PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN AGENT OF U.S. STATE POWER: PRODUCING AND COLLECTING IMAGES FOR SURVEILLANCE OF "UNDESIRABLE" IMMIGRANTS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

By

Anthony J. Cepak

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis reexamines the historical visual narrative of early 20th century immigration in the United States investigating the contributions made by photographers Lewis Wickes Hine and Augustus F. Sherman, and immigration officials William Williams and John R. Robinson. Though widely accepted as the visual record of early 20th century immigration, the Ellis Island work of Hine was in direct conversation with the work of amateur photographer Sherman. Compared to Hine's egalitarian perspective of immigrants, Sherman's photographs provide a narrower, darker view of immigration by focusing on representation of those classified "undesirable" upon arrival due to health, religion, culture, race or ethnicity. While Sherman's work was largely forgotten over time, Hine's work endured to create a visual mythology that elicits nostalgia of Ellis Island as the celebrated entry point for millions of white Europeans. Hine's work as a documentarian is compared to the topological portraiture Sherman made which illustrates the exclusionary nature of his body of work. As agents of state power, Williams and Robinson collected photographs of undesirable immigrants that also construct a dark and narrow view of immigration. Comparing and contrasting the activities of these four actors builds an argument that photographs illustrating race and ethnicity were methodically produced and collected to categorize ethnic and racial types and surveil undesirable immigrants.

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PREFACE

Both Angel Island and Ellis Island hold tremendous significance in the historical narrative of immigration and this preface serves as a brief historical overview of their operation. Positioned on opposite coasts of the continental United States, their physical distance from one another is symbolic of the distance between their two legacies in history. It is at these two places where the figures central to the argument of this thesis carried out their activities of making and collecting photographs of immigrants in the early 20th century.

Ellis Island opened for operation as an immigration station under the newly formed U.S. Immigration Bureau in 1892. After a fire destroyed the first timber frame building, a new building—the iconic Renaissance Revival structure that now holds designation as a U.S. Historic Landmark—was constructed and opened for operation in 1900. Geographically closer to the shore of New Jersey than New York, the island in its current form is nearly unrecognizable from when immigration processing was transferred there from the aging Castle Garden station at the lower tip of Manhattan. What would come to be known as Ellis Island was originally called "Kioshk" (Gull) Island by the Hackensack and Tappan tribes that lived along the Hudson River prior to Dutch and English colonization.[1] Dutch settlers renamed the 3.3-acre plot that barely rose above the waters of New York Harbor, Little Oyster Island because its shallow shores were home to rich oyster beds. As ownership of the island changed, so did its name. Throughout its history, it was also known as Dyre Island, Bucking Island and Anderson's Island. By 1813, the island was under lease to the U.S. Department of War and home to a military installation called Fort Gibson (Figure 1). During its stint as a mortar base it was renamed Ellis Island after its last private owner, merchant Samuel Ellis. The island was eventually deeded to the federal

government and in 1890 U.S. President Benjamin Harrison declared it to be the site for the first federal immigration station.[2] Six decades of operation as an immigration station had a profound physical effect on the tiny island. As the need for capacity rose, the island's geography was altered and expanded using landfill several times. What began as a 3.3-acre island grew at the hands of man to its final footprint of 27.5 acres at present. A series of glass-encased dioramas at the Ellis Island National Museum of Immigration chronicles the expansion of both the island and its facilities over time.

For 12 million immigrants fleeing conflict, persecution, famine or oppression, Ellis Island was the terminus of an arduous, and physically, psychologically and emotionally exhausting journey.[3,4] But simply making it there was no guarantee of a new life in the United States. For some, largely depending on social class, the intake process at Ellis Island was smooth and short in duration.[5] For others, it involved in-depth interrogations and sometimes intrusive physical examinations aimed at determining if arrivals would spread disease or end up a "burden on society."[6] A 1907 photograph of doctors examining a group of Jewish immigrants (Figure 2) for example, illustrates the sometimes intrusive and demeaning nature of these examinations. The immigrants are shown, stripped of their shirts and being examined by physicians wearing military style uniforms. Also consider the headline of one newspaper article (Figure 3), which describes the inspection process at Ellis Island as "putting our immigrants through the sieve" suggesting the need for the masses to be sorted and categorized. Of the immigrants processed at Ellis Island, more than more than 2.4 million experienced detainments, in some cases lasting weeks, and more than 300,000 were rejected based on their classification of being undesirable and were deported back to the homes they fled.[7] Augustus F. Sherman made

