for the essentials of life or for transportation.”¹⁶⁸

While already very broad in definition, the act was extended to include persons of ethnic German origin who were either escapees or expellees. Later it was further expounded upon to include refugees from the Middle East and Ethiopia. It would be still more stretched in scope by the inclusion of those fleeing Castro’s Cuba as congressional definition allowed them to qualify to meet the terms above. The 1965 Immigration Act reassessed refugees and included them into general legislation regarding immigrants by creating a special ‘seventh preference’ which admitted another 130,000 people in addition to those who already met the criteria previously established.¹⁶⁹

Between April 15th and October 31st of 1980 about 125,000 people fled Castro’s Cuba in what came to be called the Mariel Exodus or the Mariel Boatlift and were admitted to the United States ‘without authority’. Mariel was the name given to this movement of people as refugees (albeit under most exceptional circumstances) because this was the port of embarkation in Cuba from which Castro allowed all those who wished to and could fit on a boat (not provided by the state) to leave the island nation. This was the culmination of an escalation that had started the year before when a group of Cubans had burst through the gates and refused to leave the extraterritorial Peruvian embassy- they were seeking asylum and the ambassador eventually granted it. Because Castro was angered by the fact that the Peruvians would not hand over those who had gotten inside embassy territory for them to be tried, all security from the embassy was removed making it possible for anyone to enter the embassy’s territory. On April 5, 1980 around 750 Cubans arrived at the Peruvian embassy in Havana seeking asylum and refusing to leave and the next day another 10,000 joined them. Soon, the United States offered to accept them and Cuba agreed to let them leave under the condition that they could make it into American waters on their own. Neither the United States nor Cuba were willing to provide any vessels for the exodus and all sorts of industrial and private boats were used in evacuating people out of Cuba and to the United States. They were immediately granted asylum upon reaching the U.S. and many of them joined exiled family who had already been living there (overwhelmingly in Florida) after having fled earlier in reaction to the revolution in Cuba. Unfortunately, Castro seized the opportunity to relieve

¹⁶⁸ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. 336. Print.

¹⁶⁹ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. 337. Print.

Cuba's prisons and mental hospitals of many of those deemed 'undesirable', a fact that became apparent only once it was too late.¹⁷⁰

Those who took part in the Mariel exodus are however not the only immigrants who hoped to reach America and be granted asylum and this was the case as well with many Haitians who sought refuge in the United States. The Haitians, arriving in American waters via raft or boat were often intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard. If they made it to the United States, they were not greeted with the same optimism however that the Cubans had first encountered as it was understood that the Haitians were fleeing despotic regimes and a poverty stricken country and had little in terms of real skills to offer the United States' economy. The numbers of Haitians who arrived were much smaller than those of Cuban origin however, and their small numbers were likely a factor in their having generally not encountered as much negative reaction in the United States as was the case with other groups, most recently the Cubans. Haitians attempting to raft or boat to the United States is an ongoing occurrence although less so at the present than during the 1980s and the U.S. Coast Guard still intermittently intercepts Haitians in American waters trying to make it to shore and to live in the United States and thereby seeking asylum under the immigration laws providing for special circumstances from the 1960s and 1980s.

The conflicts in Indochina during the 60s and 70s as part of an ongoing effort to combat growing communism and the end of quotas and restrictive (often ethnic specific) legislation have also led to a renewed Asian immigration to the United States. While the role of the Chinese in the history of U.S. immigration is perhaps the most marked in relation to other Asian groups, they are not by any means the only Asians who have contributed to the American immigrant experience, leaving their own unique impression on the culture at large. First looking at the conflict migrants (conflict being a very compelling and specific 'push' factor) from mainland Southeast Asia the statistics present themselves as follows:

"Of the 11,898,829 Asian-Americans in 2000, approximately 1,814,301 or 15 percent listed their "race" as being connected to the these three Mainland South-Asian countries [i.e. Vietnam, Cambodia (Khmer Republic) and Laos].The largest of these three groups are Vietnamese at 1,223,736 (67.4 %), followed by Cambodia at 206,052

¹⁷⁰ United Press International. "1980 Year in Review: Operation Boatlift/Exodus of Cuban Exiles." *UPI, Inc.* (1980). Web. 13 Dec. 2012.

(11.3%), Lowland Lao at 198,203 (10.9%) and Hmong or Highland Lao at 186,310 (10.2%).”¹⁷¹

Moreover, “between 1975 and 2002, approximately 1,670,019 Mainland Southeast Asian refugees, asylees, and immigrants arrived in the United States as their country of final residence.”¹⁷² Vast amounts of these people entered not as refugees but as immigrants of family members who had been granted asylum. Also, Vietnam released many people who had been held in internment camps and they eventually were able to migrate based upon either a past working relationship with the United States during the war or simply via the broadened definitions afforded to immigrants due to laws passed in the 1960s and the 1980s regarding who qualified as an immigrant. Yet another striking group immigrating in this wave includes *Amerasians*- the offspring of American soldiers and local Vietnamese women who were entitled to live in the United States and also entitled to the privilege of family reunification thereby making it possible for them to bring family members with them.¹⁷³

Another Asian immigration to the United States which benefited from the relaxed immigration laws was that which involved Koreans. “More than 95% of Korean Americans consist of post-1965 immigrants and their children... [and] between 1976 and 1990, Korea was the third largest source country of immigrants to the United States, next to Mexico and the Philippines.”¹⁷⁴ Anxiety over ongoing political and militaristic hostilities between North Korea and South Korea, the low level of economic opportunities as well as the chance to provide better education for their children were major ‘push’ factors in stimulating the emigration from South Korea. Furthermore, the fact that many South Koreans had converted to Protestant Christianity, a religion which was firmly rooted in the United States, may have led to their decision in deciding to immigrate there rather than to other Asian countries, Australia or Europe. Surely just as was the case with the Vietnamese, preexisting involvement on the part of the U.S. military certainly led to connections between Koreans and Americans privately, politically and economically making this another factor contributing to their choice of choosing the United States as their new home.

¹⁷¹ Airriess, Christopher A. "Conflict Migrants from Mainland Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*. Christopher A. Airriess and Ines M. Miyares. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007. 292. Web. 15 Dec. 2012.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p.293

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.294

¹⁷⁴ Min, Pyong Gap, Queens College and The Graduate Center of CUNY. "Korean's Immigration to the U.S.: History & Contemporary Trends." *Research Report No.3*. New York: 2011. Print.

All in all, by 1990 there were nearly 800,000 Koreans in the United States representing a 125% increase in their representation amongst the American immigrant communities since 1970.¹⁷⁵ Korean Americans, just as other ethnic communities had done before then tended to settle in areas near each other and thereby created ethnic enclaves which mirror similar examples of Chinatowns, Little Italies and Polish Villages in many of the larger urban conglomerations throughout the country. Most Koreans have settled on the West Coast, although not all of them, and tend to be urban dwellers rather than rural people. Many have become successful entrepreneurs through opening businesses such as corner shops, nail salons and by filling other service industry niches.

Thus, whilst the immigration from the Mexico, South America and the Caribbean account for the majority of immigrants during this time, these are by no means the only groups who started moving to the United States in great numbers thanks to lightened restrictions on federal immigration policies. Other groups, including those escaping communism in Eastern Europe, Jews, and various different groups from the Middle East also took advantage of the easier immigration methods and left their home countries for the United States, most becoming naturalized, but as has been discussed previously, not all of them.

With these various groups and the increasing number of Latino people who were arriving in the U.S. it is perhaps easy to overlook the rebirth of Asian/Chinese immigration to the nation. The significance of this is certainly not to be disregarded as it marked the overturning of legislation specifically designed to keep Asians out of the country- particularly the Chinese. Since the enacting of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) Asian immigration had been nearly impossible and while the act was initially targeted at the Chinese due to tensions caused by the specific nativist zeal of a former time period in which Chinese workers were considered to be a threat to the economic stability of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture (which was both politically and socially dominant as is evidenced by the passing of the legislature in the first place), the lasting consequence was that for the period between the enactment of the law and the liberalization of immigration policy in the 1960s and 1980s basically all Asians were barred from entry.

Alongside the Latinos and the Chinese, the historically unique sequence of events that occurred in Cuba leading to the Mariel Exodus must also take its place amongst the major immigration events of this period. *Marielitos* were able to come to America, often joining

¹⁷⁵ Daniels, Roger. *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002. 365. Print.

family members from whom they had been separated since the revolution, and have contributed their own merits to the social mélange. This is most visible today in Florida, and more so in Miami with its Little Havana.

Like the Chinese, other Asians also began to come to the United States at this time and not from only one area of Asia but from all over. Southeast Asians from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia came as well as Koreans. While there were many factors influencing immigrations from these lands, warfare was often the key reason. Established ties between the U.S. military as well as children of military service personnel and the local populations also contributed to some immigrants who came from those areas whereby the U.S. had maintained a large or influential military force. These 'new Asians' like those who had come before them, were quick to try and establish a space for themselves in the new country through the formation of ethnic boroughs and businesses catering to their community's needs.

The new legislation that allowed for this final wave of immigration also provided for special cases and gave the President privileges in deciding for or against certain immigrant related issues, one of them being the issue of refugee status and who exactly could be defined as a refugee. By purposefully wording the legislation in the broadest terms possible, the lawmakers were able to, in a legal sense, open America's doors to those in the world facing persecution. This was the case with many of the Jews who immigrated during this period, mostly those fleeing Soviet Russia and satellite countries of the U.S.S.R. but also the Haitians who risked (and continue to intermittently do so) their lives on makeshift rafts trying to get the United States, desperately trying to flee the poverty and oppression in their own homes. Additionally, the Hungarians, whose attempt at freedom had not been successful and were now stateless, having gone on the run rather than risking persecution in Hungary, were allowed under the special privileges to immigrate.

As immigration continues up to the present time, there are still debates regarding the legitimacy of certain ethnic groups as immigrants as well as their legality. As seen in the case of Arizona, in some instances, the conditions for those who have not been naturalized or are not eligible for naturalization, or those who entered the country legally but have overstayed their limits and now illegally reside in the United States, have worsened. Certainly the history of immigration does not end with this wave and the future will guarantee that this debate continues as long as there are people willing to come to the U.S. from their home countries. It is however of significance that the numbers pertaining to this wave are so extensive and mostly fueled by the steady stream of Mexicans into the United States where so many of them

have familial, or other important ties which are generations old. The ongoing immigration situation is most likely simply reflective of the greater direction that the United States is taking in being a country of immigrants. Whereas that may have once meant largely European immigration, that is no longer the case today and as has always been the case throughout immigration history, frictions tend to develop, leading to reoccurring spouts of nativism which in turn influence the legislative tendencies.

6.3 Pictorial Analyses Wave 4

Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion

The Washington Times

Date: ca. 2005

Bill Garner

Bill Garner's illustration for The Washington Times, a conservative newspaper started by the Unification Church founder, Reverend Sun Myung Moon in 1982 as a counter to the left-leaning Washington Post and as a platform against world-wide communism,¹⁷⁶ very conspicuously references zoomorphic imagery in order to induce the visual trigger associated with being overwhelmed as the title suggests. The illustrator harkens far back into the annals of human civilization (particularly western civilization), with the use of small arthropodic (insect-like) beings who are myriad in number and scope, using images which remind the viewer of biblical plagues and mythological retribution placed upon negligent or disobeying humans. Moreover, the artist has also chosen to draw upon the popularly recognizable motif of the U.S. American flag as is shown through the clothing of the statuesque larger figure. Following, stratified analyses of the pre-iconographic, iconographic (with regards to zoomorphic imagery) and finally, iconological levels are undertaken in order to establish the presence of zoomorphic imagery and the implications thereof in the extant scopic regime and this will also be further developed and explored in the later discourse analyses.

On a pre-iconographic basis, by reviewing the illustration on the most superficial of levels, it is most clear that there are two types of subjects present in the illustration: large and small. The large subject is presumably a man who in relation to the size of the other subjects is a giant. This subject also appears to be sitting on some sort of solid mass with one hand resting in a bent position on the knee, with the forearm in a vertical position so that this chin/mouth area can rest upon it. His limbs are long and form great vertical and horizontal juxtapositions so that the effect in general is that his physicality appears vast and imposing. Due to the lack of coloring in the picture, it is impossible to know, but it is likely that the giant's hair is white, as he appears to be an older man and the artist has given no signs of darker coloring. While the aforementioned hand is used as a prop for the head, the other hand, at the end of an arm which is presented in a large horizontal swath directly near the center of

¹⁷⁶ cf. "Around the Nation: Sun Myung Moon Paper Appears in Washington." *The New York Times* 18 May 1982, sec. U.S.: Print.

the image, is open with a handful of smaller subjects standing inside it and staring into the monolith's face. The man appears however to be sleeping as the illustrator has drawn his eyelids closed and has included the letter 'z' exponentially emanating from his head as this is a culturally understood symbol for the act of sleeping.

Beyond this subject's physical appearance, his clothing is perhaps one of the most telling features of his composition. In the choice of clothing the artist has intentionally included a motif which is taken from the American flag and even more specifically, the patriotic character and anthropomorphized symbol of the American government- Uncle Sam. The Uncle Sam character, is as here, usually depicted as an old man, although typically with more vigor and poise than is shown here. Often, the viewer is directly addressed by Uncle Sam, such as in the famous military propaganda, 'Uncle Sam wants you!'¹⁷⁷ as a call to join the military during times of conflict. As the portrayal of Uncle Sam in Garner's illustration is markedly different from what viewers know, this may have been included to signify a change in understanding of the role of the government, in this case, having to do with immigration issues. Considering that the resemblance to Rodin's thinker is at least superficially obvious, and the fact that the subject is sleeping, this is likely a method of the illustrator to voice his opinion regarding the government's action about immigration- the active and spritely old man and the deep thinker have been replaced with an old man who is tired and overrun. Possible implications of this and a further iconological analysis of this illustration will be undertaken in the final pages of this particular analysis for Garner's work.

The pedestal-like seating which the Uncle Sam figure rests on is depicted in such a way to suggest that it has substantial mass. The mass of this object, should also speak to the viewer's understanding of the governments sedentary nature regarding what the artist clearly views as the lackadaisical treatment that an influx of immigrants is getting from the leadership of the country. The mass is oddly shaped and provides both a surface for sitting on, and at its base, also a platform upon which the giant's feet rest. It looks like a sort of asymmetrically carved step where the man has taken a rest. This again may be the drawer's attempt at signaling a biased opinion to the viewer, although it could just as well serve as a prop upon

¹⁷⁷ cf. "The Most Famous Poster (Memory): American Treasures of the Library of Congress." *The Most Famous Poster (Memory): American Treasures of the Library of Congress*. Library of Congress, 27 July 2010. Web. 11 June 2012.

which to place the subject, especially if he intends for viewers to make the correlation between his picture and Rodin's iconic piece.¹⁷⁸

The final basic unit which makes this composited piece is the hordes of tiny humans which surround his feet at the base of the pedestal. Furthermore, they make their way up the steep face of the platform through cooperative teamwork until they are able to crawl freely all over him, some of them even resting in his open hand while gazing back at him. Others have taken rest directly on top of his head, on his shoulders, thighs and knees, and on his back. The sleeping giant is totally overcome by them. Through the use of implied motion, mainly that of upward climbing, the artist conveys a sense of continued action- no foreseeable end to the upward mobility of the immigrant throngs.

