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Racism and Radicalism: Minority Responses to the Conflation of “Immigrant” with “Radical” in The Progressive Era

Marie Fagetti

Having a great propensity for recognizing patterns, the human brain likes to create models, otherwise known as schema, by which it can compare and consequently sort new information.⁵⁶ These can be useful when drawing intellectual connections, but when a voting majority’s schemas reflect only negative conceptions about an entire ethnicity, religious group, or political party the resulting “othering” can lead to the rampant polarization that currently plagues our current federal government and political atmosphere.⁵⁷ To lend credence to the unfortunate ubiquity of this phenomenon, the American populace’s tendency to harbor racist, xenophobic, and exclusionary assumptions has been present in every epoch, culminating in the Islamophobia of the Patriot Act Era, contemporary politics’ clashes between the “alt-right” and far-left, and especially the divisions of the Progressive Era.⁵⁸ Disconcerted by the flood of unfamiliar nationalities, ethnicities, and religions migrating into the United States at the turn of the century, more than a few Americans, either in willful distaste or in simple ignorance, allowed isolated incidents and whispered suspicions to shape their schemas of new immigrants. These fears were simply reaffirmed by images such as the *Chicago Tribune*’s cartoon, included in this work as figure one, that arbitrarily depicted immigrants as violent bomb-throwers. Rapidly, the public made conclusions that conflated Yiddish-speakers with radicalism, Italians with anarchism, and Russian immigrants with workers’

⁵⁶ F.C. Bartlett, “A Theory of Remembering,” in *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* by F. C. Bartlett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 2.

⁵⁷ John A. Powell, “Us vs Them: The Sinister Techniques of ‘Othering’ – and How to Avoid Them,” *The Guardian*, 8 November 2017.

⁵⁸ John A. Powell and Stephen Menendian, “The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging,” *Othering & Belonging*, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 23.

uprisings.⁵⁹ The United States government's policies of censoring any remotely radical publications and deporting political dissenters with "undesirable" ethnic backgrounds encountered little opposition from the legislature, was lauded by the press, and reinforced radicalism as an anti-patriotic disease to be excised before it crippled the nation's international economic and political development.⁶⁰ Long-time residents of the United States mistook the alleged danger posed by immigrants with that posed by radicals with such frequency in their media denunciations, paralleling the government's own prohibitive measures, that scholars studying American anarchism have little choice but to analyze the impact of racial and ethnic prejudices on radicalism's public image. Where the scholarship is lacking, however, is in analyzing recent emigrants' and radicals' own media responses, which ranges from utilizing equally racist language in denouncing radicalism to protesting unjust appraisals of immigrants in a land that claimed to protect the civil liberties of all its residents.

Academia commonly acknowledges that anti-radical opinions were colored by rabid anti-"foreigner" sentiment, especially as newspapers and other popular media were inclined to use strong language when critical. Kenyon Zimmer's analysis of west coast radical groups would have been incomplete without recognizing that Asian immigrants were feared for "threatening" the employment of native-born American labor.⁶¹ Similarly, Charles Conti's and Sidney Fine's analyses found that new Eastern- and Southern-European immigrants were regarded with suspicion throughout the United States for supposedly being vectors for radicalism, especially in the densely populated immigrant quarters of tumultuous cities.⁶² The news articles that form the basis of such

⁵⁹ *Close the Gate*, in *The Chicago Tribune*, 5 July 1919.

⁶⁰ Charles Conti, "Stopping the Infection: Anarchists and Immigrant Restriction in the United States," *History Matters*, no. 13 (May 2016): 33.

⁶¹ Kenyon Zimmer, "Revolutionaries by the Bay," *Journal of the West* 53, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 25.