photographs of immigrants and William Williams collected those photographs while working at Ellis Island, so as a place, the immigration station had an influence on their activities.

Just as Ellis Island as a place is important to the following narrative, so too is the setting for the other collection examined in this thesis—a collection made by John A. Robinson at Angel Island in San Francisco. On the beach of a shallow alcove on the island's northern shore, a small compound is situated at the base of Mt. Livermore, which rises 788 feet above the San Francisco Bay, to the summit in the center of the island. Out of view from San Francisco, across the bay sits what remains of the U.S. Immigration Station at Angel Island. Though often referred to as the Ellis Island of the west, Angel Island's history and enduring legacy is far from that of its storied counterpart in New York Harbor. Unlike Ellis Island, which processed and granted entrance to millions of European immigrants during its 60 years of operation as a U.S. immigration station, Angel Island was built almost exclusively for the purpose of detainment and deportation of mainly Asian immigrants.[8] The U.S. immigration station at Angel Island was commissioned to replace the ad hoc system of processing that took place on steamships docked along the San Francisco Wharf. The station was also to serve as replacement of the ill-equipped, temporary detention center located at the tip of Pier 40, where conditions were described as "unbearable misery…lacking in every facility for cleanliness and decency…"[9] In this regard, Angel Island was commissioned to serve two functions; processing those trying to re-enter the United States through San Francisco, as well as detaining immigrants ineligible for naturalization or suspected of crimes that were rounded up for deportation.

From its opening in 1910, the immigration station at Angel Island was mired in controversy, from claims that the station was not much improvement over Pier 40 in terms of capacity and facilities and that its secluded location made it difficult for witnesses to appear during

deportation examinations. The functions and criticisms of Angel Island differed from Ellis Island, even though the processes put in place, even the "cottage" concept of design, were modeled after the station's counterpart in the east.[10] Just as Ellis Island provides the backdrop for the Sherman photographs, and their collection by Williams, Angel Island and the Asian immigrants it was commissioned to detain, provides context in considering why John A. Robinson collected the photographs he did while working as an immigration inspector in San Francisco.

Both Ellis Island and Angel Island offer up illusions to those who visit, but those illusions are different, which is why historically and anthropologically the two are often discussed separately. For Ellis Island, the illusion is that it is symbolic of a celebrated culture of blended immigrant heritage. Millions of visitors each year visit the national landmark and find their ancestors names etched on the wall of remembrance, not fully aware of the dark context surrounding the experience of hundreds of thousands of Europeans due to the region of the continent from which they hailed. This illusion is what Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot would describe as the "ignorance of our own history."[11] For Angel Island, the illusion is that it is comparable to Ellis Island, where 12 million immigrants were granted entrance to the United States. Angel Island was not so much a processing center, as it was a prison—a holding place for immigrants arriving to be detained for sometimes months, only to be sent back from where they came never fulfilling their share of an American Dream. It is these islands of illusion that provide the backdrop to the following discussion.