What is of particular importance however is that due to the scale in which these humans are drawn, the viewer is not immediately sure if they are humans at all or rather a swarm of tiny insects, and only upon closer inspection can the viewer determine that these are indeed people. Despite not having any clearly defined facial features they do possess a physical appearance which is decidedly human. Yet, they lack, as previously mentioned, any real characteristics to allow much self-recognition by viewers. This omission of features is taken to an extreme particularly (in the center and center-right) at the bottom of the picture where these miniscule people, if they can be called that, are simply dots and lines, and only the vaguest form to insinuate humanness is given. The possible reasons therefore, and a further detail about what this may imply will follow directly in the analysis of the iconology of the work in regards to its zoomorphic content.

A second factor in which the use of zoomorphic imagery by the artist is obviously displayed is the inclusion of the swarm/herd icon which has been dealt with before in this work. In this illustration, there are really only two main kinds of subjects: the single large subject who is sleeping and the multitude of tiny subjects who are actively traveling up the other subject. The contrasts between the visual impact which is induced by the artist's inclusion of a swarm of immigrants and the solitary figure which represents, if not the United States as a whole, then at least the government, is a means by which he turns the scopic realization of the viewer into a dissection of two opposing 'kinds' or perhaps even, 'species.'

¹⁷⁸ cf. Marotta, Gary and Joan Vita Miller. *Rodin: the B. Gerald Cantor Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986. Print.

The manner in which the immigrants are depicted is a reference to both the physiology and the behavior of certain arthropods such as ants.¹⁷⁹

Segmentation is a characteristic shared by various arthropods (ants, spiders, scorpions, etc.) and is the sectioning of the body into distinguishable parts. In ants for example, the sections include the head, thorax and gaster among others, and while the particular names may vary within arthropodic subgroups, the sectioning of the body into visible units is marking.¹⁸⁰ In *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*, the dissection of the tiny immigrants is noticeable as well. The heads, sometimes covered in a telling sombrero (a wide brimmed hat originating in Mexico), are markedly divided from the bodies in shape and form. This is less true for those subjects who are closer to the head and shoulders of the sleeping giant, but certainly observable in the masses which surround the base of the platform on which he sits. Particularly, if one looks to the very bottom of the illustration and the center-left where the right foot should rest, there are subjects who have been physically sectioned to such a great degree that their heads are totally separated from their bodies altogether. Especially at the bottom of the picture, when the viewer can no longer visually distinguish so readily between the subjects, it becomes difficult to accept that these circles upon ovals are meant to be representative of humans at all. The effect of the swarm icon is furthered then by the use of the exaggerated segmentation of the immigrants in such a way that they resemble arthropods.

A further way in which the use of zoomorphic imagery is used to dehumanize and animalize the immigrants here is through the behavioral aspect of the swarm (or herd). The subjects are involved in climbing up towards the head and shoulders of the sleeping Uncle Sam. Some are even resting in his opened left hand where they have turned to gaze into his face. Others are resting on his head, shoulders, and some on the thighs and even his back. This indicates that the motion implied here is towards the upper part of the giant rather than the bottom part. This is further highlighted through the more detailed drawing of the subjects which have already made it closer to the top rather than those indecipherable and tiny people at the feet and ground level, suggesting the wish of the artist that the viewer understand that the top of the giant is where the humans are somehow more realized. How the subjects reach

¹⁷⁹ cf. Budd, Graham E. "Why Are Arthropods Segmented?" *Evolution and Development* 3: 332-342. Web. 12 June 2012.

¹⁸⁰ cf. Budd, Graham E. "Why Are Arthropods Segmented?" *Evolution and Development* 3: 332-342. Web. 12 June 2012.

these heights is however through a chaining technique which is frequently observable in some arthropodic species, especially certain families of ants.¹⁸¹

Chaining is a process of connection by which ants join to one another to create a way across or up something. This involves one ant connecting to another in succession and either allowing other ants to walk across them like a bridge or by pulling up/across one then the other until the distance has been overcome. This locomotion is not particular to ants, or even to arthropods, but it is extremely difficult for other species to successfully maneuver—including humans. Carrying out the kind of cooperation necessary to ensure that each member of the chain is able to progress involves teamwork, communication and strength. Humans, of course, are capable of all of these attributes but not usually without the aid of speech. There is however no evidence given in the illustration that the immigrants are communicating with one another. The only language which accompanies the immigrants in this illustration are the words ‘illegal aliens’ and even then the language does not seem to belong to the immigrants but is rather a label which is placed in their vicinity in order to allow easy identification on the part of the viewer. The sleeping giant however, is clearly capable of cognitive language functions, as can be seen by the sound of sleep coming from him, which is expressed using the letter Z, easily recognizable as an onomatopoeic device to identify the sound of sleep. This sound communicates through the use of a language device to the viewer, who having been educated within a certain scopic regime, along with other social and cultural references will easily be able to understand that Uncle Sam is, via the artist as a medium, conveying sleep. The arthropodic immigrants on the other hand, are void of any kind of language or means of communication and are able to forge their chains to lift them up higher on the giant without the necessity of language.

Having reviewed these aforementioned zoomorphic symbols; physical scale, segmentation, and the behavioral aspect of group work in chaining without the assistance of communication, it is most important to see that it is not only important for the intent of this work to isolate zoomorphic elements (as this is indeed not the focus) but also to investigate to which degree that these images would have been understood and read within the context of a contemporaneous scopic regime or the dominant visuality of the time. Since this particular piece of work was undertaken in a relatively contemporary time, it is necessary to look back at the historic context (although the scope of this historic analysis is certainly limited by the close proximity of the creation of the piece and this scholarly work) and assess to what degree

we can deduce iconological conclusions. The following paragraphs will do just that and find to what degree we can find meanings or connections to concepts in Garner's work.

The iconological conclusions which can be made about this piece must be viewed within the context of a renewed nativist sentiment in the United States and the ongoing discussion and debate regarding immigration to the United States and particularly in terms of the illegal immigration from Mexico and Latin American countries. In the discourse analysis section, a continued exploration of the inherent meaning, including the use of the language in the piece will be carried out. Following, is an iconological review of '*Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*' which completes the full iconographic analysis of this section.

Probably the most important and most readily available interpretation which can be done involves the scale of people, also the first of the zoomorphic elements already discussed. The scale of the immigrants especially is shocking in its diminutive and paternalistic scope. The sleeping Uncle Sam really appears to be a giant in relation to the multitude of miniature illegal aliens and this already is a sign that the viewer is not to view the two kinds of subjects here on even terms. The sleeping Uncle Sam, while dormant, looms over the illustration by sheer influence of his size, which is monumental and statuesque against the size of the immigrants. The immigrants however, who become smaller and smaller the further down the picture the eye looks, lose their sense of individuality and are absorbed into the swarm. The viewer's sense of identification with a single person, or even a group of people is eliminated due to the sheer impact of the multiplicity which becomes overwhelming. This is certainly an attempt of the illustrator to devalue individual identification and to evoke imagery of plagues of insects, or an infestation. Just in case the viewer might be tempted to identify with those small creatures, the words 'ILLEGAL ALIENS' has been drawn by them in order to ensure the proper identification of these characters. Not only are they 'illegal', a word which already conjures negative implications, but they are also aliens- foreign and strange.

Additionally, the segmentation of the illegal aliens adds to their being seen as less human and more insect-like. The arthropodic nature of the segmentation, in which the heads and bodies are so clearly separated and reduced to their most basic forms (in the case of the smallest subjects) is markedly unlike true human characteristics. This segmentation is by means of reduction, already a way to overly simplify humanness in the subjects, to dissuade any of the viewers from identifying too closely with them. Indeed it is nearly impossible to associate, or gather any kind of kinship, to the image of someone or something, that has been

reduced to its most basic forms and so much so that they are barely recognizable. The hyper-segmentation that occurs here is definitely more indicative of ants or other insects, but still, the reductionism requires viewing the image with the socio-historical contexts intact or otherwise the image becomes totally meaningless in its simplistic forms.¹⁸²

Not only the way the illegal aliens look, but also their behavior is taken as a chance to dehumanize them. Whereas humans are most certainly capable of teamwork and 'group think,' this most always involves complicated communicative interactions between humans. Here however, the artist has animalistically depicted the subjects in such a way that they are able to complete very complicated tasks without a single word or discernible means of communication. Not only do they not communicate with each other, but they also do not show any ability to communicate with the viewer, either through the use of language or through the use of recognizable body language or implied meaning. They are single-mindedly involved in the process of climbing up toward the top of the sleeping giant (understood through the artist's use of implied motion) without any notice of the viewer or without communication and yet are still able to manage feats which are complex both physically and logistically. This behavior mirrors that of insects, particularly ants, far more than it does humans, who would have likely involved some means of technology (however primitive) to assist them. Moreover, it would be highly unlikely that a group of humans could pull off a feat such as the one represented in this illustration without communicating with one another, or practicing beforehand.¹⁸³

To conclude, Garner draws upon the recognizable characteristics of arthropods in this example to dehumanize the illegal immigrants. This process is carried out through the use of scale, physiological aspects of insects, and even behavior to demote the viewer's ability to identify the immigrants as fully realized humans. By referencing these zoomorphic icons, he serves not only to exaggerate the negative view cast upon illegal immigrants but also the feeling of being overwhelmed and overcome. The intensity of being overwhelmed is further enforced by the use of this word in the title of the work, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*. Due to the inclusion of the word 'overwhelmed' and its negative implications, the viewer is not only asked to disregard the subject's humanity but also to see that they, like insects, are an infestation- a plague against, in this case, the nation. Using the

¹⁸² cf. Crowther, Paul. "Against Reductionism." *Phenomenology in the Visual Arts (even the Frame)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. Print.

¹⁸³ cf. Arnold, Carrie. "Shhh, the Ants Are Talking." The American Association for the Advancement of Science, 7 Feb. 2013. Web. 12 June 2013.

easily recognizable image of Uncle Sam to represent the United States, Garner further relies upon nativist sentiments to debase the presence and importance of the immigrants. These themes will be further explored in the discourse analysis whereby the innate questions of power and the role of zoomorphic imagery in the subjugation of immigrants, at least in the contemporary dominant visuality, will be further explored.

Shadow Immigrants

Pat Bagley

Salt Lake City Tribune

2006

Shadow Immigrants, an illustration done for the *Salt Lake City Tribune* by Pat Bagley, shows a scene that could have easily been observed in many urban centers in the United States in April of 2006. This scene is that of a protest and the most striking feature that the viewer is confronted with is the overwhelming mass that has gathered, seemingly in opposition. The protest depicted is not especially unique in regards to the other protests of the type which were happening simultaneously in backlash to H.R. 4437; *The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Control Act of 2005*. This particular piece of legislation passed through the United States House of Representatives, but did eventually fail in the senate and was the reason behind what has come to be referred to as the 2006 immigration reform protests. The most inflammatory part of the legislation centered on the detail included in the law which sought to make it illegal to assist an illegal person to stay in the United States.¹⁸⁴

Pat Bagley, has drawn here a typical uprising scene which involves both the protestors, along with their slogans and banners, and the government, represented here using the traditional zoomorphic representations or symbols of the two major political parties in the United States; the democrats (represented by a donkey) and the republicans (represented by an elephant).¹⁸⁵ Additionally, a figure wearing the typical costume associated with the patriotic character and traditional symbol of the United States government, Uncle Sam, is also present. Therefore, it is taken for granted that this illustration depicts a confrontation between the people and the government over a piece of legislation which was met with unpopularity. While this social and historic aspect is of importance within its contribution in shaping the leading narrative of the time, this will be explored in a further section of this work and is therefore not to be dealt with right now. Rather, a pre-iconographic analysis will be immediately undertaken, to be followed with a further iconographic analysis with a focus on the zoomorphic usage in the illustration, and then finally, an iconological analysis will be done.

¹⁸⁴ cf. "H.R. 4437; the Border Protection, Anti-terrorism, and Illegal Control Act of 2005." United States Government Printing Office, 2005. Web. 15 June 2013.

¹⁸⁵ A further explanation on the origin and significance of these symbols is present in the historic analysis for this section.

In *Shadow Immigrants*, at the pre-iconographic level, the viewer sees a mass of people with their banners in protest. In the lower right corner there are three characters, all animals that have been anthropomorphized and wearing costumes to make them recognizable to the American viewer. Although the mass does not appear to be in direct action against the triad, it does outnumber them significantly which adds to a feeling that they are overwhelmed. The mass is slightly thinner in the lower right corner of the illustration and it is there that the viewer can best see that these are human subjects. The humans do not have any particularly human characteristics that allow the viewer to identify them as such, but through the illustrator's inclusion of some arms and legs, it is clear that these among the crowd are humans and not animals. Likewise, the artist's inclusion of slogans and even the intermittent inclusion of American flags prove that these are humans in the mass as it is only humans who are capable of these languages and of making banners, protest signs and flags.

Although Bagley has done this particular work using only black ink on a white background (as is typical for a newspaper), he has also included in the upper part of the work a somewhat darker gray in order to provide contrast between the land and the sky and also to give the impression that the mass extends well into the horizon, thereby increasing their sense of numbers. The planar effect of the work and lack of heavy detail on most of the human subjects further adds to the visual mass which the viewer is presented with in order to imply a large movement, which in its vastness becomes a unitary entity that through the contrast created by the inclusion of the three solitary figures representing the United States government, boosts the impact of multiplicity.

There are therefore, only two classifications of subject here; the mass and the three individuals representing the government. While they are individually dressed, together they represent the two dominant factions which make up the government and therefore may be viewed as a single entity in relation to the mass. The mass of people is also so encompassing that it rather loses detail and the identification of individuals becomes increasingly more difficult as the eye reaches the line of the horizon. The humans are reduced to only the most basic of shapes (namely circles representing the head) to be recognized and any individuality is lost such as is the case with a herd of animals or swarm of insects. In no particular arrangement there are also banners dispersed throughout the crowd that read: 'WE ARE AMERICA,' 'VIVA U.S.A.,' 'WE ARE ALL IMMIGRANTS,' 'WORKING IS NOT A CRIME,' 'AMNESTY,' 'IMMIGRATION REFORM NOW,' 'WE ARE HERE,' 'SÍ SE PUEDE,' 'LEGALIZE IMMIGRANTS,' 'WE ARE AMERICA,' and 'LIBERTY FOR

ALL.’ By including these different phrases in both English and Spanish, the illustrator informs the viewer that it is somehow important in the identification of the figures in the mass and that these slogans not only are being espoused by them, but help to identify some aspect about them on the viewer’s behalf. The three figures which represent the government, the republican elephant, the democratic donkey and Uncle Sam are standing somehow separately from the mass and the words, ‘THEY’RE OUT OF THE SHADOWS,’ is attributed to the Uncle Sam character. The further examination of the use of these phrases will be undertaken in the section dealing with discourse analysis at a later stage. Immediately following however, is the second phase of the analysis is that which is done at the iconographical level. Due to theme which this particular work seeks to explore, the aspect of zoomorphism and the use of animal imagery will be the focus of this next level of analysis.