⁶² Conti, "Stopping the Infection: Anarchists and Immigrant Restriction in the United States," 26; Sydney Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," *The*

conclusions are notable for how they group Bolsheviks, anarchists, and socialists alike under the same despicable label of “radical,” as journalists preferred to warn of imminent danger rather than make careful political distinctions, feeding paranoia with their unclear definitions. Not only was there no delineation as to who exactly was a radical, the wave of Eastern- and Southern-European immigrants was indiscriminately vilified. Popular opinion formed loose correlations between new immigrants’ tendency to be involved in low-wage work, their consequent connection to labor conflicts, and the Russian Revolution of 1917’s shocking victory for radicalism. As such, newspapers denigrated immigrants as either cheap labor for the industrial machine or disruptors instigating chaos, as depicted in figures two and three respectively.⁶³ Socialist or communitarian radicalism was deemed so antithetical to the traditional American political values of private property and restricted government that it was unilaterally declared by the press, the government, and finally the people that there could be “no such thing as an American anarchist,” for anyone even tangentially related to radical politics could never be a true American.⁶⁴ Consequently, any manifestation of foreignness was deemed inherently, diametrically, and most importantly, dangerously opposed to the American way of life, necessitating the neutralization of any culture or language reminiscent of the old world to allow the creation of a model American.⁶⁵

Plenty of settlement houses and social workers had had no qualms squelching other cultures in pursuit of “Americanizing” new immigrants, but such retroactively distasteful practices can be partially explained by the perfuse negativity and occasional blatant fear mongering of popular newspapers’ depictions of radical

American Historical Review 60, no. 4 (July 1955): 798; “Reds Cut Deadly Way,” *The Washington Post*, 5 April 1908, A3; *The Washington Post* (1877-1998).

⁶³ Ibid., 798; W.A. Rogers, *Imported Duty Free*, in *Harper’s Weekly*, 1888,; *Regarding the Italian Population*, in *The Mascot*, 7 September 1888.

⁶⁴ Troy Rondinone, “Guarding the Switch: Cultivating Nationalism during the Pullman Strike,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 8, no. 1 (January 2009): 99.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 99.

foreigners.⁶⁶ A common sentiment reaffirmed in the Washington *Evening Star*, *The New York Times*, and the political cartoon included in this work as figure four was that the United States had become the dumping grounds for “foreigners of all nationalities and races, of all grades of ignorance and viciousness” who “enjoy[ed] the hospitality” of the United States but did not plan to assimilate, instead preferring to “plot [the Government’s] overthrow.”⁶⁷ What was further threatening about these dangerous radicals was their ubiquity; any of that “mass of evil, angry, hungry foreigners” could be waiting for the opportunity to throw a proverbial match on, or a literal bomb into, volatile social situations.⁶⁸ By 1890, the populations of major urban centers such as New York and Chicago were between 70 and 80 percent immigrants or the children of immigrants, and millions of more arrived in the United States in the next twenty years.⁶⁹ This mass influx of foreigners was thus imposing for certain observers, not only for its sheer size, but in its alleged ability to hide any potentially, truly dangerous individuals. *The Nation* lamented in 1906 that if only anarchists “were all of one race, if they looked alike and had a distinctive dress or loudly proclaimed their tenets and their plots, it would be easy enough to hold them in check. But murder in the heart cannot be read on the face.”⁷⁰ After all, the unknown variables posed by diversity played a significant part in fueling racism and xenophobia. Entire populations were entering the United States and their unfamiliar manners of speaking, acting,

⁶⁶ Alexander Noonan, “‘What Must be the Answer of the United States to Such a Proposition?’ Anarchist Exclusion and National Security in the United States, 1887-1903,” *Journal of American Studies* 50, no. 2 (May 2016): 369.

⁶⁷ Robert J. Goldstein, “The Anarchist Scare of 1908: A Sign of Tensions in the Progressive Era,” *American Studies* 15, no. 2 (Fall 1974): 66; “Tells All Nations Why We Exile Reds,” *The New York Times*, 24 December 1919, 3; F. Victor Gillam, *The Proposed Emigrant Dumping Site*, in *Judge*, 1890.

⁶⁸ Rondinone, “Guarding the Switch: Cultivating Nationalism during the Pullman Strike,” 101.

⁶⁹ Conti, “Stopping the Infection: Anarchists and Immigrant Restriction in the United States,” 30.

⁷⁰ Noonan, “What Must be the Answer of the United States to Such a Proposition?” 355.

and interacting represented a massive unknown for the more established populations, leaving it to the popular imagination to deduce just how much of a threat immigrants represented.