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INTRODUCTION

Though widely accepted as the visual record of early 20th century immigration, the Ellis Island work of photographer Lewis Wickes Hine omits[1] representation of those classified "undesirable" upon arrival due to health, religion, culture or race. Used in history books, magazines, and museum exhibits—including at Ellis Island—when one encounters a historic image of immigrants at Ellis Island, there is a good chance it is a Hine photograph. To this end, his work creates a visual mythology in our collective memory that elicits nostalgia of Ellis Island as the celebrated entry point for millions of white Europeans. Contrary to this nostalgia, however, was the reality that attitudes of the time centered on protecting American cultural identity. These attitudes rejected the ethno-type of the 'new immigrants' flocking to the United States after a worldwide economic depression and the First World War. Through an examination of photographs of amateur photographer Augustus F. Sherman and the photographic collections of William Williams and John A. Robinson, this thesis, in the broadest sense, investigates the effect of ethnicity on representation in historical photography and how photographs were used to classify and surveil undesirable immigrants.

Employed at immigration stations Sherman, Williams and Robinson were embedded at the front line of immigration during the decades preceding two of the most restrictive immigration reforms in U.S. history—the Asiatic Barred Zone Act (1917) and the Johnson-Reed Act (1924). This thesis will establish how the portraits of eastern and southern Europeans made by Sherman, an Ellis Island records clerk, were influenced by organizational culture imbued by

controversial immigration administrator William Williams. Like Robinson at Angel Island, Williams also collected photographs of immigrants, but for a slightly different purpose. In an act of quasi-propaganda, Williams distributed Sherman's photographs to the press as examples of the wrong kinds of immigrant. The activities of Sherman and Williams will be contrasted against the images of Asian immigrants collected by Robinson, an Angel Island immigration inspector, as he investigated fraud and corruption in San Francisco. Though serving very different roles in the immigration process, Sherman, Williams and Robinson used photography to classify and surveil undesirable immigrants. This thesis explores how national biases and U.S. policy manifested in these photographic works, but it also helps to re-establish the presence of non-Anglo-Saxons into the visual historic narrative of immigration into the United States.

In the context of surveillance, photographers observe and document. Sherman saw the perceived menace of immigration first hand while working at Ellis Island. His contribution to combatting the threat immigration posed to society was through his photographs depicting only certain types of immigrants, while ignoring others. By identifying those perceived to be undesirable Sherman categorized immigrants by identifying specific races arriving at Ellis Island and providing visual evidence of their difference. Hine's work at Ellis Island becomes important then in contrast, as it reveals a racial topology Sherman created through his work. Hine showed what immigrants experienced when they arrived in New York — the emotion, the process, the promise of a new life — with an immigrant's origin irrelevant to the visual narrative he presented. Sherman however, honed in on physical qualities and characteristics that set immigrants apart from American standards of whiteness, making their origin central to his version of the visual narrative.

The act of collecting photographs also serves as a vital function to surveillance. Like Sherman choosing to photograph only this race and that race, Williams and Robinson chose which photographs to collect; and what one chooses to canonize is significant. The act of gathering, saving and preserving documents imbues the objects within a collection with importance. A collection creates, in essence, an ephemeral autobiography—a presentation of what one values and judges as most significant in their personal life or body of work. Preserved on two rolls of microfilm the collection of William Williams contains thousands of pages of documents related to the time he spent as one of the most influential figures in the U.S. Bureau of Immigration. Among the documents are personal correspondences, official records from Ellis Island, reports advocating for more restrictive federal immigration policy, and a collection of Sherman photographs that illustrate a narrow, negative view of the racial inferiority of immigrants at Ellis Island. Likewise, the collection of John Robinson, contains volumes of journals of handwritten notes detailing his investigations of crime and moral offenses, and among these pages photographs of Asian immigrants.

Unlike Sherman's photographs which suggested there was racial variety among undesirable European immigrants, the Robinson photographs present a more homogeneous view of Asian immigrants—that all Chinese immigrants are undesirable. Both of these collections of photographs reinforce the broader message of the collections they are nested in that the immigration of certain Europeans and the Chinese were detrimental to economic interests as well as the cultural and racial heritage of U.S. society. Anthropological on the surface it would seem as though the actions of Robinson, Williams and Sherman are showing us glimpses of the immigrant's nature as a novelty, their exotic appeal through physical characteristics, their dress and implied cultural origin. However, the true anthropological effect of both these collections of

photographic work is actually in revealing the nature of the culture in which the immigrant was arriving; an American culture of economic castes, white supremacy and cultural and religious exclusivity.