There are primarily two elements that display zoomorphic imagery in *Shadow Immigrants* and just as a duality was created for the viewer in order to facilitate the immediate recognition and identification of the two factions of the issue (the protesting masses vs. the government and the dominant political parties), so too is it used to lead the viewer into a visuality which within a contemporaneous setting is unmistakably animalistic in both visual representation and behavior. Due to the artists choice of restricting the details of the protesting masses, and his decision to include only the most rudimentary of shapes and forms to be identified as the heads and (sometimes) bodies, the mass becomes not only such in the sense that it is seemingly never ending and vast visually, but also that it morphs into a swarm of shapes and lines, decidedly human but also highly indicative of both the visual and behavioral patterns of insects. Each of these aspects will be further explored in more depth later, but first, it is necessary to turn the gaze to those who represent the government in this picture; the Uncle Sam figure, the democratic donkey and the republican elephant.

The scope of this work is not to determine to which degree zoomorphic imagery is used in the representation of any actors in the American story besides immigrants and yet, it is poignant that the illustrator has chosen to include these zoomorphic representations of the two major political parties in the United States in the work, and moreover, that he has even isolated them to a degree from the crowd in order to draw more of the viewer’s attention to them. To prevent having to draw each immigrant protestor individually, the artist has used a technique of very elementary forms and lines to create the visual impression that there is a mass gathered. It would not necessarily follow that the mass should be interpreted as in any way zoomorphic, however the inclusion of the animalistic governmental representatives,

strongly suggests (even lures) the viewer into a zoomorphic context by using already long established zoomorphic characters which would be familiar to nearly all U.S. Americans thereby giving them, by drawing upon their familiar scopical regime, permission to place the image within an animalistic context.

The viewer is given a hint as to the background of the protesting swarm. They are likely Latinos who are in the United States illegally and thereby seeking amnesty at this rally, or families, or sympathizers to that cause. This is evident through the inclusion of banners with slogans on them, sometimes in Spanish. While Spanish is widely spoken in the United States, it is clear that given the legal implications of the aforementioned proposed legislation, that the inclusion of the Spanish language text was another attempt on the illustrator's part to convey the identity of the protesting swarm to the viewers. Therefore, the artist imparts only the most necessary of characteristics so that the swarm is understood to be human, yet the manner in which they are drawn all together to such a degree that their tightness leads to a loss of individual character and a reduction to the most easily recognizable forms such as would be done when a human subject views a swarm of insects that are inseparable to the human eye in their multitudinous formation.

The swarm or herd icon is the most present zoomorphic reference in this work. It is easy to identify the small people in the crowd who stand at the forefront, yet only a few rows into the crowd the subjects become less noticeable as possessing full human forms and are reduced to rudimentary shapes which resemble humans in only a superficial manner. These shapes are mostly circles that are used to denote the place of the human head on what are very simple figures, if there are any to be identified at all. Within the thick of the crowd, even the heads of the figures become less recognizable as the shapes become smaller and more like dots rather than forms which are to stand for human attributes. This inability for the viewer to make out the exactly recognizable and immediately connectable features which might be most easily recognizable to the viewer, induce a visual disorientation often created by multitudes in which it becomes impossible to find individuals. This too is much the same in the manner that people feel when they view a swarm of insects or a colony of ants which crawl around, on top of each other and are so many that it becomes, due also to their small scale which is also present in this work, nearly impossible to identify any single subject.

Bagley has also pulled the viewer's gaze towards the subjects in the lower right corner of the illustration who are there to represent the United States' government. These figures are, as already mentioned, the figures that are used widely in the media in that country to represent

the dominant political parties and the two major parties which form the members of the congress; democrats and republicans. Being that they are drawn as animals it is all the more poignant that the artist has chosen to use the anthropomorphic subjects which he highlights by including language which is attributed to them, thereby making it unmistakable that the subjects are actually to be viewed as humans. In the contradiction between the zoomorphic attributes given to the crowd and the anthropomorphic attributes given to the animals which are representations of humans (or at least human institutions), the artist seeks to convince the viewer to reverse the initial habit of immediate recognition and rather to highlight the views of the subjects. The implication is that the humans (shown here as animals) look upon the other immigrant humans (shown here as the swarm of insect-like beings) as animals, thereby ignoring the uncivilized nature of their own actions. This flipping of subjects and attribution of animalism (actually intended to dehumanize the immigrant herd) and its interpretative implications will be continued in the next stage of the analysis which is concerned with the post-iconographic or iconological aspect of this work.

At the iconological level the illustration speaks not only of the continued use of zoomorphic imagery (specifically the herd/swarm icon), but is also reflective of a contemporary part of the U.S. American scopical regime and of the narrative surrounding immigration issues there. The use of the swarm icon encourages the viewer to understand the vast amount of immigrants who are present in the United States, seemingly up until the time when protests against this particular legislation began, hiding in the shadows. Not only the numbers, but also the inclusion of slogans and banners with both English (the dominant lingua franca for most in the United States) and Spanish language text on them is a means to demonstrate that these Latin origin immigrants are already mixed in with the American populace. They are so present in the U.S. American fabric that they become inseparable from the whole- represented here by their presence being obvious throughout the mass. It cannot however be ascertained of which opinion the illustrator is himself on this issue.

Moreover, the artist also, through the use of anthropomorphized animals (in contrast to the zoomorphically depicted immigrants) has created a dialog between the viewer and the two different sides of this issue. The artist, by including the swarm icon, could be conveying a sense of being inundated and overwhelmed by immigrants, and in this case, illegal or undocumented immigrants from Latin America. Also, it is possible that the artist chooses to create a diametric effect as to what is actually drawn in the illustration. This would explain why the artist has chosen to include some images which are visibly human in the forefront of

the crowd, while the dehumanizing of the herd occurs only after there has been the primary identification that these are indeed humans. Likewise, the inclusion of the anthropomorphized animal figures, is a means through which the artist can express what he may see as the banality of the ruling two-party system in the United States by reducing them to their most easily visible and understandable symbols. The notion here is that the artist wants to quickly ensure that the viewer will positively place the correct subjects on the correct side of the argument and furthermore, through his inclusion of zoomorphism, show the objectification and reduction of immigrants on the part of the U.S. government.

The images of the elephant and donkey in reference to the dominant political parties in the United States are obvious to any American viewer as these images are well established within the U.S. American visuality. Those that are actually depicted as animals here are read to be too obviously animalistic for there to be any zoomorphic intent, yet those who are intended to be viewed as humans are through the very simple process of form reduction and a dependence upon elementary physiological recognition reduced to a swarm, mimicking insects in both behavior and appearance.

Shadow Immigrants is a statement in the reverse, which through the main zoomorphic icon of the swarm or herd, is able to actually highlight what the illustrator sees as uncivilized behavior on the part of the government towards the harsh legislation which provoked the street protests. Although the image is comprised of very simple techniques, it manages to encapsulate the contemporaneous dialog between the government, concerned citizens and Latinos (some likely legally resident in the United States and others illegal or undocumented). The herd icon is used to evoke not only a sense of numbers but is also as a means to show the action of the government in their ignorance of the existence of this large group of people who have, in lieu of this potentially racist legislation, kept hidden in the shadows.

Underground Immigrants

Everyday Citizen

2010

Angelo Lopez

In Angelo Lopez's illustration which was done for the *Everyday Citizen* blog, the viewer is faced with a kind of zoomorphic imagery which is not immediately recognizable at the most objective of glances. The illustration is in relation to the controversial Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (Arizona State Bill 1070)¹⁸⁶ and offers visual material which would lead the viewer to understand that the illustrator's stance is opposed to the law, or that he at least views the law as too harsh. What is of great interest in this piece of work, is that there are very clearly two groups of separated subjects which also reflect their binary stances on this particular legal issue and the immigration process. This is most clearly reflected by their positions above and below ground. Yet, the primary aim of this text is to find zoomorphic imagery and that will be carried out firstly through an evaluation at the pre-iconographic level.

Pre-iconographically, this work is quite evident in its depiction of humans. There are seven humans who are drawn: four (who appear to be men) standing above ground and three (seemingly, a family comprised of a man, woman and child) who are crouched below ground in what appears to be a kind of rabbit hole. The rabbit hole is subterranean and therefore the viewer is led to believe that those characters that are below ground are hiding from those who are above ground. The indication of hiding is even further expounded with the inclusion of an armed law enforcement agent (perhaps a policeman or sheriff). While the entire picture, including the rendering of the human subjects, is highly two-dimensional, there is a slight inference of depth which is caused by the curving of the ground in the photo and the planar opposite happening with what is to be perceived as hollow space in the ground (i.e. the rabbit hole) and this gives a sense of dimension also to the human characters although the effect is minimal.

Additionally, the final figure, a non-human, is also present in the hole where the family hides- a rabbit. The rabbit which is closest to the entrance of the hole, and thereby closest to the armed man, is depicted with striking anthropomorphic attributes. The manner in

¹⁸⁶ "Arizona Senate Bill 1070." The State of Arizona Senate, 1 Jan. 2010. Web. 15 June 2013.

which he stands, and the position he holds is noticeably more human than animal, whereas those same characteristics are reversed in the humans. Immediately recognizable through its ears and familiar physical form, the rabbit is the smallest of the subjects drawn in the ground and the only non-human represented.

On the level above ground the artist has also included some signs which display words or phrases on them. The signage totals four pieces and all are drawn so that the viewer easily sees their dimensions, and that they tend to look like the prototypical small sign which is usually for temporary use and easy disposal or at least easily assembled. The simplicity of the construction of the signs is mirrored in the phraseology (often found in U.S. American slang) which is displayed on their front surfaces. The number of signs is the same as the number of humans who are shown standing above ground and it may be that Lopez's intention was that the viewer should autonomously attach a phrase from the signage to each of the characters, but this cannot be determined with any certainty. The phraseology from the signs and the role that they possess in the conveying of the implied meanings inherent in their inclusion in this illustration will be further discussed later in the section dealing with the analysis of the relevant discourse(s) surrounding the creation of this example.

The lack of color in the illustration also leads to the planar effect of the illustration and the loss of increased multi-dimensionality. The artist's decision not to color the work leads the viewer to draw conclusions about the subjects which are perhaps solely pre-iconographical and it does not offer any help in immediately identifying the subterranean subjects as being part of any particular group of people in terms of ethnicity or socio-economic group. There are however other inclusions in this illustration which do lead to the identification of the hiding subjects, and familiarity with relevant legal and social events in the United States at this time would have certainly informed contemporaneous viewers of the proper context to which this work speaks.

In closer review of the human subjects, it is important to examine exactly how the illustrator has chosen to detail their composite make-ups so that the viewer can clearly identify not only their role within the debate over the Arizona law but also their power position within the context of the picture alone. Taking the above-ground subjects from the viewer's left - the first is a man who is likely a law enforcement officer or sheriff figure. He carries a gun and is dressed in the fashion that would be expected and is recognizable for this profession. His large western style hat (often called a cowboy hat) is the most imposing part of his appearance and nearly dwarfs the firearm which he possesses and the sheer size of his

hat is seemingly symbolic of his authority.¹⁸⁷ His upper body is much thicker than his lower body and his uniform is cut in half by a thin waist belt. Upon a thinly collared shirt one can see the identifiable symbols of his career: a badge, an unidentifiable patch and chevrons (all signifying his legal authority). His face is perhaps grimaced as he glazes suspiciously and his bulbous nose leads to a thick dark mustache which reaches widely across his face. His head and body together, create the impression that he is nearly totally round save his thin and one-dimensional legs which are in motion.

Behind the armed man is yet another subject who can, through the inspection of his clothing and the insignias present, also be determined to be a law enforcement officer. He is as thin and straight as his partner is round. His thin body is contrasted however, in the strong angles and lines in his face; large nose with a spade-tipped end, a heavy brow over intently set eyes, lines in the face depicting tension created from frowned lips and finally, the furrowed forehead. His left hand is raised protecting his eyes from an invisible light source as he apparently searches in the distance. Unlike the first subject, he is unarmed and yet motion is implied as he runs after him. The third and final law enforcement officer is not in motion and is instead occupied with an intense inspection of a fourth subject on the above ground level. One of his eyebrows is arched inwards and the corresponding eye narrowed and suggesting an element of distrust. He too possesses the accessories that a policeman carries on their uniforms but unlike the distinguishing body shapes of the other two, his body is largely proportional and there are not particular physical traits which draw attention to the flat manner in which the illustrator has chosen. The hands on the hips may suggest that he is supporting the bend in his body which is being used to highlight the degree of his observation of the fourth subject and yet, they could also suggest a sense of position and place, anchoring him to his footing in contrast to his colleagues.

The fourth character that stands on the ground level of this work is not a law enforcement agent, but rather a civilian. The civilian appears frightened, which is evidenced by the three horizontal marks on either side of his temples. This could be either the artists attempt to convey the sweating brought on through nervousness or the shaking associated with anxiety. He carries, with both hands in an effort to suggest shielding his own body, a bag with the words 'TACO BELL' on it. This is an obvious remark on the restaurant fast-food chain in the United States by the same name which sells Mexican inspired cuisine.

¹⁸⁷ cf. Reynolds, William, and Ritch Rand. *The Cowboy Hat Book*. Rev. ed. Salt Lake City, Utah: Gibbs Smith, Publisher, 2003. Print.

Furthermore, there are four figures in a tunnel-like rabbit hole beneath ground: A man, a woman, a child and an anthropomorphized rabbit. Assuming that the illustrator seeks to direct the viewer into reading the human subjects as a family, they are likely in hiding suggested by their being subterranean, the shading of the hole, the worried facial communication and their arms engulfing each other and trying to shield the youngest. These human subjects also have physical attributes which would hint that they are Latino; dark hair and strongly suggested large facial features which are different from those whom the viewer is asked to identify as non-Latino standing above ground: eyes, noses and even the moustache.

Also, there is one non-human subject in the hole – a rabbit. The rabbit however does not match the anatomic reality of a hare or rabbit at all, but rather the commonly held anthropomorphic notion of what a hare looks like, including the round human-like eyes and the bipedal ability. The arms, extended in an inverted embrace, are also unrealistic and inform the viewer of a sense of protectionism held on the rabbit's part for the humans. In terms of coloring, the rabbit is also noticeably white, and is the least colored-in of the figures in the hole. Its rudimentary figure is, as mentioned, quite unlike the animal being visually referenced and yet through the inclusion of the most characteristic of traits such as the big teeth, whiskers, and the long ears, and to a degree the body as well, the artist clearly intends the viewer to understand that this subject is non-human and specifically a rabbit- a rodent.

The final object to analyze at this pre-iconographic level is the environment and those elements which construct it, which are at the most rudimentary level solid earth and open air present above and below ground respectively but there are also four signs which neither belong to the people in the illustration through attachment to their persons, nor are they natural units in the landscape (they are not natural phenomena). These four signs read (from left to right): NO ILLEGALS; THIS MEANS YOU; NO WAY JOSE; and ADIOS AMIGOS. In the section dealing with discursive formation and its analysis, these phrases and their place within contemporaneous discourse will be further reviewed, however directly following is an analysis at the iconographic level, more specifically zoomorphic iconography.

There are two major formations in this illustration which include zoomorphic imagery and which can be read in explicit zoomorphic terms and both of these take place in that area of the work which represents the underground. For the sake of simplicity, it will also be assumed that those humans who are huddled together in the rabbit hole are a family and will be referred to as such for the remainder of this analysis. Lopez's treatment of the family in

regards to how he has chosen to depict them in a certain context, within a visually specific power hierarchy is one contributor to their visual legibility as animals and the other is the actual physiology involved; mostly with the drawing of the body. While the context is of course important in the reading of the image, this element will be more deeply covered in the section dealing with the formation of discursive elements in the discourse analysis. Here, however, these two characteristics (placement and physical make-up) will be the sole focus of this part of analysis.