While some citizens may have already been uncertain about what the immigration situation would mean for the country, the sensationalist media that construed any threat as part of a greater conspiracy of insidious enemies intensified and solidified uncertainties into concentrated prejudices. The 1901 assassination of President McKinley and the 1908 attempts on a Catholic priest and Chicago's police chief, planned by Polish-American, Italian, and Russian-Jewish self-proclaimed anarchists respectively, were all tragedies that the media capitalized on to frighten the masses, despite how well facts may or may not have aligned with the headlines.⁷¹ For example, Sydney Fine's discussion of the McKinley assassination emphasizes that the perpetrator, Leon Czolgosz, was an American-born citizen who had never traveled outside the United States and was quite possibly insane rather than radical. These facts are habitually glossed over to this day to instead fixate on his aggressively Polish surname and the threat of his supposed radical beliefs.⁷² The 1908 incidents were even more conducive to encouraging fear of a radical, nebulous "other," unclear in definition but clear in its alleged insidious desires. When Italian immigrant and anarchist Giuseppe Alia assassinated a Colorado priest, Father Leo Heinrichs, anti-Catholicism may have been prevalent but Alia's widely publicized only regret being that he "couldn't have shot the whole bunch of priests in the church" sparked fear in many with regard to the safety of their own religious communities.⁷³ When Chicago police chief George

⁷¹ Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," 780; Ernest G. Rigney and Timothy C. Lundy, "George Herbert Mead on Terrorism, Immigrants, and Social Settlements: A 1908 Letter to the *Chicago Record Herald*," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 2 (April 2015): 161-2.

⁷² Fine, "Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley," 788; Goldstein, "The Anarchist Scare of 1908: A Sign of Tensions in the Progressive Era," 57.

⁷³ Rigney and Lundy, "George Herbert Mead on Terrorism, Immigrants, and Social Settlements: A 1908 Letter to the *Chicago Record Herald*," 162.

Shippy survived the attempt on his life made by Russian-Jewish immigrant, Lazarus Averbuch, the media was quick to make the connection between the attack and Shippy's recent proclamation that "Chicago [was] going to witness a weeding out of undesirable citizens," recklessly insinuating that radicals were lurking in the hearts of cities, plotting to violently strike back against attempts to uproot their organizations.⁷⁴ In each case, by virtue of the quantity and quality of the media attention generated, isolated incidents were made to stand out in the population's imagination as proof of the widespread danger posed by radical immigrants. The details that Shippy survived, the priest was Catholic, and that the Presidential assassin was actually American-born were lost amid the media's insistence that a foreign, radical threat was alive and active within the United States. Due to the narrative's prevalence and the ease with which it aligned with pre-existing fears of the unknown, the concept of the conniving immigrant was incorporated into everyday perceptions of reality. The result was a perspective on new immigrants in the minds of the native-born masses that would be nearly impossible to redeem.

The government's reaction to the alleged threat posed by foreign radicals made the already smoldering social relations stoked by a hostile media even more volatile. Instead of reassuring the populace that the vast majority of immigrants were harmless and that the majority of Americans had at one point been new to the country themselves, both the legislative and executive branches of government propagated policies that institutionalized xenophobia for the sake of eradicating radicalism. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 is often referenced as the peak of racist exclusionary measures taken by the United States government, but additional efforts were taken to exclude and even deport those who were designated too radical to be accepted into the United States.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Ibid., 161; Goldstein, "The Anarchist Scare of 1908: A Sign of Tensions in the Progressive Era," 64.

⁷⁵ Lauri Kai, "Embracing the Chinese Exclusion Case: An International Law Approach to Racial Exclusions," *Williams & Mary Law Review* 59, no. 6 (May 2018): 2620; U.S.