Most examinations of history require a system of classification, a hierarchy to be established in order to conceptualize the roles of those involved. Classification allows for the objects or individuals under examination to be placed within a structure so that roles can be given significance and meaning assigned by connecting their relationship to others. The examined occupy three distinct categories as an *agent*, *actor* or *subject* of history. Agents are defined by their place in society and within the structure of history itself. Their significance lies with where they fall along a social spectrum.[2] Examining one of the themes central to the present investigation, the dynamics of power, for example, the social spectrum includes government administrators and lower bureaucrats, as well as immigrants. Where these individuals or groups fall within the structure of power—from commanding the locus of control at one end of the hierarchy, to being void of agency at the other—determines their significance as agents of history. Actors, on the other hand, are significant depending upon the specific context in which they exist.[3] The role of actors is not fixed like agents; they are variable, dependent on both place and time. A communist living in the U.S. today, for example, does not have the same significance as they would have during the era of McCarthyism, or one living in China. The context of the two eras and the locations are different thus changing the significance of a communist as an actor. The final category, subjects of history, is perhaps the most central to an investigation. Subjects are the very elements that define and construct instances of history.[4] Using the well-researched topic of labor strikes, for example, illustrates the role of a subject and how that particular role interacts with both agents and actors of history. While workers,

individually may occupy the category of agents as being part of an economic hierarchy, collectively their actions are the subject of history because without them, without the labor movement, there would not be labor strikes. It is the subject's existence then, that is responsible for defining the particular history being investigated.

Following this classification structure this thesis will examine the relationship between the agents, actors and subjects at work in producing and collecting photographic artifacts meant to surveil immigrants. The relationship between photography and immigration policy has been well established through the works of scholars such as Anna Pegler-Gordon, Peter Sexias and Erica Rand. The present investigation, however, re-examines this relationship within the context of race and the structure of state power. The argument presented over the following chapters is that in addition to being a vehicle for exclusion, photography was also used as a method of surveillance to identify, record, and in certain circumstances, publicize the physical characteristics of immigrants classified as racially or culturally undesirable in the early 20th century. In working toward developing this argument, the remainder of chapter one will provide a primer on U.S. immigration attitudes, beginning with the historical contexts of contemporary views. Chapter one will also serve as introduction to the archives, archival materials, agents, actors and subjects central to this investigation. Chapter two describes in detail the methodological approaches and procedures that will be used for analysis throughout this thesis. This chapter describes the manner in which photographs will be read, described and interpreted and how meaning will be assigned. Building off the introduction to attitudes expressed in chapter one, chapter three examines in greater detail the forces and factors that contributed to the rise of nativism and anti-immigrant sentiments in the early 20th century. These factors, including culture, geography, economics, policy and the media will be explored as actors in the historical

framework in order to understand the conditions in which photographs were produced, but more importantly collected. Finally, chapter four will bring all of these historical contexts, conditions, forces and factors into focus which will provide the collective evidence of this thesis' claim that these photographs were collected to surveil undesirable immigrants.

ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT FOR THIS THESIS

During the first two decades of the 20th century, amateur photographer Augustus F. Sherman photographed immigrants as they arrived at Ellis Island. Between 1905 and 1920, Lithuanians, Slavs, Romas, Guadeloupians, Italians, Catholics, Jews, among other immigrant groups numbering in the hundreds, sat or stood before Sherman's camera as they were indelibly recorded on fragile glass negatives.[5] In total, 250 images of immigrants from various countries of origin are known to be have been made by Sherman while he worked as a clerk at the storied immigration station. By modern standards, this does not appear to be all that extraordinary. Today millions of amateur photographers worldwide make billions of photographs throughout the course of daily life with an instant swipe and tap of a finger on the interface of their mobile devices. To this effect more images are made every second today than were made during the entire 19th century.[6] This was not the case, however, in the early part of the 20th century when Sherman made these images. Despite significant advances in photographic processes and technologies, in 1905 Sherman made his first images with traditional glass negatives, which made photography an arduous endeavor. Almost two decades had passed since Kodak developed roll film cameras, introducing the photographic medium more broadly to the public, and the halftone process was introduced, which made it possible to reproduce photographic images on a

printing press. Photography as Sherman practiced it continued to be laborious—a deliberate undertaking requiring time and planning to execute.