To begin, the family is placed underground and in a rabbit hole. The realization that this hole belongs to a rabbit (and indeed is therefore a rabbit hole) is solidified through the inclusion of an anthropomorphized rabbit that with outstretched front legs mimics the action of a human, perhaps in a protective stance. The anthropomorphized behavior and appearance of the rabbit only exacerbate the sense that what is happening inside the earth in the underground area of this illustration is something of a species role reversal. It is realistically far more likely that a human (standing upright and with outstretched arms) would attempt to protect an animal from a hunter in such a way. It is impossible that the rabbit depicted here would be able to physically accomplish what is being shown, or that he would cognitively be capable of such a response.

While it is unimportant to determine to which degree the artist seeks to anthropomorphize the animal subject for the purposes of this work, rather the degree to which he tries to attribute animalistic characteristics to the humans is the matter of interest. It can be argued however, that the mere inclusion of the anthropomorphized animal itself only further adds to the zoomorphic reading of the human subjects. The human subjects themselves are portrayed as crouched behind the rabbit with looks of fear and distress upon their faces. In and of itself, this is not remarkable as it would be considered quite normal considering the men who are hunting them. It is understandable that the men are hunting the family because they are shown armed and with looks of aggression whereas the family is shown as the direct opposite.

The crouching of the family itself more closely resembles the uneven sit of a hare or rabbit rather than that of a human. The legs of the humans are drawn in such a folded manner as to remind the viewer of the L-shaped legs of a rabbit. The artist is careful to not include proportional exaggeration as a means to draw more attention to this characteristic, but the legs still appear natural. Those two who represent the mother and father of this family are the subjects which most appear to display the legs so that they are resting on their haunches,

although this is less so for the mother as she is depicted leaning forward to protect the child. Yet, even her position while leaning forward resembles the inclined posture of a rabbit that has short front legs in relation to their hind legs.

The child too is shown in such a way that his position, even while it is clear that he is in hiding, appears unnatural in terms of the human body's composition and natural stances. The child is on all fours (both his knees and palms are on the ground) and indeed this English term, 'on all fours' conjures up notions of four-legged animals rather than bipedal humans. The manner in which he is shown, with his hands on the ground and the hind legs bent behind him, reminds one of the idle position of a rabbit, specifically the most commonly domestic breed, the Belgian. The rabbit's position, while innate and determined by nature, is composed of the perfect stature so that it can use its muscular hind legs to push its body forward in large leaps, such as would be necessary when running from quick prey. Indeed, like a rabbit in its natural environment, the child's torso is compacted, and in this work, nearly completely unnoticeable, as the way that a rabbit's might appear in a stance which would lead into a leap.¹⁸⁸

Of course, the addition of the law enforcement agents (who are all armed) clearly hunting for something or someone further places those subjects underground in the position of being the hunted, which is usually of course the case for wild animals within the human-animal relationship. Their state of being hunted, and thereby their vulnerability, is deepened as well through the inclusion of the rabbit in the hole with the humans. Without the admission of this animal it might appear that the family are hiding in a hole or subterranean tunnel. This, in and of itself, would not be remarkable as there is nothing intrinsically zoomorphic about people crawling or even hiding in subterranean quarters, but what is most remarkable about the inclusion of the rabbit is that it lends its animalistic nature to the humans while at the same time accepting some of their humanness.

The next and final section of this analysis will cover the post-iconographic or iconological level. This final level is at the level of interpretive meaning and while many of the points will be further explained in the discourse analysis, it is important at this stage to consider fully the more interpretive impact that the work has within its contemporary scopic regime. Likewise, this element of the analysis cannot be proven with certainty for this very

¹⁸⁸ cf. "American Livestock Breeds Conservancy: Belgian Hare." *American Livestock Breeds Conservancy: Belgian Hare*. American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, 1 Jan. 2009. Web. 15 June 2013.

relevant and up-to-date example as the discourse surrounding the image and its creation are still being developed, yet with the combination of the previous historic analysis and the discourse analysis to follow, this iconological survey will provide a valuable middle-point in the formation of the proper reading of the image on multiple levels.

The viewer is led to understand the family to be, if not animals, then at least in the same position within the animal hierarchy as animals and specifically in this case as a rabbit. The fact that the family has been depicted as rabbits or hares evokes the image of the rabbit and its agility in escaping predators, mainly through running, jumping and hiding in holes. The police agents above ground and their symbols of power (weapons and uniforms of position) and their placement within the composition of the picture further add to the viewers understanding of the family as animals.

Furthermore, the addition of the weapons on the part of the artist is another element that encourages the viewer to read the image in such a way that the family is depicted as being hunted. As it is the case that humans hunt other animals with weapons, then the viewer can only read the image in this way; the hunted are in this case not the actual animal which is in the hole (which we can understand because it is actually the rabbit in the hole that possesses the most zoomorphic behavioral characteristics), but the human subjects who are to be understood as animals. This could then be understood to be the artists opinion regarding the Arizona law, which many critics, including the President of the United States, found to be inhuman and a violation of human rights because it encouraged racial profiling and lacked any kind of leniency required by law enforcement agents and the courts.¹⁸⁹

Obviously, the artist is opposed to the law requiring aliens to carry papers at all times and is comparing this to humans hunting animals for sport, such as is known to happen with rabbits. Also, the addition of the signage in Spanish helps the viewer to identify the subjects hidden underground as Mexican immigrants and the inclusion of the sympathetic human (in this case the above ground subject holding a Taco Bell® (a Tex-Mex fast food chain) bag (representing the synthesis and peaceful coexistence of Americanism and Mexicanism) is most likely a reference to the subsequent protests which occurred all over the United States in opposition to the Arizona legislation. This inclusion indeed helps to balance the characters that are above ground to some degree in a manner that allows the viewer to realize that not all people in the United States, or indeed in Arizona, favor such stringent laws regarding

¹⁸⁹ cf. Alberts, Sheldon. "Obama Criticizes Controversial Immigration Law." Canwest News Service, n.d. Web. 15 June 2013.

immigration and the racial profiling which was to be allowed by the enactment and carrying out of the law.

To summarize, the artist's very subtle inclusion of a kind of implied zoomorphism still allows the human subjects to be dehumanized through the use of animalistic traits, although they are not explicitly drawn with animal characteristics. The separation of the human subjects through the placement of certain authoritative subjects above ground, armed, uniformed and with implied motion and aggression (read through the facial expressions), and those below ground who are depicted huddled and frightened as a hunted animal might be, solidify this assertion. The inclusion of the rabbit in the hole with the family and its seemingly brave continence shows the viewer that the rabbit is not the hunted party in the hole but rather, in a role reversal, the humans. This is further amplified by the adoption of certain anthropomorphic physiological behaviors on the rabbit's part, and certain zoomorphic attributes given to the humans (especially concerning posture and legs).

It is therefore safe to assume that the human characteristics in Lopez's work are to be understood within a very specific context but with very certain zoomorphic attributes and characteristics (both physically and behaviorally). Likewise, it is clear that these attributes are so added in order to make a statement on the power position being displayed in the work and the role of the hunted animal in the submissive role. As being hunted is associated with stress and fright, it is quite natural then that the artist has chosen an animal which is also associated with being easily frightened and which has historically been a part of the hunt. The trick of the artist, by exchanging that which is usually hunted with humans, while still including the rabbit as part of the overall composition, only deepens the sense that the illustrator feels that the implications of the law are inhuman and that it will lead to humans being treated as prey by other humans.

6.4 Discourse Analysis Wave 4

The discourse surrounding the creation of the three images *Shadow Immigrants*, *Sleeping Uncle Tom is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion* and *Underground Immigrants* is one which, while not solely, still largely reflects the current debates and developments regarding increased immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries to the United States. Furthermore immigration, in the context which is to be examined here, is quite different from that which was dealt with in previous chapters because at this point, all exclusion provisions based solely upon ethnicity and race have been erased. Eventually however, legislation in 1952 and adjusted continuously since then, has replaced the older strict quota system in favor of a skills based evaluation as well as keeping provisions for family reunification and labor qualifications. While this new legislation seemed, at least at first, to be less prejudiced than previous laws had been, some details of the quota system remain. While this was improvement, it was not wholly inviting for immigrants as legislation still maintained certain provisions which favored the American worker:

“On the one hand, the ‘humanitarian values’ position was reflected in the abolition of the National Origins Act quota system and in the Act’s emphasis on family reunion embodied in a new system of preference categories. On the other hand, the effort to maintain American society was reflected in the introduction of set procedures meant to protect the jobs of the American labor force.”¹⁹⁰

Due to the porous nature of the border between the United States and Mexico and the long established connections between the two countries and their inhabitants, including a history of labor based immigrations, the Mexican immigration to the United States has been the most significant in terms of visual representation. Other immigrant groups were certainly part of the immigration to the United States at this time too however, and those included Filipinos, Southeast Asians and Eastern Europeans. These immigrations, while considerable in number and not missing from the visuality of the time, do not present the same corpus of illustrated representations that the Latin American (particularly Mexican) immigration does most likely due to their numbers and the extensive timeframe and geography involved:

“Contemporary Mexican and, more broadly, Latin American immigration is without precedent in U.S. history. The experience and lessons of past immigration have little relevance to understanding its dynamics and consequences. Mexican immigration differs from past

¹⁹⁰Keely, Charles B. "Effects of The Immigration Act of 1965 on Selected Population Characteristics of Immigrants to the United States." *Demographics*. 8.2 (1971): 158. Web. 29 May. 2013.

immigration and most other contemporary immigration due to a combination of six factors: contiguity, scale, illegality, regional concentration, persistence, and historical presence.”¹⁹¹

This is perhaps only a matter of geographic proximity, or even of racist/nativist sentiments which have existed between the two groups, but it might also be indicative of a certain kind of immigration discourse which surrounds Latino/Mexican immigration in contrast to that of other immigrant groups. The following will analyze that discourse and attempt to contextualize Foucault’s discursive ‘more’ so that it can be shown that this ‘more’ exists not only in the largely straight-forward imagery of the immigrants (in that the zoomorphic tendencies which were so present in the previous waves, and were mostly blatant, have become more subdued in regards to the greater social intolerance at least in the public sphere of racism or nationalistic prejudices) but also in less barefaced examples.

In examining *Shadow Immigrants* by Pat Bagley which was completed for the *Salt Lake City Tribune* in the spring of 2006, the viewer is again confronted immediately with a visual binary but this time not between human and non-human animals, but rather between imagery and language. The image is overfilled with rudimentary silhouettes of human figures, reduced to the most basic shapes that still allow an easy identification for the reader. The more obvious zoomorphic figures in this illustration are rather those who are not to be taken as part of the immigrant milieu but represent again, Uncle Sam as a personification of the U.S. government and the elephant and donkey figures which are solidly established characters that serve as stand-in symbols of the two major political parties in the United States- democrats (donkey) and republicans (elephants).¹⁹²

While it seems at first glance that the zoomorphism is shielded from the human subjects and rather appropriated for political entities, the insect-like properties of the crowd and the nature in which they are drawn cannot be overlooked. A further binary which cannot be overlooked is that of image/speech. Text is reserved for the swarming masses, that like a colony of invasive insects, leaves no single clean surface, but unlike insects, the hordes of primitively sketched bug-people are empowered with speech. Here, is where the true discursive formation is most obvious. The slogans printed on the signs that pepper the hyper-repetition of the figures (which itself gives the viewer over to the inclination of visualizing the

¹⁹¹ Huntington, Samuel P. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy*. 01 March 2004: Web. 12 Jan. 2013.

¹⁹² Interestingly both zoomorphic icons representing the two major political factions of American political life were created by Thomas Nast for Harper’s Weekly in 1870 & 1874.

monotony as a whole) read: AMNESTY; SÍ¹⁹³; LIBERTY FOR ALL; WE ARE HERE; IMMIGRATION NOW; VIVA USA¹⁹⁴; LIBERTAD Y JUSTICIA¹⁹⁵; WE ARE AMERICA; IMMIGRATION REFORM; SÍ SE PUEDE¹⁹⁶; LEGALIZE IMMIGRANTS; WE ARE ALL IMMIGRANTS; IMMIRATION REFORM NOW; WORKING IS NOT A CRIME, etc., and are the sole method of non-image based but rather language based communication with the viewer. It is therefore necessary for the viewer to engage in the humanization of the masses because it is after all humans who are capable of language production and not non-human subjects. At once the viewer is asked to negotiate a double identity in viewing this image, which involves the reversal of zoomorphism, yet its attendance in its most basically represented forms of simple circles and arcs- there is also the realization that this simplistic reduction of form and its repetition actually reinforce a spate zoomorphic identity which mirrors insects. Therefore, it can be argued that the illustrator is presenting the viewer with the paradox of a non-human who has been empowered with language and is simultaneously animalized and made partially human through the use of language. Language here is as much a medium of humanization as is the minimalist formalism of the drawn subjects, as it is a means of dehumanization and in this case animalization. Indeed, it is widely held that language is the most clearly elevated of the distinctions between human and non-human subjects and that humans are programmed from birth to do language thereby establishing language as a fundamental of what makes one human, and yet, it is not this programming or capacity that necessarily speaks of humanness but rather the doing of language:

“ . . . it is participation in human language and culture which gives us our edge . . . [T]his is not to deny the considerable evidence that human infants are born with built-in attentional capabilities and tacit expectations about the physical world and about social interactions.”¹⁹⁷

Additionally, the presence of flags in the crowd reminds the viewer of both the U.S. American flag and the Mexican flag which displays an eagle. Yet, neither of these elements is at all remarkable unless one considers that it is human societies that create flags as representations of their nation-states and that these often represent the unified and singular notion of a whole nation and not a fractured one. This parallels the unity of the crowd that

¹⁹³ Trans. Yes

¹⁹⁴ Trans. Live/Life USA

¹⁹⁵ Trans. Liberty and justice

¹⁹⁶ Trans. Yes, you can

¹⁹⁷ Genter, Dedre, and Susan Goldin-Meadow. *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2003. 196. Print.

exists within the composition as a massive unit which is affected by the use of the artist's minute drawing, however simple, of so many subjects which causes the eye to face difficulties in singling out a single character or another. Just as is the case when humans view insects in their swarms, the eye is tasked with foregoing the ability to individualize the multitudinous parts and instead identifies the various moving parts as a unified entity. Instead of individual identification in the case of the herd/swarm, a pattern approach is used which actually relies solely on non-individualistic factors such as numbers, repeating patterns and size/range. This approach as is carried out in the artist's illustration too, encourages the viewer to simply view a sole unitary entity wherein the multiplicity of human experiences is omitted:

“Pattern based approaches view herding (and social phenomena in general) in terms of the patterns of interaction among the agents, modeled as simple imitators, or as following basic heuristics. In other words, people are treated as units or atoms with certain simple, well-defined properties and modes of interacting that yield herding: the focus is patterns, not people.”¹⁹⁸

For all of the pattern development and encouragement for the viewer to totally dehumanize the immigrant subjects, the illustrator reminds the viewer that these subjects are indeed somehow human by showing them that they (the subjects) are capable of producing language. The inclusion of speech and flags reminds the viewer however, that these subjects are in fact humans and that they are capable of uttering their group thoughts although, again, in a binary fashion reflected in the use of two languages (English and Spanish).