In 1894, Congress passed an act for the “Exclusion and Deportation of Alien Anarchists, largely in response to the fears compounding ever since the deadly 1886 Haymarket Square labor riot.”⁷⁶ The legislation gave the superintendent of immigration broad powers to deport “any alien anarchist that has been allowed to land” or “any alien resident of the United States [who] is an anarchist, and [whose] presence in the country will be a menace to the Government or to the peace and well-being of society.”⁷⁷ Such language affirmed popular suspicions that foreigners were more likely to be violent disruptors who deserved only the most cursory right to due process. As for actions taken by the executive branch of government, President Theodore Roosevelt approved censoring anarchist publications and mail. Specifically referencing an Italian newspaper published in New York, *La Questione Sociale*, as a radical publication to be targeted, President Roosevelt reinforced the already popular conception that Italians, second only to Russians, were the most likely anarchists.⁷⁸ By 1918, the United States government had codified its policy of radical exclusion and expulsion and redoubled its efforts to deport radicals and censor media. As a result, multiple significant figures within the anarchist movement, no matter their country of origin or their stance on the use of violence, were deported from the United States. For example, Emma Goldman, famous and infamous for her persistent arguments that anarchist thought was protected by the First Amendment’s provision for freedom of speech, was placed upon an army transport with 249 other “resident aliens” and deported to

Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *In Relation to Chinese Restriction: Report (to Accompany H.R. 171)*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., 1886, H.R. Rep. 2043.

⁷⁶ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, *Exclusion and Deportation of Alien Anarchists: Report (to Accompany S. 2314)*, 53d Cong., 2d sess., 1894, H.R. Rep. 1460.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, *Message from the President of the United States: Transmitting A Communication from the Attorney-General Relative to the Transmission through the Mails of Certain Anarchist Publications*, 60th Cong., 1st sess., 1908, Doc. 426.

the Soviet Union in 1919.⁷⁹ The media's response included those who believed that the radicals would be happier under a government that had already bent to their beliefs, and those who argued that deportation was a just response for foreigners who would purportedly reap the benefits of a capitalist society yet would simultaneously "preach the gospel of disaster."⁸⁰

Significantly, the efforts to vilify radicals and immigrant allies did not go unanswered. Despite discriminatory government policies and censorship, radicals and those supportive of immigrant communities persisted in using their own media outlets to communicate their perspectives to the public, resisting an overbearing government and hostile public in what little ways they could. Emma Goldman and other prominent radicals defended their rights to express their ideas through the press, on occasion, pointing out the hypocrisy of an immigrant nation born of revolution claiming tolerance yet enforcing immigrant quotas and suppressing innovative political ideas.⁸¹ George Herbert Mead in his letter to the *Chicago Record Herald* stated that every time the "mad-dog cry of 'Anarchy'" sounded to have that "unforgivable cult of Anarchy be rooted out," the people "unjustifiably assailed the Italians and the Russian Jews...due to...ignorance of these people."⁸² Mead implored readers to reevaluate how, despite these groups having "provided the countless multitudes of hands which have built up this great Babylon of ours," "their strangeness, their homesickness, their misery, and their humanity have been made into debased political currency of ward politics."⁸³ Speaking directly to common misgivings, he denied that immigrant-populated sections of cities or settlement houses were hotbeds for

⁷⁹ Bruce Watson, "Crackdown," *Smithsonian* 32, no. 1 (February 2002): 53.

⁸⁰ "Alien Anarchists," *The New York Times*, 15 December 1919, 14.

⁸¹ Bill Lynskey, "'I Shall Speak in Philadelphia': Emma Goldman and the Free Speech League," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133, no. 2 (Apr. 2009): 168.

⁸² Rigney and Lundy, "George Herbert Mead on Terrorism, Immigrants, and Social Settlements: A 1908 Letter to the *Chicago Record Herald*," 163.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 165.

dangerous radicalism.⁸⁴ Oahu Governor Archibald Cleghorn, quoted by future-Supreme Court Justice Nathan Bijur in an appeal to the House Representatives on immigration, observed that “the criticisms made of the Italians and the ‘slowbacks,’ as they are called, and the Russians who come to-day were made exactly of the Irish and the Germans who came in the [eighteen] forties,” highlighting the hypocrisy and injustice of mistreating new immigrants.⁸⁵ Joseph Keppler’s illustration for *Puck* communicated a similar sentiment, included in this work as figure five.⁸⁶ These appeals to respect ethnic minorities’ constitutional rights unfortunately did not persuade many, as society was already under the thrall of a primal fear of the unknown and the leadership of select intellectual, elite “experts,” who held the same racist views as the public but promulgated them through a sophisticated facade of scientific explanation.⁸⁷