Within this context and bearing in mind that Sherman made these images in tandem with the routines of his professional function as a clerk, his body of work could be considered prolific for the era in which it was produced. Yet despite the effort he would have gone to in order to identify his subjects, set up his equipment and make, in many cases, multiple compositions of the same groups or individuals, there is little if any documented evidence as to why he made these photographs.[7] From a historical perspective, the images are significant because pictorially they deviate from what is now considered and accepted as the iconic Ellis Island imagery made by celebrated photographers such as Hine. In an almost anthropological approach, Sherman documented immigrants at Ellis Island that appeared exotic, unusual or had physical abnormalities creating a pseudo-dichotomy of ethnic types – a visual topology of immigrants. Though his work was gradually forgotten after his death, while he was working at Ellis Island and making pictures his photographs were very much in the public eye appearing in *The New York Times*, *National Geographic* magazine and other publications of the era. He sought out those that looked unusual to sit for him, weaving a racial tapestry into the body of his work. This same type of variety is not found in the more homogeneous western European-centric aesthetic of Hine's work. The diversion between Sherman and the work of other photographers of the era will be explored in more depth in later sections. However, it is important to mention early in this examination as it helps set the stage for exploration of attitudes toward immigration in the United States and the role photography played in shaping those attitudes.

After Sherman's death in 1925, the photographs slipped into obscurity while in the possession of the Sherman family until they were donated to the American Immigration Museum

in the 1960s and 1980s.[8] However, a relatively significant number, 41 prints, were held in the private collection of former Ellis Island Immigration Commissioner William Williams. The two terms Williams served as commissioner were mired by controversy as he received harsh criticism for his highly unfavorable views and policies toward certain types of immigrants. Facing mounting pressure and condemnation for the treatment of eastern and southern European immigrants at Ellis Island, Williams was forced to resign during his first term in 1905.[9] After his successor, Robert Watchorn, allowed processes and protocols at Ellis Island to completely deteriorate, Williams was reappointed to his former post by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909.[10] While Sherman and his photographs have re-emerged and are beginning to be studied more by contemporary historians, the sub-collection possessed by Williams has received less attention. One of the purposes of this thesis is to investigate the context in which a set of Sherman's portraits came to be collected by Williams, focusing on 22 images in the collection that were published in newspapers, magazines and books between 1905 and 1920. Examination of other historical documents contained in the Williams collection such as annual reports, correspondence, newspaper clippings and scrapbooks provide context to the production and collection of the Sherman photographs. By comparison, how Sherman's photographs were used in the press to surveil undesirables as they entered the country differs slightly from how the collection of photographs from another immigration official were used for surveillance.

Like Williams, John A. Robinson. was an agent of the state, a cog in the massive bureaucratic mechanism of the U.S. Immigration Service. Robinson was an immigration inspector who investigated crime, corruption and various forms of malfeasance at the San Francisco immigration station at Angel Island. The California Historical Society houses a collection of correspondence, photographic prints and journal volumes belonging to Robinson.

The journals contain details of daily activities recorded while investigating, primarily Asian, immigrants. The photographs, mostly tightly framed headshots, are also primarily of Asian immigrants. This offers a visual contrast for comparison to the Sherman portraits of primarily European immigrants arriving in New York. The comparison between the two collections of photographs is significant because, while they both depict immigrant populations seen as undesirable at the time, they reflect very different realities in terms of the policies in place regarding Asian versus European undesirables at the time. In 1882, Chinese immigration to the U.S. was halted with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Discussed in more detail in chapter three, the Literacy Act of 1917—also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act—built upon that policy to exclude immigrants from the entire Asian continent, with the exception of newly acquired U.S. protectorates such as the Philippines. Beyond the contrast of immigrant ethnicity and official immigration policy at the time, the Robinson collection will be examined due to the inherent natural symmetry between the two collections. Both collections were created by immigration officials and include photographs of immigrants that were used in official capacity by the collector to support their roles in the immigration process.

ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Between 2013 and 2014 the manuscripts and archives division of the New York Public Library (NYPL) digitized 41 Sherman portraits contained in the Williams collection. In 2015, after the Sherman photographs were added to the NYPL online digital collection, CBS News produced a segment heralding the "re-discovery" of the images and published a link to the story to the media outlet's Facebook page. The post titled "The rich history of Ellis Island in portraits of immigrants circa 1900" featured two images along with a description of the types of images

contained in the collection. One of the featured portraits made in 1911, titled "Guadeloupian woman," (Figure 4) depicts a woman wearing 'le costume de l'affranchie' consisting of a patterned dress and head wrap traditional to the small Caribbean island that customarily signified the status of being a freed female slave. The pose of the subject is reminiscent of Physionotrace engravings (Figure 5) popular in late 18th and early 19th century for their claims of "mechanically transcribed truth."[11] Invented in 1786 by Giles Louis Chrétien, the Physionotrace commoditized the production of silhouette and profile likenesses by mechanizing the engraving process, which significantly lowered the cost of production, sparking a craze amongst the middle- and lower-classes for portraiture, a luxury previously unattainable to the masses. Photographing the Guadeloupian woman in profile places her in that social class as well as accentuates the physiological characteristics of her facial features. Her raised cheekbones, the shallow outward curvature of her nose leading to her forward jaw are all emphasized as being counter to the Teutonic facial types of the Germanic, Nordic and Anglo immigrants considered highly desirable at the time.

Reactions to the CBS News segment varied across the spectrum of discourse. User comments on the Facebook post ranged from "I have the original papers from when my great grandparents came from Hungary. Grandfather played for the New York philharmonic symphony in 1890s," to "I heard immigrants from Mexico were crossing the borders illegally, with no recorded documentation, and moving to sanctuary cities. They can vote, get free healthcare, housing, food at the working taxpayer's expense. Hmm, maybe just a rumor." Neither of these comments have any direct or significant relevance to the CBS News segment, or the photographic collection itself, but they are indicative of the phenomena of polarization that is central to the issue of immigration. That a set of photographs can evoke such opposite reactions

more than a century after they were made is a testament to just how polarizing the issue of immigration is in the U.S. and underscores the power photography has to reinforce beliefs.

Often described as an immigrant nation, the attitudes and policies in the United States toward immigration is a story of contradiction, austerity, nativism and exclusion.[12,13] A mainstay in the national discourse since early colonialism, immigration remains an emotional and polarizing issue.[14,15] From nativist views purporting that immigration dilutes the national identity to arguments of economic burdens, immigration is a complex phenomenon often with regional or local nuances.[16] Since the Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act) instituted nationality quotas and barred immigrants from Asia all together, the United States has continued to place ever higher restrictions on immigration. In the 61 years since Ellis Island closed as a processing facility, U.S. immigration policy has continued to be a divisive and complicated issue. Violence and economic crisis in Central America and wars, genocide and oppression in the Middle East have replaced the European social, civil and an economic crisis of the early 20th century as the impetus for migration to the United States. Yet despite the outward projection of the United States being a bastion of freedom and land of opportunity for all, Lazarus' notion of "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,"—which is etched into the base of the Statue of Liberty—is not easily reconciled with the continuing national attitudes and policies toward immigration.