The inclusion, on the part of the illustrator, of both English and Spanish, as well as the inclusion of the flags of Mexico and the United States, suggests that the acts taking place in the work are in fact part of the larger (and currently on-going) discourse surrounding the Latino immigrant presence in the United States. The sheer size and measure of the immigrant crowd underlines the old nativist sentiments that the country is being overrun and overwhelmed by immigrants and insects and is a tested analogy to draw upon in order to come to that sentiment. The idea conveyed is that there are too many Latino immigrants, as well as the notion that the immigrants are empowered enough to draw large crowds to rallies so that they can focus mass amounts of attention on their cause and possibly capture the

¹⁹⁸ Raafat, Ramsey M. "Herds in Humans." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*. 13.10 (2009): 422. Print.

attention of politicians who would be able to use this group to their political advantage, if the immigrant throngs were given what they are asking for: amnesty and legalization.¹⁹⁹

So here, it is quite easy to see that the illustrator is reflecting both sides of this particular argument and that that in some way balances the illustrator's visuality of both the immigrants and the political apparatus which has to deal with this problem, and is maybe not doing that sufficiently. This balance could in fact be considered part of the evaluation of the 'more' which is being carried on via the pervasive discourse which dominates media headlines as well as public-space discussions. The 'more' here calls on the viewer to take up the identity of one whom could be in favor of amnesty or against it; the mass or the government. Furthermore, the illustrator is clearly interested in two dual social identities becoming obvious and those would include: Latino and Anglo-influenced American. This is achieved through the use of the two languages in the slogans on the banners in the crowd. The identities are not treated in any way, by the artist, which would suggest any kind of deep partiality, because as has been already mentioned, there is a balanced identity taking place in this work despite the initial visual impulse to identity with the largest member-group due to sheer number association, rather than with the three government figures which the artist even had to separate from the visual field by including a negative space in the work between the two sides of the issue.

Moreover, the activity that is being built is one of a monolithic presence which is already extant in the United States and which is greatly mixed with the Anglo-Saxon dominant culture and this is accomplished via the dispersion of Spanish slogans throughout the gathered group. The norm for this activity is being set, not by the illustrator, but by the viewer who is encouraged to take up their own sympathies with one of these groups, or perhaps neither. The activity or institutions that the viewer is called upon to relate to are those institutions which have been long considered as the founding principles of the American experience; liberty, legal rights, justice and nationhood (WE ARE AMERICA). The inclusion of these choice words is certainly not coincidental and is even possibly used as part of the pull on the viewer to be conscious of the passage of time and the acquisition of those above mentioned institutions for the established dominant culture (in this case legal citizens).

Next, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*, which was included in the Washington Times and drawn by Bill Garner, is another example drawing

¹⁹⁹ "The Immigration Debate: HR 4437, S. 2454 and S. 2611." *The Civil Rights Monitor*. The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights. Web. 30 Jan 2013.

heavily on the swarm icon and using the familiar imagery of Uncle Sam. Here especially the mass mimics the movements and travel of insects (possibly ants) and Uncle Sam resembles closely Rodin's, *Thinker*. This example, while very similar to the former one, is a bit different due to omission. This is of special importance when considering that the technique of portraying the immigrants is the same as has been used before and yet the language faculty has been strictly reduced in this work. The only language included is the words, ILLEGAL ALIENS in the lower left corner and a trail of Zees being emitted by the sleeping old man who is representing the U.S. Government here. Zee is an onomatopoeic spelling of the sound which is made to denote sleeping and thereby the inference is that the Uncle Sam character is asleep in regards to the immigration issue. This reflects ongoing sentiments that the governmental administrations of various states and at the federal level were too slow to make immigration reforms or that the reforms were consecutive failures.²⁰⁰

Therefore, it can be understood that the activity being communicated to the viewer was likely intended to be that of protest and in such an extreme measure that the mass has been illustrated to be innumerable and overwhelming in a visual sense and formally composing nearly the whole work. Also, the identities which had been, as a logical byproduct within the space occupied by the ongoing Latino immigration issue, created within this illustration are the government (on the one hand represented zoomorphically but on the other represented as overly traditional, staid and held back considering that those zoomorphic icons used to represent them are so old and long-established and do not directly reflect any ascertainably contemporary characteristics of either political party) and the immigrant mass, the hordes, the flood of immigrants. While this is not a newly conjured image and it has been observed previously in the other works used, the degree to which the swarm is exaggerated for effect is mostly specific to this wave and this illustration is proof of that.

The social identity being enacted through the use of zoomorphic imagery here is that of the nameless, faceless, disempowered mass and this is accomplished by depicting the immigrants as those nameless, faceless and very small, nondescript, insect-like factions of society which possess no power or means to obtain it. The viewer, through the omission of any distinguishing characteristics whereby individuals would be recognizable in the swarm, is forced to forego any kind of attempt at visual association or the ability to identify with the immigrants through the illustrator's choices. The viewer is likewise unable to relate with the government who is shown fast asleep. The viewer is therefore left to their own conclusions as

²⁰⁰ Wiener, Rachel. "How immigration reform failed, over and over." *Washington Post* [Washington D.C.] 30 Jan 2013, n. page. Web. 30 Feb. 2013.

to with whom or with what one wishes to identify, or even to recognize, in this work. The only sure identification mechanism that has been carried out is the presence and agency of language.

Through the inclusion of text, here in two different languages, the viewer can attempt a process of self-recognition in the characters depicted. The viewer, if they are literate in Spanish, can understand the calls for validation by those whom it can be assumed represent the Latino immigrants. In turn however, there are also banners and signs in English and the viewer can also chose to identify with that language group. Lastly, the viewer can chose to read both languages if they are literate in both in which case the artist has already helped the viewer to read this image through means of their own bilingual advantage, or perhaps by virtue of their socio-cultural backgrounds. Language is therefore being used to manipulate the viewer into a version of empathy that the indeterminate zoomorphism does not allow if only the visual is taken into account. This is to say that the artist's language treats the immigrants as agents of provocation; against the government and perceived slow immigration reform, and linguistically the image asks viewers to take a side in this debate depending on which information they can read (which might be determined by their own ethnic identities). In the end, the viewer could, via language (either English or Spanish) decide to approach the image from a middle ground wherein they are able to manage to understand both the inferred meaning of the Spanish and the English slogans. In effect, language is being used as a means by which the binary present in the imagery is reinforced but at the same time, it is also being used as an agent of identifying the Latino's non-assimilating identity properties and therein it encompasses the denial of inclusion and the labeling of otherness. The Spanish language banners become token labels of otherness and a means by which the Latino presence is objectified; Spanish as a mechanism by which exclusion is performed and identification is imposed. The viewer is denied the ability to emotively respond to the immigrants through the foreignness of language compiled with zoomorphic imagery which prohibits personalization and individual identification:

“Without encouragement to construct others as endowed with similar or more advanced capabilities, communication would be reduced to monologues, to performing for audiences or mere producing and disseminating messages, as mass communication is often inadequately described. Treating the behavior of others as casually determined and predictable disrespects the constructed nature of the realities of those studied or faced in communication. It reduces society to a mechanism. Without the ability to appreciate the outstanding difference in others' understanding, empathy and love could not arise and creativity would be stifled by authority -

imposed or socially enforced (in any case from outside) rules. Without the ability to explore others' reality constructions one would not realize the constructed nature of one's own reality."²⁰¹

In relation to the artist however, it is genuinely vague as to which position is being taken. The artist has decided to function in the role of an interpreter of current events and not necessarily as one having an opinion. The only suggestion that the viewer receives to perhaps show a bias on the illustrator's part is the sleeping Uncle Sam in which case it could be argued that the illustrator, by choosing to include this well known symbol of the U.S. government, and additionally by depicting this symbol as dormant and not exerting any active power but rather simply thinking in sleep, wants to convey that the government should urgently wake up. The urgency is underlined by the inclusion of the immigrants trickling up the sleeping old man and the use of the uncountable mass to induce a sense of awe.

This sense of urgency is likewise evoked in Angelo Lopez's, '*Underground Immigrants*' from May 30, 2010 where an implied chase or manhunt is underway, which includes figures representing average citizens who are looked upon with suspicion for the most tenuous of links to perceived Latino sympathies and aggressive and foreboding police personnel. The inclusion of these characters initially sets up a means by which the viewer can identify authority in the work so that it is clear who is hunting and who is being hunted. Also, formally the immigrants are literally depicted underground while those who are supposed to represent authority, law and order are positioned above ground. Here too the artist has incorporated text into the illustration so that viewers are called on to identify linguistically with one subject or the other. This linguistic identification hints not only at cultural connections that viewers might have with the subjects, but the inter-social power discourses that exist between these two groups: legal and illegal. As the signage in *Underground Immigrants* is mostly in English and there is only one single inclusion of Spanish text, we can infer that the illustrator either wishes to imply (or that dominant discourse has enforced the shown reflection) that the viewers are to understand that the voice of the immigrants, shown hiding in a hole with an anthropomorphized rabbit, is nearly absent. The voice, and thereby the language faculty, is not only missing so that it is clear that the immigrants are to be understood as non-humans, but the omission of any kind of language robs the subjects of any power that might be displayed via speech. In essence, a controlled discourse is on show of one power group depicting a secondary power group as having no (or very little) power at all.

²⁰¹Bermejo, Fernando, and Klaus Kippendorff. *On Communicating: otherness, meaning and information*. 1st ed. Routledge, 2008. 85. Print.

Foucault speaks of something like these structural entities of power systems in his, *Discourse on Language*, and importantly he mentions that these discourses are sometimes self-perpetuated and work within their own rules and regulations whereby they are highly susceptible to events (within the framework of this work, that would imply that these events happen within the socio-political sphere dealing with U.S. American immigration):

“There are, of course, many [other] systems for the control and delimitation of discourse. Those I have spoken of up until now are, to some extent, active on the exterior; they function as systems of exclusion; they concern that part of discourse which deals with power and desire...I believe we can isolate another group: internal rules, where discourse exercises its own control; rules concerned with the principals of classification, ordering and distribution. It is as though we were now involved in the mastery of another dimension of discourse; that of events and chance.”²⁰²

The subterranean subjects here are accompanied, as previously mentioned, by an anthropomorphized rabbit that while exhibiting human like characteristics and behavior, manages to be easily identifiable as the sole animal subject in hiding. However, upon closer examination, the viewer can plainly see that the humans are drawn with zoomorphic traits which are not immediately discernible because they are not outright. The humans crouching in a hole below the ground, the manner in which they are huddled and crouched does not resemble human characteristics and behaviors but rather those that might be more associated with animal subjects, particularly in this case rodents which spend some time in the earth. So here the visuality being affected is that of identity switching as it is the more obvious zoomorphically influenced image that is to be understood as representing the real animal and not the subtle zoomorphism displayed by the human subjects, but who nonetheless could be easily interpreted as showing zoomorphic influence. It could be argued that these collective behaviors represent not an animal, but rather an animal behavior or an animal behavior symbol that seeks not to mimic real animal behavior but instead to reference it. Therefore the viewer is asked to identify the subjects as humans and to draw the opposite conclusion at once. To hold two opposing image identity concepts within one image, shows that just as the viewer is expected to identify the signage languages (as a human cognitive faculty), they are not called upon to integrate those symbols as simply ‘language’ but to draw the conclusion that one of those languages is foreign. Cowley briefly references duality in his article on ape language acquisition: “In humans, knowledge of language is irreducible to knowledge of a

²⁰² Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*. Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2010. 220. Print.

symbol system.” And he goes on to state that, “...knowing a language necessarily includes being able to adapt to circumstances”.²⁰³

This adaptation to circumstances (and holding opposing symbolic meanings) takes place throughout the examining of the texts that are included in the illustration: NO ILLEGALS; THIS MEANS YOU; NO WAY JOSE; ADIOS AMIGOS²⁰⁴ and it should be remembered that the signage would be legible mostly to those who are fluent in English and this gives insight into whom the illustrator intends to read this message, both through the means of reading and understanding the text, but also the greater ‘reading’ of the image which needs to be undertaken to see the portrayed events within the discursive formation being commented upon here: the plight of illegal immigrants in the United States. One openly sees that the work asks viewers to first identify with the norm being established, which is one of the dominant (non-immigrant) culture that closely mimics the nativist sentiments that have been present in previous illustrations in this work. The nativist point of view is one which is hostile toward the immigrants, forcing them to hide and go underground: literally in the illustration but likely figuratively in the greater social sense. The action of going underground or hiding from sight and therefore becoming invisible is a sentiment that can be heard in the contemporary Latino immigrant narrative. However, this phenomenon is not based solely upon immigrant status and the question of legality or illegality, but is rather a sentiment held even by Latinos who are U.S. citizens who because of their exclusion from the political process, or perhaps even their ties with the illegal immigration issue, may feel similarly. It is a safe postulation in turn to state that invisibility (often brought about through hiding as in the case of the undocumented immigrants in the illustration) is a central theme of the contemporary Latino experience for both legal and illegal immigrants.²⁰⁵

The directness of statements that are depicted on the signage such as: NO ILLEGALS and THIS MEANS YOU, which resemble commands rather than statements or questions reflects the degree to which the viewer is meant to understand the sentiments of the nativist opinion. Furthermore, the inclusion of a sole sign in Spanish (ADIOS AMIGOS) saying goodbye but also making sure that the immigrants, who may not have been able to read the other signs, understand above all, the information telling them goodbye. This insinuation that they are not welcome is, as stated, underlined by the directness of the statements in English,

²⁰³ Cowley, Stephen. "Of Representations and Language." *Language and Communication*. 17.4 (2006): 286. Print.

²⁰⁴ Trans. Bye friends

²⁰⁵ Sanchez, Mary. "Latino voters to candidates: what are we, chopped chorizo?" *Chicago Tribune* [Chicago] 02 March 2012.

which may or may not be included for the identification purposes of the viewer and may in fact be of only secondary usage in the visuality of the image in regards to the immigrant subjects and for what purpose the zoomorphic aspect has been carried out.

Lopez's use of imagery (including text) includes a treatment of the subjects identities that is more or less sympathetic (to the immigrants) and that of the dominant power-elite (here represented by the law enforcement officials) which is scorned as they are depicted as being aggressive and reactionary. This is greatly contrasted in former illustrations used in these analyses, such as *Rum.Blood*. whereby those the viewer is called upon to sympathize with are actually the police, and it is the immigrants who are reflective of violence and disorder. The switching of sympathies reflects what the artist might be trying to inform the viewer about (while trying to mention the greater discursive formation that is active within the context surrounding the Latino immigration issue (particularly the Mexican immigration and the subtopic of illegal immigration in the United States from Mexico)), and thereby it follows that the zoomorphic representation has also been switched. And, while viewers are called on to create the identity of the immigrants as animalistic, the viewer is also contrarily expected to accept the anthropomorphic aspect of the actual animal in the hiding hole with the immigrants.