Plenty of intellectual anarchists, such as George Brown of Philadelphia, fanned the flames of xenophobia. They were quick to denigrate the “few fiery-eyed Anarchists” within the movement who “believe[d] in settling arguments with bombs,” insisting that such ideological brutes were “confined to the Russian Jew element in the lower section of the city” or other “foreign settlements.”⁸⁸ Frank H. Brook points out in his analysis of the American anarchist movement that some radicals were careful to make the distinction between the cultured, American-born, and individualist “Boston anarchist,” who deserved to be represented in all discussions of potential policy solutions, and the repugnant,

⁸⁴ Rigney and Lundy, “George Herbert Mead on Terrorism, Immigrants, and Social Settlements: A 1908 Letter to the *Chicago Record Herald*,” 162; “Reds Cut Deadly Way,” A3.

⁸⁵ U.S. Senate, House of Representatives, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Uniform Rule for the Naturalization of Aliens: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 59th Cong., 1st sess., 1906.

⁸⁶ Joseph Keppler, *Looking Backward*, in *Puck*, 11 January 1893, Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum at Ohio State University.

⁸⁷ Edward Alsworth Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, (New York: Macmillan, 1906).

⁸⁸ “Anarchists Here are All Philosophers,” *The North American*, 27 November 1899, 9, [GALE] 19th Century U.S. Newspapers; “Reds Cut Deadly Way,” A3.

immigrant, revolutionary, and collectivist “Chicago anarchist,” who was far too radical and beast-like to be reasoned with or treated as an equal.⁸⁹ The crux of the arbitrary hierarchy created between them boiled down to ancient prejudices based on race and ethnicity, which maintained that certain groups, often the latest unassimilated immigrant group, were somehow less cognitively developed and more prone to brutality than assimilated groups. In light of this dehumanizing, “othering” societal trend, the fact that George Mead and others like him were defending the United States’ immigrant population is revealing as it indicates that at least some individuals recognized how much the fear of radicalism was based in xenophobia and racism. Edward Hale Bierstadt’s opinion in *The New York Times*, however, walks the intellectual line between Mead and Brown. Arguing that while he by no means would “intend to imply that the alien is a saint,” Bierstadt correctly observed that “[the alien] is quite as much a saint as the native born.” If the American public was going to blame the entirety of immigrants for the actions of the few, to avoid hypocrisy, society “might as well say that all Americans are anarchists because the I.W.W. is an American institution.”⁹⁰ Unfortunately, Bierstadt’s approach of unbiased logic and neutrality towards minorities was as ineffective at moving the masses as Mead’s appeal for sympathy, for many often prefer unjustly scapegoating an entire community to having to accept a more nuanced and complicated reality

Surprisingly, the commentary on radicalism’s connections to ethnic minorities made by ethnic minority groups themselves was equally complex, as there were immigrants who were indeed radical, yet also others who resented their more extreme counterparts for threatening hopes of peaceful assimilation. To this end, some ethnic communities experienced continual newspaper

⁸⁹ Frank H. Brook, “Ideology, Strategy, and Organization: Dyer Lum and the American Anarchist Movement,” *Labor History* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 57.

⁹⁰ Edward Hale Bierstadt, “Native and Alien Anarchists,” *The New York Times*, 18 November 1919, 12.