In his first week in office, President Donald Trump issued three executive orders on immigration. The first order, "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States," focused on bolstering the enforcement of current U.S. immigration laws as well as targeting 'sanctuary cities' with the threat of eliminating federal funding to the extent permissible by law. While the concept of sanctuary areas in the United States dates back to slavery when fugitive

slaves found refuge and protection while fleeing to free states,[17] the term "sanctuary city" has a more recent origin. During the 1980s, federal policy denied asylum status to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala despite those countries being ravaged by civil war.[18] Amidst public outcry over the policies, several U.S. cities began adopting local ordinances to permit and encourage admittance to Central American refugees. Sanctuary cities establish safe zones in which city officials, such as local law enforcement, are prohibited "from cooperating with the arrest or deportation of any Central Americans within city limits."[19] San Francisco was one of the first major U.S. cities to adopt such an ordinance citing that immigration was a jurisdiction of the federal government and as such "federal employees, not city employees, should be considered responsible for implementation of immigration and refugee policy."[20] Since the 1980s, the number of sanctuary cities has increased to the present level, which includes 167 cities and counties in 13 states.[21]

The second presidential executive order on immigration, "Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements," authorized the construction of a physical wall to separate the U.S.-Mexico border. While amplified during the 2016 presidential election, rhetoric surrounding the building of a wall along the southern border of the United States is not a new idea. Constructing physical boundaries segregates populations along man-made lines of demarcation. Walls, such as the one separating the West Bank from Israel, the one that divided Berlin during the Cold War, and the ones built by dynastic China beginning in the 7th century to protect themselves from nomadic advances from the Eurasian Steppe, are symbolic of exclusion and alienation. The notion of such a wall in the United States is often meant to reinforce historical perceptions of immigrants as intruders, criminals and a threat to a national identity beholden to Anglo-Saxon traditions.[22] The concept of building a physical barrier as a solution to

immigration issues in the south and west was also a prevalent theme in the 2012 U.S. presidential election. One 2011 article from *The New York Times* describes a rally for then-Republican candidate Herman Cain that exemplifies the ardent and often zealous rhetoric regarding immigration that can manifest in the body politic.

> Mr. Cain, speaking at a Tea Party-sponsored rally in Tennessee, made some of his most pointed remarks yet on the issue. He said he might use military troops "with real guns and real bullets" to stop intruders.[23]

The executive order also prescribed the establishment of immigration detention centers along the border with Mexico. Much like the idea of a wall, detention centers are not a new concept, having already been a reality in the narrative of U.S. immigration policy. From the time of its construction at China Cove in 1905, the immigration station at Angel Island operated as a detention center built specifically as a holding place for immigrants barred from entering the United States after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Even the palace-like monolithic compound at Ellis Island was relegated to use almost exclusively for detention and deportation in the waning years of operation as a U.S. immigration station.[24]

The third presidential executive order, "Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into The United States," mandated a temporary ban on travel to the United States by individuals hailing from seven primarily Muslim countries. Rhetoric during the campaign of wanting a U.S. ban on Muslims prompted the executive order to be seen by many as fulfillment of that desire and was quickly challenged in court. The Trump administration defended the travel ban, citing "broad executive powers on immigration" and that there was precedence in that similar bans had been ordered by past administrations. From the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Barred Asiatic Zone Act of 1917, to the denial of entry to thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing war-torn Europe during World War II[25], the United States has had a sordid past when it

comes to the admittance of various ethnicities, especially in times of international conflict. Yet, as controversial as these executive orders were, inciting outcry and mass protest, they were not unexpected as they fulfill promises made during one of the most polarizing presidential campaigns in U.S. history. All of these orders were immediately challenged in court, and none have been implemented to their fullest extent as of completion of the present investigation.

Public attitude toward immigration has a long and complicated history.[26,27] From citizens to advocacy groups and politicians, the issue of immigration is often an emotional one receiving national attention. Elections can often amplify the discourse adding rigid polarization between those on both sides of the debate. But beliefs that immigrants are criminals, however, do not just emerge during elections. Those beliefs are a constant undertone in the national discourse.[28] When a wildfire broke out near the Bear Wallow Wilderness area in eastern Arizona, many held the belief the fire was caused by those trying to enter the country illegally.