The viewer is persuaded to accept the identity of an observer of the greater immigration issue which is being commented upon in the work. The viewer sees the level of dehumanization with which the immigrants are depicted and the aggression as attributed to the law enforcement agents and is compelled to sympathize with the immigrants. The title, *Underground Immigrants* while not visible in the image itself, also contributes to the sense that the immigrants are oppressed by a law enforcement practice which is seen as inhumane. The issues at hand are those surrounding the rights (if any) of illegal immigrants in the United States, calls for amnesty from various factions of society and the role of the civilian legal population in the protection or detriment of the illegal aliens. The issue of deportation and being hunted is handled through the comment being made on the contemporary enforcement-based approach to handling illegals.²⁰⁶

Overall, the discourse that informs these three illustrations, *Shadow Immigrants*, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion* and *Underground Immigrants* is surely one that is ongoing, in the contemporary context and which still enflames opinions

²⁰⁶Lee, Brianna. "The US Immigration Debate." *Council on Foreign Relations*. The Council on Foreign Relations, 19 Apr 2013. Web. 1 May 2013.

and positions on all sides of the political spectrum. This requires the viewer, who may not even be familiar with the dialog, to understand that within the visuality presented at least, there are ideological lines being drawn surrounding the issue of immigration even now as they have been throughout all previous waves of immigration.²⁰⁷ While there is no single party or organization at work that is feeding the discursive formation surrounding illegal aliens (such as the Know Nothings in wave three) the viewer is asked to take sides and gather their sympathies with either the authoritative subjects who are likely representations of the larger power-authority construct, or with the immigrants who have been dehumanized and are now living like animals being hunted.

Also, with the inclusion of the swarm image, the discourse being commented upon is simultaneously zoomorphic insomuch as the immigrants are shown as insect-like and non-descript, but moreover, that the United States figure is depicted as unaware of the influx. While it cannot be certainly determined, it is likely that in the illustrations where this symbolism is used, the viewer is to experience feelings of inundation (which are also consistent with iconography that has been examined here regarding other waves). The herd/swarm icon is therefore one that can be confirmed to repeat with the considerable intention of injecting a specific fear, based on mere quantity in fact, of being overwhelmed. While this cannot be finally determined here, nor does this work seek those aims, it is sure that this icon has migrated from previous waves into this one.

In summation, *Shadow Immigrants*, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion* and *Underground Immigrants* are all examples which stress the role of the discursive formations regarding the Latino immigration and ongoing amnesty issues in the United States during wave four- the most recent wave of immigration. While other groups arrived in the country in large numbers during the end of wave three and the start of wave four, these immigrations do not represent the kinds of numbers present within the Latino immigration and their arrival tended to be in blocks of immigration rather than the slow but steady Latino version. Just as has been seen with previous waves, it is largely immigrant groups that arrive in very voluminous amounts that end up being depicted in American illustrations and visualized with the zoomorphic element. It is not the goal of this work to track that particular phenomenon, but it is of interest to note that in addition to the migration from wave three to four of blatant zoomorphic imagery, there could also be a link between the numeric presence of immigrants and their zoomorphic representations.

²⁰⁷ Parker, Ashley. "Immigration Overhaul is Likely to Ignite Fierce Debate." *New York Times* [New York] 16 Apr 2013.

In the end, these illustrations show us that one of the major means by which the surrounding society has chosen to incorporate Latino immigrants into the visuality of the dominant scopic culture, has been largely to use the foreign language aspect to further enforce a distancing of the immigrants from their mainstream American viewers in addition to the zoomorphic references. All of these factors: the kind of reduced and implied zoomorphism that focuses more on behavioral representations rather than anatomic ones, the linguistic differentiation between groups and lastly the importing of the use of zoomorphic imagery from previous waves, indicate that there is a composition of factors that must be present (even without necessarily active volition) within the scopic regime from within the contemporary setting. The coming together of all of these factors is the active aspect of Foucault's discursive 'more' and suggests that many things are being said without being said at all, and that these unsaid statements are present in the creation of the images as they are reflections of actual events and the forming of discourse (or elements thereof) within society at large.

6.5 Conclusion of Wave 4

With the preceding analyses of the pictorial examples selected for wave four, the historic background and the discourse analyses, a zoomorphic imagery that is consistently present and includes both the pictures themselves as well as the text which accompanies them either as titles or as text incorporated into the composition, has been traced through from the earlier immigration waves until the present. The three examples presented in this section; *Shadow Immigrants*, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion* and *Underground Immigrants*, all equally showcase examples in which the legacy of zoomorphic imagery can be seen but to a degree which may be interpreted as less obvious and more implicit than explicit. These works contain the traits which were present in works from earlier waves but use different iconography in order to appeal to the changed visual sensitivities of the day. While at first glance it might seem that the works have negotiated the dehumanizing aspects which are so blatantly obvious in for example, the works of Thomas Nast which have been reviewed here in waves two and three, upon closer inspection, zoomorphic imagery is prevalent also in wave four simply not in such a straightforward way as before.

In *Shadow Immigrants*, the viewer is treated to an icon which was touched upon before which is that of the herd or swarm. The mass of people gathered to protest the treatment of Latino immigrants in the United States and possible legislation against them, is a monolithic entity until the realization is made that the mass is made of tiny insect-like humans whose bodies and heads are made of elementary circles and ovals. This primitive aspect of the illustrator's choice to depict the immigrants and their allies in such a way already implies a gaze which objectifies the immigrants in that it disallows the identification of their individuality. The ability to erase the individuality of the subjects as well as their holding of banners in Spanish as well as English might at once be a statement on the integration of Latino immigrants in United States civil society or it might be an affront to the politicization of the immigrants. While these aspects have been covered already in the sections preceding, they warrant repeating in that they are parts of the major dealings of the discourse analysis of this work. As has been explored in the analyses regarding this work, the language as well as the imagery that is evoked from the matching of the particular visual illustrations and the text that is included all work together to create a statement on immigrants which is 'more' than either aspect manages to do on its own.

In, *Sleeping Uncle Sam is Overwhelmed by Illegal Alien Invasion*, the artist has drawn upon imagery which is likely already present within the western artistic consciousness,

Rodin's sculpture, *The Thinker*. This work is however set apart from the mentioned masterpiece in that it contains the kind of tiny insect-like swarm that is reminiscent of the imagery used in the work before. This mass of what are identified as illegal aliens crawls up and over the statue representing the sleeping United States in a manner which immediately conjures associations with arthropodic insects (such as ants). This imagery has been seen in this work previously in reference to the Chinese in wave two. Also similar imagery has been seen in this very wave as already mentioned. The text is limited in this work but already the title implies aggression and otherness. In tandem, both the image and the little text that is included serve to sufficiently identify the immigrants for the viewer as being animalistic, other, outsider and a threat, and this is imagery which is easily traceable back to the earliest works that have been dealt with here.

The final work in this wave, *Underground Immigrants* is one which uses both zoomorphic imagery and also anthropomorphic imagery. Anthropomorphism is not within the major scope of this work and therefore, it is not examined extensively here yet it is worth noting that it is present in that it highlights the zoomorphic iconography which much like the last work is more implicit here rather than explicit. The immigrants, hiding in a rabbit hole are hunted by law enforcement officers who are engaged in hunting them like animals. This leads the viewer to understand that for the intents of this work, these immigrants are indeed animals or being treated as such at least. The text that is included helps the viewer to identify the animalized humans as Latino immigrants who are being chased after by the law which reflects an on-going search and deport debate developing currently regarding the status of illegal immigrants in the United States. As has been discussed in the discourse analysis as well as the pictorial analysis for this work, the rabbit (which is actually depicted as having more human capabilities than the immigrants) protecting the immigrant family, is capable of absolutely unnatural feats and so it is clear then that viewers are not meant to see the rabbit as the animal but rather the crouched subjects he is protecting. The combination of the identification possible through the text included, the zoomorphic aspect of the physiology included in the human behavior (on the part of the immigrants) and the burying of the subjects, and therefore placing them outside the course of human events, only exacerbates their otherness and encourages the viewer to identify them as animals.

All in all, these three examples while less forward in their illustrated depictions, all display the zoomorphic imagery that has been present since the first analyses undertaken in the earliest waves of this work. While the iconography has changed from one wave to the

next, and the goal of this work is not to pinpoint specific iconography from one wave to the next, it is clear that a migration of imagery has indeed been continuous from the second wave to the fourth. These zoomorphic imageries, composited of both illustrated subjects and their environments as well as the text which accompanies these chosen works (including their titles), are at once demonstrative and reserved. Despite the more blatant use of zoomorphic iconography in the earlier waves and the sedation of the that aspect in the later ones, there is something ‘more’ that is built through their pairing which simultaneously observes and contributes to their composition in the visuality which is the narrative of U.S. American immigration history. Final conclusions, regarding the illustrations and the migration of the zoomorphic imagery in them as well as the composited imagery therein, are found at the end of this work in the conclusion section.

7.0 Migrating Imageries: Conclusion

The primary goal of this work has been to determine if there is zoomorphic imagery in illustrations which is consistent throughout the various waves of examined immigration to the United States and if so, that that presence, proven through the selection of the chosen illustrations spanning the majority of the breadths of that immigration, and determined by the findings of these analyses, is indeed traceable. Moreover, it is not only this imagery itself which finds its place in the different waves, but the migratory aspect of this imagery that was also of interest to track. The fact that the imagery has been found to have been a significant presence in the illustrations of mass media publications such as *Harper's*, and that these images were created by some of the most celebrated media artists of the day (e.g. Thomas Nast and Louis Dalrymple) signifies that these illustrations and their use of zoomorphic imagery is not simply coincidence but that it coincides with historic events that shaped the public perception of the immigrant in the visual culture of the time, thereby creating what is effectively the scopic regime or at least significantly contribute to it; in this case, how many of the non-immigrants viewed and continue to view the immigrant. Of course there are sociological implications to this phenomenon and while the discovery and exploration of this phenomenon are not the gist of this work, in the sections dealing with discourse analysis, the reader is given the opportunity to see to what degree the discourse surrounding the creation of these illustrations also involved or invoked zoomorphic imagery. Therefore, it is vital to point out that the term 'imagery' here is being used not only to denote that which is seen, but other elements of the illustrations which enact any kind of agency on viewing of the image- in this case a dehumanizing one is most significant. That is to say that not only what the viewer sees has been examined, but also what the viewer reads in accompaniment to the illustrations and as there are even, in the form of pictorial analyses using methodic iconographic analyses, identifiable images (a term previously explained as to its usage in this work) which can be isolated and which are unmistakably animalistic.

As this work deals with the depiction of immigrants to the United States, it is necessary to mention that the importation of slaves and the depiction of African slaves are not dealt with in this work as slavery was an institution that was subject to different migrational factors that were not part of the immigrant experience. The patterned push-pull factors of immigration that are present in other immigrant groups, including all of those groups that are investigated here, are not applicable to the forced transport of Africans from Africa to be used as slave labor in the territory that is now the United States of America. Likewise, any

immigration that occurred to the territory that is now the United States of America before independence in 1776 is not dealt with here. This thereby disqualifies the first wave of immigration to the territory that is now the United States – colonial immigration. Colonial immigration, is a phenomenon which is itself a meta-phenomenon of colonialization, and is such a great and multi-faceted means of immigration that it cannot be dealt with sufficiently within the scope of the aims of this work and has therefore not been included. When immigration is mentioned in this work, these two aspects then are not included in that delineation.

Furthermore, as the goals which have been most important here have been to trace a migration of imagery throughout the waves of immigration to the United States, it has been insufficient to depend on the reliance of terms to clarify exactly what is not included in the coverage of the topic. In order to avoid any misunderstanding in exactly what is sought after here, multiple analyses have been included which help the reader to determine exactly what is being traced and exactly what elements are necessary in order to carry the findings from one wave into those of the next and therein establish the means of propulsion, that is the less obvious object of exactly what is being traced, throughout the waves in the form of a consistent zoomorphic imagery. Again, the isolation of particular icons, while helpful in establishing a pictorial migration of imagery, is not undertaken here. Primarily, imagery both in the form of pictorial icons and in the form of imagery used in language, is what is being traced through the waves of immigration and that has been sufficiently proven in the previous sections, as each wave's conclusions attest to the validity of both, a preliminary presence of zoomorphic imagery and a consequent migration of zoomorphic imagery into the following wave.

As mentioned, the multiple methods of analysis undertaken all help to pinpoint elements of imagery which are migrational; that move from one wave into the next and up until the current immigration experience as far as it is represented in illustrations in the United States. Also, these different analyses were decided upon as it was deemed early on that this work would not focus on specific icons that may or may not migrate through the waves, but merely the presence of imagery (which the isolation of specific icons may assist in proving the existence of) that is of a zoomorphic nature in the different waves which are evaluated. The wave which involves the colonial period has, for reasons already given, been excluded and so the examination begins in the antebellum United States, which is relevant due to the fact that this wave does envelope the time of the United States Civil War (1861 – 1865) and

the implications that that held for race relations in the United States thereafter are dealt with to some degree as is relevant to the images created at that time having also to do with immigrants. The following wave, which represents an apex in the representation of immigrants displaying zoomorphic influence, covers a period roughly beginning in the 1870s and concluding about a decade after the turn of the century. This wave also involves a culmination of anti-Irish sentiment which is dealt with extensively in the pictorial analyses for this wave. The groups of primary representation in illustrations at this time, as is evidenced by the volume of illustrations chosen for this work, were the Irish and the Chinese. This is dealt with at length in the analyses in that respective wave and need not be reviewed here, other than to remind the reader that this period of evaluation, while not solely interested in these two ethnic groups and the imagery and discourse surrounding their immigration to the United States, deals more in-depth with their presence in the contemporaneous scopical regime than it does with other groups and it is, perhaps especially in the case of the Irish, of interest to note that the discourse surrounding the Irish was exacerbated by what was perceived to be a Catholic threat due to the overwhelming adherence of the new Irish immigrants to that faith.

The final wave dealt with covers a broad period which is contained by the post-1960 delineation. This period of immigration is dominated by the presence of the Latino, Spanish-speaking immigrants and therefore the use of a language other than English is for the first time presented in the illustrations and is similarly evaluated in the section dealing with these illustrations and that analyzes the discourse of the time. The illustrations however, are consistent in this wave in the use of zoomorphic imagery. While the use of zoomorphism in this wave is not as blatant as that found in previous waves, it is still clear to see that especially in the case of Latinos, there is a tendency in the pictorial representations to display the subjects as insects, swarm-like, and small but multitudinous. Additionally, the pictorial analyses, focusing on elements of the pictures which include not only the zoomorphic aspect but with a special attention to it, also cover parts of the illustrations which differ from previous representations of immigrants in other ways as well. Zoomorphism, and its presence throughout the various immigration waves to the United States, does remain the dominant phenomenon which is examined here, but it cannot be the only one as it is absolutely necessary that the imagery which is at a primary glance zoomorphic, can also be identified as representing a discursive formation manifest in imagery, otherwise it would be impossible to be quite sure of the identification of the zoomorphism at all. That is to say that if, at first glance, the viewer identifies zoomorphic elements that may not mean that they are necessarily intentional or that they speak to broader sociological implications and

circumstances. Yet, if discourse can be isolated which surrounded the creation of the image, and that discourse (and its presentation via language) supports the presence of a pictorial animalistic tendency, then it is likely that the viewer's identification of the zoomorphic iconography is a true or valid reading of the image which does not rely to a high degree on a contemporary influence in the interpretation. This too, is further supported when the viewer is made aware of the historic background in which the illustration was created which serves to give context and understanding of the actual events which might be reflected, or even in some cases directly represented, in the chosen works.