wars between the publications that rallied their readers to radical causes and those that ardently denounced actions that could reflect poorly on the rest of the community.⁹¹ Foreign language newspapers already aroused the majority population's suspicion by virtue of their exclusivity, but the considerable number of radical newspapers printed in foreign languages fomented further distrust and sweeping generalizations. Despite protests made by more conservative members of ethnic minority groups and the obvious ire they would incur from the majority, Finns, Germans, even smaller populations within the United States such as Croatians and Slovaks, and especially Yiddish-speakers, all had prominent, and oftentimes virulently radical, labor-oriented newspapers.⁹² Often targeted by government censorship efforts for allegedly encouraging violence, some of these publications, like the Finnish *Toveri* and *Industrialisti*, would meet their end, with "the arrest of the editors...along with other Finnish radicals."⁹³ Others would merely be suppressed like the German-language, Chicago newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers' news). The government's conclusions, however, were not entirely unfounded as, for example, *Arbeiter Zeitung* was one German publication among several that actively encouraged labor radicalism. There was also a particularly strong correlation between the Yiddish language and radicalism.⁹⁴ Being primarily from Eastern-Europe, Yiddish-

⁹¹A. William Hoglund, "The Finnish Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), 110.

⁹² George J. Prpić and C. Michael McAdams, "The Croatian Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), 357; M. Mary Stolarik, "The Slovak-American Press." In *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. by Sally M. Miller, (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), 353.

⁹³ Hoglund, "The Finnish Press," 110.

⁹⁴ James M. Bergquist, "The German-American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), 145; Bruce C. Nelson, "Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung: Chicago's Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870-1900," in *The German-American Radical Press*, ed. by Elliot Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Dansky (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 82.

speakers often had had some exposure to anti-tsarist and anti-bourgeois sentiments before immigrating to the United States, where those ideas propagated to the point where labor influencer Morris Hillquit learned Yiddish to better communicate with his audiences and followers.⁹⁵ Immigrants were undeniably represented in radical groups; however, just as there were select members of ethnic minorities using the press to express extreme political views, there were other members of those ethnic groups trying to combat the dangerous image those views encouraged.

“Hyphenated Americans,” first or second-generation Americans who were simply trying to assimilate into the United States, were just as willing to use the media to speak out against some of their number’s increasing radicalism as any “native-born” American. Finnish-Americans denounced the radical publication *Amerikan Suometar* for not only misleading readers about the labor movement but tarnishing the image of Finns as “good workers” who could adapt well to American society.⁹⁶ Hebrew publications found themselves in a parallel situation concerning typically less conservative Yiddish publications. The latter considered the Hebrew language to be “elitist, reactionary, and utopian” while, according to Hebrew advocates, Yiddish was a dialect, not a language, a mere fad among the lower-class that would die out with time.⁹⁷ Seeing Yiddish denigrated by even Hebrew-speaking populations, some officials saw yet another opportunity, beyond suspicions of radicalism, to bar the Russian Jews stereotyped as instigators of violence from entering the United States on the basis that fluency in Yiddish did not constitute literacy.⁹⁸ Accordingly, native-born Americans were not the only ones to use the press in the witch hunt for radicals. Ethnic minorities, in their desire to

⁹⁵ Arthur A. Goren, “The Jewish Press,” in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987), 214.

⁹⁶ Høglund, “The Finnish Press,” 110.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee, *Naturalization of Aliens*, 114.

appear assimilated into American culture, would deny entry to members of their own ethnic group for the increasingly unforgivable crime of radicalism. While this could appear to be a surrender to the pervasive fear of radicalism as a rampaging evil in society, it was also an attempt to direct the majority's suspicion away from the whole of ethnic minorities and onto a specific target, insuring the full benefits and protections of American society for other migrants.

Unfortunately, despite the high ideals being circulated in Progressive circles about the intrinsic value of the individual, any new immigrant or member of a proclaimed dangerous minority was categorically lumped into a single group of "other," characterized as amorphous, malleable, and inherently threatening. The Progressive movement made grand claims about altering society and bringing about more equitable treatment by the government, yet those who honestly believed they could better the lot of others through radical political ideas were not only vilified in the media but risked deportation, while new immigrants and ethnic minorities bore the weight of the nation's suspicion. On both sides of the debate, the media was weaponized for its ability to cultivate either fear or sympathy, yet in this case, fear of the "other" largely won out. Time may have progressed, but fear of a constructed "other" still haunts the United States' immigration and foreign policies, only worsened by a polarized and cutting national news atmosphere. Society may never entirely overcome its fear of the unknown but allowing everyone their own voice and assessing them based on individual merits and not on schemas poisoned by fear is a preliminary step to a progressively more equitable nation.