In order that all these elements and various analytical methods work together to trace the migration of certain imagery, it is of import to explain their inclusion in this work. This is mostly covered in the section of this work which deals with the details of the methodology used herein, but will follow briefly in order to assist the reader of this conclusion to place the methods within their proper place pertaining to the work that has been presented. First, it is important to recall that the illustrations chosen were found to contain zoomorphic imagery upon immediate inspection- that is at first sight. While this may seem somewhat unscientific, it is actually the first step which much be undertaken in the kind of pictorial analysis done in this work which follows the method of iconography established by Erwin Panofsky. Panofsky's first level of iconographic analysis is the pre-iconographic, or simply looking at the work for the basic elements which compose it. So, upon examination of the chosen illustrations, the first level of criteria was already achieved simply by recognizing that there is imagery present which may have been animalistic/zoomorphic. Following Panofsky's methodology, the next step after identifying elements which compose the illustration (or respective other medium), is an insistence upon assigning a status upon certain images which might have a meaning which is intrinsic to the reading/viewing of the image; the icon. The icon is the unit that exists in the pictorial work which makes it readable for the methodologist. In this text then, icons, while shifting from one wave to the next often (e.g. the apish Irishman is forgotten by the final wave in favor of the insect-like Latino) are a specific kind of immigrant representation. That is to say, the icons all are assigned to human subjects in the works and that the unique icons which are assigned to various ethnic or immigrant groups, are not themselves interesting for the aims reached for here, but rather the mere existence of such icons is important. This existence of zoomorphic imagery however, along with its migration from one wave to another throughout immigration to the United States, is traceable through the chronology of immigration and that is what is found to be of significance.

Next, Panofsky's method calls on the previously alluded to assignment of meaning, in terms of pictorial language. That is to say, which particular icons could mean specifically determined definitions? This question is answered by looking at these icons in detail, but not solely in isolation from the other compositional elements in the pictorial example. The meanings of those icons are examined within the scope of their historic context at this stage as well. Also, these deduced meanings are used to carry the analyst into the following stage of the method which is a iconological stage, which is the most important of the steps as far as the goals of these analyses are concerned within the context of what is sought after here. At this stage the reader will also find the elements which are most like those found in the stage of discourse analysis. Thereby, it is believed that these two similar approaches (albeit one focused upon the pictorial representations and the other on the language use) will assist one another in a reading of the image which is true to its time and place, but also to the narrative of the immigrant group or subject being portrayed.

The relevance of seeking the proper portrayal of the immigration experience of any particular group is essential to ensure that certain representations of zoomorphism are not simply blanket representations that would have been, or are applied, to all immigrants from a particular wave. The Irish are depicted with overwhelmingly simian features in the illustrations presented here for reasons other than simply the artist's ability to incorporate simian features into the illustrations. The attributions are not arbitrary or random and there is certainly volition on the artist's part in the depiction of the immigrant subjects as animals, or at least animal like. Although it is impossible to determine the artist's reasons, personal convictions or attitudes towards immigrants via the phenomenon of American immigration, through the examination of the discourse surrounding the images it is possible to understand what kinds of formations were coming to life concerning the construct at the time. This too underscores the importance of not only the discourse analyses but also the historic analyses as it would be a kind of revisionist attitude to assume that the language (in collation with the illustrations) contain all of the same meanings and implications as are contemporarily assigned.

Still, it is not only the presence of zoomorphic iconography nor its migration which is solely of interest, but furthermore, the language used to assist the viewers of the works. All of the works chosen as examples, and which are included herein, are specimens which include the multi-modal element of text as well as the illustrated image. The texts too work to inform the viewer turned viewer-reader in simultaneity with the simple compositional recognition of

the works from a solely pictorial point of view. In *The Archeology of Knowledge* by Foucault, the reader is introduced to the idea that discourse is to some degree generative. That is to say that discourse is at once created and creating, and this notion is dealt with in depth and great detail in the respective sections which carry out the discourse analyses regarding mostly the multi-modality or intertextuality (if one considers the language of the zoomorphic icons to also be a kind of pictorial language). Of greatest importance to this work is the notion of the discursive 'more' which Foucault introduces as something that is beyond merely what is generated by discourse or the conglomeration of discursive acts into a formation. This notion is also similar to the concept highlighted in Panofsky's post-iconographic or iconological stage of analysis in which interpretive meanings can be assigned to icons. These interpretive meanings are of course not random, but are based upon meaning that is hinted at, or inferred, by the icon and its placement within the particular imagery.

The scientific methods carried out in this text have been chosen so that there is evidence of an agency that can use the relationship between Foucault's 'more' and Panofsky's iconological phase as the means of propulsion of imagery between the different waves of immigration to the United States. Implied in that goal is the idea that the imagery, not the image nor the discursive formation alone, contains in and of itself as a means of interpretation, no agency of mobility- it does not move through time of its own means. The generative function of discourse does not autonomously produce agency through which imagery can migrate. Movement is therefore absent in the interpretation of icons as that interpretation must take place within a chronological and locative framework (as is evidenced by the necessity in Panofsky's methodology of historic analysis) and likewise discourse creation does not singularly ensure that it will generate identical formations over time as Foucault's proposition of the discursive 'more' suggests (if not assures) that the formations might be influenced by any of the morphological factors that exist within static places, times, phenomena or circumstances which are not, at the time of the conception of the formation (which is itself subjected to constant change of and by itself) totally fixed but which become set formations only upon subsequent review.

If in fact these exact factors of propulsion that allow imagery to migrate through time as generative and generated formations cannot be pinpointed in any scientific way as to where they begin or end (meaning the developmental process of how they become formations), which is suggested by Foucault's use of 'more' rather than a definite term which might espouse the viewer-reader's ability to concretize them, then there is nothing left to state other

than to agree with Foucault that something 'more' is present. If that 'more' is an intentional agent or not is impossible to determine but it is observable insofar as the viewer-reader can see and read the imagery consistently in different stages of time (presented here as the different waves of immigration to the United States) with an understanding (although how exact an understanding of the intended meaning is uncertain) of what is being communicated via the use of certain imageries.

At this stage it is relevant to reconnect to the use of zoomorphic imagery in the chosen samples. As has already been stated, the most primitive step within the iconographic analysis is that one which is to simply look at the illustration and observe what elements exist in its composition – i.e. what can one see? If in this step, some imagery is present which suggests the dehumanization of a subject via zoomorphism, then it can be said that this zoomorphism is a kind of agent upon the image that the viewer can identify. The further task becomes determining to what degree this imagery exists; blatant or implied. Once this has been determined, then it is necessary to decide which elements of the image suggest this specific interpretation of the imagery and this is when it will become helpful to do a historic review in order to understand what events took place that surrounded the creation and viewing of the image. After the historic review has been done, only then, can one understand the iconography and begin to conclude interpretive, post-iconographic or iconological meaning. All of these are necessary in determining that the zoomorphic imagery is firstly present and secondarily, that it is of its time and place and therefore was and remains interpretive.

Next, once the zoomorphic imagery has been decidedly identified to indeed be just that, the discourse analysis can be undertaken, as has been done in this work. This discourse analysis allowed the words, language and language elements which coexist within an intertextual, multimodal relationship with the image (which has been explained already but which for the sake of summary is reduced in this conclusion sufficiently as: the language informs the reading of the image and vice versa), to be explored. Thereby the zoomorphic imagery which has already been determined at this stage to be present visually is upheld by the discourse that surrounds the image, which the image is a part of and perpetuates. The initial step in concluding findings, isolating and correlating the zoomorphic imagery (both pictorially present and discursively present), is herewith finished.

Once it is made clear that discursive formations are present in the imageries, this work's aims include determining if these imageries migrate from one wave of immigration into the next. As historians have already established a chronological taxonomy in regards to

immigration to the United States, which has been explained in the historic sections and also in the section explaining the methodology used herein, it is unnecessary to find a new method of dividing this large time period into smaller units which allow for a more thorough analysis. This division has already been established and is referred to as ‘waves’ of immigration. At the start of this concluding section, it was explained that for the aims and purposes of this work, the first wave which took place in colonial America, before independence, is not evaluated. Therefore, the sections dealing with history are carried out only so that they can support the interpretative methods included in both the pictorial analyses and the discourse analyses.

Exactly these schemas have been undertaken in this work in order to provide the needed framework for establishing not only the presence of zoomorphic imagery, but also its migration through the various waves of immigration to the United States. As this section is a concluding section, it is important to stress that exactly the same methods have been applied in just the same way to each of the chosen illustrations and likewise in relation to the text that is included with them. This consistency is proven here to be effective as the findings of each of the waves has affirmed the initial pre-iconographic theory that there is a zoomorphic imagery that is traceable throughout reviewed waves of immigration which are dealt with as a part of what was to be carried out. This has therefore ensured a level of repetition which provides stability in the approaches involved in evaluating the imagery from waves that are not only separated by significant time periods, but also that deal with very different ethno-cultural subjects.

In the interest of limiting the scope and focus of this work to proving that there is a consistently present zoomorphic iconography throughout the waves of immigration to the United States, and not solely unique icons that might be present in one wave but not the preceding or proceeding one, it is helpful here to recap the imagery which was most significant from each analyzed wave and also, within the context of the imagery which exists from the other waves, the consistency of that zoomorphic imagery. This will follow in a chronological manner so that the evidence for each wave which possesses the zoomorphic imagery in the representation of the immigrant subjects can be shown to exist. This is executed in order that the conclusion’s structure collates to that which the reader will already recognize from the analyses.

Starting with wave two, actually the first wave to be analyzed for zoomorphic imagery due to the exclusion of any examples from wave one as it does not fit into the defined terms and boundaries for the aims of what is being proved here; it was found that an observable

inclusion of zoomorphic imagery is present in the illustrations. In *The Great Fear of the Period: That Uncle Sam May Be Swallowed by Foreigners – The problem Solved* by an unknown artist, we start to see in the emergence of zoomorphic imagery a relation to two specific ethnic groups; the Irish and the Chinese. Unlike the other samples that are used in wave two, it was not created by the illustrator Thomas Nast and so it can be concluded that the inclusion of simian features is not simply a particularity to his illustrative style. Ergo, the presence of some sort of discursive formation in which the Irish were equated with apishness must have preexisted the creation of this first image. In the pictorial analysis of this illustration the simian features of the Irishman were pinpointed as being blatant in their zoomorphism and when this element is combined with the action which the illustration shows- cannibalism, and the cannibalism which the textual accompaniment insinuates, it is unmistakably sure that the zoomorphic imagery is not only present, but extreme, and furthermore that it is assigned not only to the Irish subject, but also to the Chinese subject who displays insect-like tendencies. It is therefore, certain that zoomorphic imagery exists in this work.

Thomas Nast's, *Rum-Blood: The Day We Celebrate* from *Harper's* is an illustration portraying actual events, but with an exaggerated and biased point of view. Again, it is the Irish here who are depicted as animalistic savages who are incapable of participation in civil society. The brutal attack on the police which is part of the textual aid to the reading of this image, is supported with the visual material that only solidifies the basis of the imagery which leads to the reader understanding that the immigrant subjects (here the Irish) are uncivilized and violent. That they are incapable of elements which are suitable for human societies and that their disregard for social norms is suggested to be a result of their alcoholism, and furthermore their clannish nature as has been explored somewhat in the historic section that accompanies this wave. The Irish subjects display easily recognizable simian features which are most apparent in their facial structures and expressions. In this illustration the zoomorphic imagery is furthered by the artist's inclusion of implied rowdy behavior and the physiological aspects of apish movement. The discourse analysis concluded that the textual basis upon which we read this composite image is angled so that the viewer can only conclude that the Irish are not like the rest of the population, but are prone to uncivilized behavior. That would not normally implicate the artist in any kind of active dehumanization, but the inclusions of the visual elements that have already been mentioned can only lead the viewer to draw this dehumanized conclusion. In this example in particular, the viewer is forced to confront the

reality of an untamed Irish immigrant population who are simian in their features and their behavior.

This is a White Man's Government, is also the work of illustrator Thomas Nast and also appeared in *Harper's*. It could be argued that this illustration represents, in the wide of arc of the Irish-American experience, a slight elevation in the visual representations of the Irish that were forming discursively at the time. The Irishman in this illustration is still depicted as an ape-like being, but now he has empowered himself to the point of being able to exert his dominance over another minority group of lesser social empowerment- here the figure of a likely freed slave. The zoomorphic attributes are again especially clear in the visual content, and therein mostly in the face although the body also displays evidence of apishness, especially in proportion. The text which implies that the Irish have entered into the racially charged post-war arena whereby they will begin to exert significant political influence, does not necessarily demote the Irishman so much as it offers him the opportunity to be 'white' and thereby powerful. Despite being portrayed as an animal, it is the race of the Irish as being at least somehow 'white' that is responsible for their social mobility. Here the zoomorphic imagery is mostly on the pictorial level and is detailed enough that this new found position for the Irish cannot really be interpreted as a fair look at the Irish as equals, but rather an animal in the midst who will contribute to the cause of keeping non-whites out of any kind of power position.

With these three illustrations, and the presence of zoomorphic imagery in all of them (both via pictorial zoomorphic aspects and language based aspects) it is clear that the dehumanizing process is already well underway when the reader of this work arrives in wave two of the immigration process to the United States. This would imply, although it is not an aim of this work to determine it, that the attribution of zoomorphic imagery, at least when speaking of the Irish immigrants, may have already been present, even if not solidified in the scopical regime of the time, before the period of examination which is dealt with here. So while it cannot be said that there was a migration of preexisting imagery from before wave two into wave two, it can be mentioned as a possibility. In the following waves however, just that migration of zoomorphic imagery will be traced and proven to be consistently present from wave two into wave three. It is important to remember again here, that the function of this work is not to isolate specific zoomorphic icons which migrate throughout the various waves of immigration to the United States, but rather the imagery (both text and pictorially based).

In the wave three illustrations chosen; *The Usual Way Of Doing Things*, *The American River Ganges*, *What Shall We Do With Our Boys?*, *The Unrestricted Dumping Ground* and *The Fool Pied Piper* the viewer is shown multiple imageries within the zoomorphic context that are used. Whereas previous examples from the second wave of immigration to the United States of America display zoomorphic imagery regarding only the Irish and the Chinese, some examples selected for this wave also comment on the imagery associated with the ‘new’ immigrants from areas of Europe which were not sources of immigration until the period with which this wave deals. That is not to say that the imageries which were already established, by Nast and others, are not present in this wave as their continued existence is evident in works in this wave as well and especially in, *The Usual Irish Way Of Doing Things* whereby the simian imagery is again assigned to the Irish subject in both the pictorial and discursive sense.

Besides the simian imagery which is present in the immediately aforementioned example, wave three represents the first time, in the waves which are being examined, that the imagery of the sea creature or sea being appears. In, *The American River Ganges* immigrants are depicted as crocodiles or alligators making shore, but are in fact very detailed Catholic bishops. This must be viewed within the context of the increased influence of the Irish Catholics in the United States and in the political arena. This particular image was created within the context of an ongoing debate regarding education in New York, but it is also the text associated which insinuates that the immigrant is set into a foreign context as the exotic choice of the river Ganges is in India and recalls faraway places. The foreign nature of the setting (as supported by the textual assistance) and the inclusion of the zoomorphic imagery (the bishops as crocodiles which would not be found in the given geographic location) both guide the viewer into visualizing the immigrant outside of the parameters that might be associated with a full citizen. The zoomorphic imagery that exists within this example is not isolated as it reappears in the following illustration, *What Shall We Do With Our Boys?* in which a Chinese immigrant is shown as a multi-armed machine of productivity. The productivity and willingness of the Chinese to work for lower wages than other older immigrant groups (who would have considered themselves “native” Americans and who often participated in nativist activities and organizations) led to disdain from others in society who were not such recent immigrants and who were unwilling to work for very low wages. In order to expand the implications of these traits, zoomorphism is used as it is evident that that subject resembles, especially in relation to being multi-armed, an octopus. Again, the sea creature imagery is recalled in order to associate the immigrant with not only those strange

animals from the sea but also the unknown elements that the sea can conjure in the human psyche. The text which claims some subjects in the illustration to be ‘our boys’ thereby suggests through deduction that the primary subject in the illustration – the immigrant, is an outsider and not one of the group claiming the sense of belonging assigned to the boys who are represented as being outworked and therefore unproductive.