Appendix

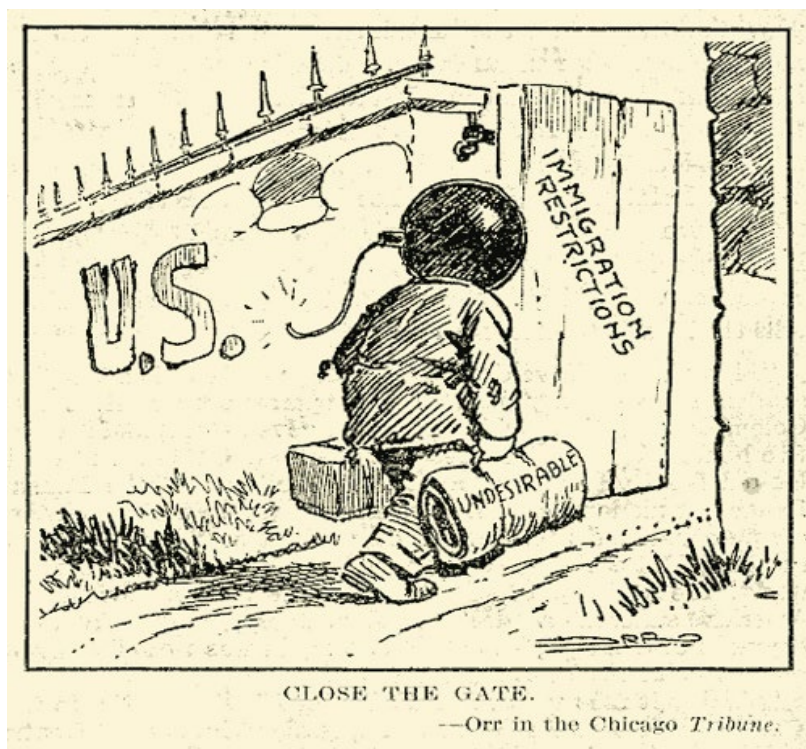


Figure 1. *Close the Gate.* In *The Chicago Tribune*, 5 July 1919.

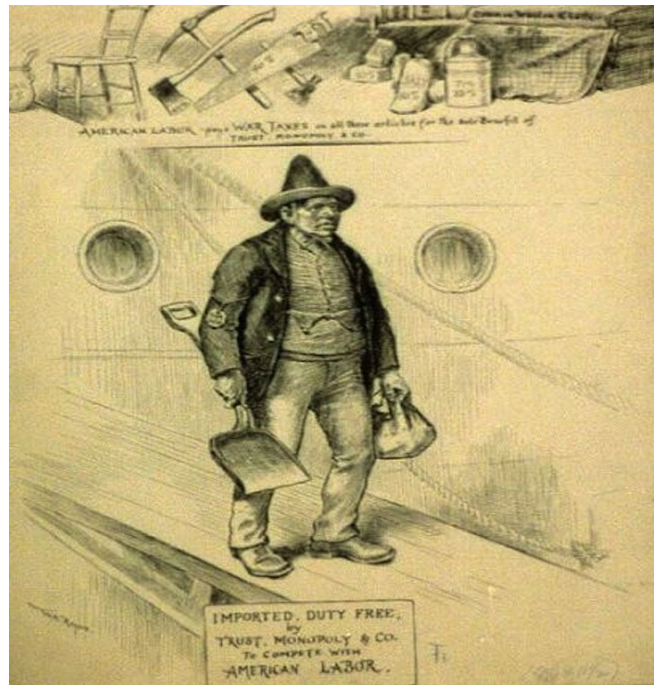


Figure 2. *Imported Duty Free*. In *Harper's Weekly*, 1888. Granger Historical Picture Archive.



Figure 3. *Regarding the Italian Population*. In *The Mascot*, 7 Sept. 1888

Figure 4.



The Proposed Emigrant Dumping Site. In Judge, 1890.



Figure 5.

Keppler, Joseph. *Looking Backward*. In *Puck*, 11 January 1893. Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum at Ohio State University.