The Unrestricted Dumping Ground is striking not only in the blunt nature of its title in which the United States is referred to as a ‘dumping ground’ which intrinsically suggests that those being dumped are garbage and not of full human worth and deserving of the same rights, dignity and social station that others are, but also in the imagery in which immigrants are depicted as rodents; rats. Of course, rats are infamous as carriers of disease and are considered by many to be filthy creatures. This rodent icon is used here for the first time in this wave, but it is not the only time as the illustration presented directly after it which is entitled, *The Fool Pied Piper* also contains immigrants being depicted as rodents and draws upon the folktale of the Pied Piper to draw parallels with the new immigrants which were coming to the United States from countries that had not, until this point, been the point of origin for immigrants. These Europeans from the east and south were different from the Irish and therefore a different iconographic imagery was needed to establish this difference just as had been done with the Chinese. These Europeans were depicted as rats and if that zoomorphic imagery were not sufficient in order to visually separate the immigrant subjects from mainstream society, the inclusion of the text in which a story from which only negative deductions can be drawn, solidifies that. So, it is reasonable to surmise that through the respective illustrator’s choices of zoomorphic imagery in tandem with the word choices that the viewer should read the image as one in which immigrants are certainly put into a negative light, but more specifically they are associated with the lowest and dirtiest animals who are not only subhuman but whose very existence can be detrimental to humans considering their role as agents of disease and plagues.

In waves two and three the zoomorphic imagery consists of imagery which is seemingly blatant to a viewer upon the most elementary level of iconographic recognition (or Panofsky’s preliminary level). The illustrations from wave two illustrate the great contempt felt for the Irish and the extensive use of zoomorphic imagery largely associated with simian attribution. Following in wave three, it is again the Irish who are attacked and depicted as subhuman via inclusion of simian elements, then it is the Chinese who are vilified and dehumanized with the matured use of the sea creature (after having perfected its use by first

placing the icon of the sea creature upon the Irish in ‘*Ganges*’) and finally immigrants from the south and east of Europe who were, heretofore not typically those who had been immigrating to the United States, depicted as rodents. This particular icon, being one which is especially dehumanizing and antagonistic to humans due to its associations with large scale outbreaks, appears to have been mostly isolated to this wave of illustrations as it is not found in the next. It is true however that zoomorphic imagery does indeed continue into the next wave as is evidenced in the analyses of that period’s illustrations which mostly deal with the Latino immigration to the United States.

Wave four is the final wave of immigration to the United States (examined herein) and it carries on until the present. The chronological period examined in this wave is post-1960 and therefore it could be expected that the immigration concerning Southeast Asian immigrants would be extant in the illustrative history concerning this wave yet that has proven to be unfounded. This may be because of the recognition of many of these immigrants’ status as refugees due to U.S. American military involvement in Southeast Asia and not as immigrants who were necessarily subjected to the same push/pull factors as those who had come before them. The overwhelming majority of depictions of immigrants post-1965 depict the immigration from the southern border of the United States with Latin America. The Latino immigration has been marked not solely due to the sheer amount of immigrants who have immigrated to the United States but also because of the method of immigration which includes a significant portion of illegal entry immigrants (which was explored in the discourse analyses for these respective illustrations). The concern that these new immigrants have not been using the proper channels to come to the United States, the channels that the vast majority of previous immigrants have utilized, is evidenced in their depiction in the chosen illustrations for wave four.

In *Sleeping Uncle Sam Is Overwhelmed By Illegal Alien Invasion* the notion that immigrants from Latin America, like an insect swarm, are going to overtake a government (represented by the Uncle Sam character) is being depicted and the U.S. is perceived as docile and not bothered by the overwhelming nature of the immigration as is suggested by the title. While there is nothing which explicitly identifies the immigrants as Latino, the labeling of them as illegal and the ongoing discourse surrounding that immigration certainly helps the viewer to identify them as Latinos. Additionally, the zoomorphic imagery included, which consists of the tiniest reduction of the human form into over-simplified and primitive, arthropodic shapes as well as the inclusion of suggestive wording in the title (as has been

explored in the discourse analysis for this example) show that in this wave also there is zoomorphic imagery which has travelled. That is not to say however, that the iconography is the same; whereas the previous waves included zoomorphic comparisons with a simian species, this new imagery involves connotations of insects or other small animals that live in colonies whereby their power of survival depends on multiplication and sheer numeric strength. The wording in the title is also to some degree degrading of the humanity of the illegal immigrants because it encourages the visuality that is being supported with inflaming vocabulary that contributes to the exclusion of the subjects from any recognizable human or civilized realm.

Shadow Immigrants draws upon the same imagery as was seen in the former example and again the immigrant subjects are extremely minimized in size and are again comprised of very elementary shapes within a large visual field in the work, and this maximizes the multiplicity of the subjects thereby making them appear to be even more than they are. It is however, quite impossible to find images which are anatomically similar to humans amongst the crowd and through reduction the subjects have not only been minimized in visibility and any possible power they might possess through recognition and self-identification on the viewer's part, but they have likewise been made mute. The viewer is left to interpret the identity of the subjects only through signage, some of which is presented in Spanish and thereby informing the viewer of the identity of the numerous group.

It is necessary to point out here that the examples from wave four are less immediately heavy in zoomorphic imagery than those examples in previous waves. Likely due to changing social attitudes towards citizens and others in general, paired with the growing recognition of the role of animals in human societies, the zoomorphic imagery in this wave is of a more subtle nature than was found in earlier waves. This is not true of *Underground Immigrants* however. Although the zoomorphic imagery is not immediately obvious, it is rather the implied behavior that casts the immigrant subjects in the role of animals. Lopez, who additionally uses an anthropomorphized rabbit in the hole with the subjects to allude to the zoomorphic nature of the human subjects' behavior, also ensures the viewer that he means to depict Latino immigrants as is evidenced again by the inclusion of text in Spanish being integrated into the illustration. This is a departure from the familiar insect swarm iconography which is shown in the other two examples from this wave, yet this example is most interesting because the zoomorphism is not explicit but rather a matter of deduction that is left up to the viewer to read the image autonomously, but with the insistence of seeing the immigrants as

animals as every aspect which composes this work suggests just that. The title, *Underground Immigrants* is not evident in the illustration but does not need to be in order for the viewer to draw the conclusions that are inherent in those words; it is animals that live underground in tunnels and not humans.

The passage of zoomorphic imagery from one wave to another involves not only those conclusions which can be immediately settled upon via Panofsky's primary identification of iconography but require both of the other steps as well and it is especially the third stage – the iconological stage- which has been of greatest gravity to this work for it is the findings in that level of iconographic interpretation that the viewer is led to not read mere icons and find the intrinsic meaning within, but rather to consider also the environment, historic placement and all the multitudinous facets that factored into the illustrator's creation of the image. Naturally, all of these aspects cannot be shown, commented upon, or even conclusively decided upon as in many of the cases it is impossible to ask the illustrators regarding their intentions. Furthermore, it is not valuable to the aims of this work, even if such an inquiry could be made as this work seeks to trace imagery and not iconography and the single definition of icons within a work.

A major accomplishment of this work has been to go beyond the mere iconographic interpretation of the works by evaluating discursive formations which inform viewers, akin to instructions, on how to view imagery. Moreover, not only imagery but specifically zoomorphic imagery has been analyzed and found to be present in wave two in the form of the simian portrayals of the Irish and the depictions of the Chinese as industrious sea creatures. The following wave again presented imagery associated with the apishness of the Irish and the influx of new immigrants drawn as rats. Yet, it was not only the actual pictorial imagery whereby the viewer was forced to dehumanize the viewed subjects, but also the textual accompaniment that often functioned in such a way as to often indicate a kind of instruction to the viewer on how they were meant to incorporate the immigrant subjects into their preexisting scopic regimes.

In wave four, the zoomorphic imagery both pictorially and in terms of discourse, is more sedate, less obvious or immediately recognizable (in the pre-iconographic sense), yet not less debasing. The insect and swarm icons which exist therein are supported in the linguistic establishment of foreignness through the use of non-English based text for the first time in the chosen illustrations and this is significant insofar as it allows insight into a very definite discursive contributor. Still, these aspects alone are not enough to answer those

guiding questions laid out in the methodology section regarding discourse analysis. The non-contemporaneous viewer cannot interpret the imagery with certainty as it is impossible to know if the interpretation is valid. Additionally, the suggestion that the image or the text alone should convey, even in an unknowable contemporaneous context, the real gist of the discursive formations which preexist, simultaneously exist, and will be spawned from it, is an unfair one whereby far too heavy emphasis is placed upon the imageries' ability to translate into successive conditions, times or places. So there is, as Foucault states, something, 'more' that is occurring in the creation of the imagery, the viewing of the imagery, the assuming of the imagery into the discursive strains of the contemporary.

The migratory aspect of zoomorphic imagery in these examples, that the imagery is actually present throughout the various waves, is part of that pseudo-identifiable but indefinable 'more' - that generation of imagery which is itself a generated discourse and parents still more discourse and imagery. The generated and the generative functions, which occur without autonomy and are created in what might be defined as a space between meaning, recognition, assertion and power brokering, and with regards to the immigrant experience, are at work within the illustrations chosen to be representative of these three examined waves of immigration to the United States. That migratory aspect, inasmuch as it is concerned with imagery, has been the primary focus in this work.

The examination undertaken in these previous pages has proven conclusively that the initial hypothesis of the attribution of zoomorphic imagery is present not in only one wave of U.S. American immigration, existing as an isolated phenomenon, but that its presence can be traced up until the present and that this is valid. Furthermore, this conclusion has been reached both pictorially and through the examination of relevant discourse, and more importantly, it has been proven to be present in the formation which exists between those two things. This strongly suggests that although the imagery in wave four (the wave which involves the present), is of a less immediately discernible zoomorphic nature, that this phenomenon will not come to an end spontaneously. The immigrant experience will likely continue to be discursively and visually present in the depiction of immigrants to the United States as long as immigration to that country does, as it has been shown to be extant in each of the waves of immigration thus far. The degree and nature of that depiction will itself be subjected to the generated and generative nature of discourse (and the imagery created with it), and as it is not the aim of this work to determine the reach of those degrees it will suffice here to say that

zoomorphic imagery has thus far been an indisputable component in the depictions of immigrants to the United States of America in illustration.

Through the evaluations that were carried out in this work and the reached conclusion, which is that the use of zoomorphic imagery migrates from one wave to the next of U.S. immigration history, not only answers have been found but also aspects which broaden the scope of what might be undertaken in terms of further research on zoomorphic imagery as it relates to the phenomenon of immigration. As is clearly the case in this work, zoomorphic imagery is consistently presented in combination with the immigrant archetype in discourse, but there are some differences in the representation of imagery used from one wave to the next. The same icons that exist in one wave do not necessarily carry over into the next, and yet some of them do. It could be worthwhile to consider why that is exactly. Although this is not the task undertaken here, finding meaning in the morphology of icons that are used to depict immigrants in illustrations (or for that matter any visual representation) is an endeavor that is the next logical step in the relevant research. It could very well be that the choice of the artist is the singular factor in which particular imagery ends up in an illustration (meaning which particular animals are used), or it could also be that there are some discursive formations that exist regarding certain species of animals. So while random selection on the part of the artist might play the key factor here, it would be of scholarly interest to determine if that is the case or if there are actually any traceable grounds for these depictions of zoomorphic imagery throughout time.

There does not appear to be a very regular continuity between the waves of immigration to the United States in relation to specific animalistic characteristics, and while there are certainly imageries which reappear in further waves, they do not always evoke the same connotations as they have in previous waves. The degree to which the connotations themselves are formed and changed over time is another aspect that would deserve further scholarly attention. Furthermore, this questioning and pre-analytic investigation could prove valuable in the evaluation of currently forming push-pull factors and in the inevitable continuing immigration of people to the United States.

For the sake of scholarly perpetuation and exploration, the evoked hypothesis at the end of this work is that there is likely a factor which determines which zoomorphic icons will be used in any given society (in this case U.S. American society) however, the framework used herein does not necessitate or ask for the answering of this question as it does not add to what has already been done. Still, it would be a solid starting point of inquiry that might be, as

hypothesized earlier, traceable to a factor as random as the artist's personal creative style or taste, perhaps even their personal interests, but that would require some sort of personal input on the part of the illustrators, which is impossible to carry out on those whose work was created centuries ago. For future research however, if artists were willing to commit to allowing the researcher to somehow measure or trace their influences (admittedly a likely impossible task), determination of continuations of certain zoomorphic imageries might be made more transparent. The task is however, due to the highly individualized artistic methods of artists, a daunting prospect that is probably unattainable. This is the major reason why it is mostly impossible to answer the obvious question regarding the continuity of certain zoomorphic imagery related to immigrants.

Yet another ground why it is difficult to hypothesize how the issue of continuity of specific animalistic imageries goes on, is that there is very little evidence existing to build upon as not enough work has been carried out on this. Therefore, the work done here can act as a basis on which such research might be carried out in the future and for this reason, as has already been mentioned multiple times in this work, there is no investigation of specific icons but rather the icons have been looked at through their contribution to the zoomorphic imagery in a holistic approach. This work has not determined if there is a singular icon that contributes overwhelmingly to one wave of immigration of its own right, nor does such a work exist at this time regarding the U.S.A. Let this work then serve as a starting point from which this can be completed. The inability here to answer this question is, to a degree, based on lack of preexisting evaluation (as well as it being largely outside the scope of the work), due to the nonexistence of a tried methodology for establishing how to determine if there is any migration of imagery generally, and logically that precludes evaluation which is concerned with singular, species-specific imagery.

Overall, the determination that there is zoomorphic imagery which is consistently present throughout all the waves of U.S. immigration up until now (and excluding the colonial period) will serve as a starting point upon which further research can be carried out in order to determine if there is also imagery specific to any given species in relation to immigrants, and furthermore, to interpret what exactly that imagery might refer to. As mentioned, it is and will continue to be challenging to gather any certainty as to the reasoning for specific icons, or formations over others and that might be due to either a lack of precedence, and therefore the risk of the viewer's misinterpretation or non-recognition, or it could be that the creative tastes of the artists who create the images are not able to be ascertained due to either an inability to

communicate with the artist or sources regarding them, or to the nature of the creative process which is not quantifiable in any way that might be considered scholarly. That is to say, that the imagery will likely have to continue to be the focus as it has been here. The imagery, which is shown here to have historical presence and a migrational aspect itself, can continue to be tracked, interpreted and analyzed for patterns or formations which may exist, may have existed, or will be generated within the scope of future discourse surrounding U.S. immigration and the imagery that is a simultaneous contributor to and product of it.

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