> "Who set the fire?" asked Ed Ashurst, an area rancher who is convinced that he knows. "It's obvious. There's a few people in America who don't think man walked on the moon in 1969. To say that illegal aliens didn't set the fire is like saying that Neil Armstrong didn't walk on the moon." Mr. Ashurst acknowledges that his case is circumstantial. "Did anyone see the aliens drop a match or a cigarette? No. But we all know who started this. Who else would be up there?"[29]

Forming beliefs is a complicated psycho-physiological process combining environmental factors, individual experience and exposure to external information that is internalized and reconciled with what we know, or believe we know, to be true.[30] While contemporary beliefs about immigration are not the focus of this investigation, it is important to highlight where the United States currently is as a nation, in order to begin to understand where it has been. Celebrated American author and satirist Mark Twain is often purported to have said, "history never repeats itself, but it rhymes."[31,32] That adage has also been attributed to James Eayrs,[33,34] but more important than its provenance is the notion that histories are not linear, but cyclical.

The history of immigration in the United States is no different. The attitudes and beliefs Americans harbor toward immigration have not changed much over time. What has changed are the ethnicities to whom those attitudes and beliefs are assigned, and the criteria used in establishing who are desirable and welcome and who are not worthy of sharing in the ideals, principles and promises of the American Dream.[35] During the time period this investigation focuses on—1900–1925—eastern and southern Europeans as well as Asians were classified as undesirable.[36,37]

PHOTOGRAPHY AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION

Any discussion of photography and immigration in the early 20th century would be incomplete without acknowledging the body of work of Lewis Wickes Hine. Described as one of the preeminent documentary photographers of the time, Hine's work at Ellis Island reinforced his egalitarian views of America and solidified his place as an ardent advocate for the voiceless, disadvantaged and exploited[38,39] Hine didn't begin exploring photography until after he moved from Oshkosh, Wisconsin to New York in 1901. While teaching botany and natural science at the Ethical Cultural School, headmaster Frank Manny put a camera in his hand and suggested he use the emerging medium as a teaching method in his classroom.[40] Four years later, he headed to Ellis Island and it would be another three years before he decided to dedicate his life to photography.

In 1908, Hine left teaching to take a contract as an investigator and photographer with the National Child Labor Committee, a non-profit organization founded in 1904 by New York clergyman Edgar Gardner Murphy with the mission to promote "the rights, awareness, dignity, well-being and education of children and youth as they relate to work and working."[41] Hine's

work for the NCLC lead to the production of what is considered to be some of his most important work in illuminating the human condition to society at large.[42] Still after leaving his post as a formal teacher, Hine considered himself an educator first and foremost. Instead of grade school children and adolescents, to Hine his pupils became society and greater humanity was the curriculum. Given Hine's progressive mindset, photographic historian Judith Gutman suggests that he was at constant odds with the reformist views of nativists prevalent in the era he photographed. Gutman writes that Hine "stayed too completely in his private world of conceptions, his private world of feelings, even his private approach to public things like reform and used the young and growing field of photography to stand boldly against the towering background which was emerging."[43] That towering background was the rapidly emerging urban landscape spawned by industrialization and rife with classism, corruption, poverty and crime.[44]

In his own words Hine believed photography was not meant to record but to "interpret"[45] the world. Historian Peter Seixas suggests Hine's motivation was quasi-altruistic; he aimed to show the "humanity and dignity of workers and the working class."[46] This motif was certainly evident in later projects but bore its foundation in his work at Ellis Island. For instance, his image "Italian Family En Route to Ellis Island," (Figure 6) is emblematic of his philosophical aesthetic. The image depicts a family aboard a ferry from the Manhattan Battery on their way to Ellis Island for processing. Unlike many immigrants who wore brightly colored costumes indicative of their native cultures upon arrival, this family's dress is subdued. They present themselves to be working-class and their appearance demonstrates a shared western idealism as if to communicate their ability to successfully assimilate into American society.[47] With a stoic expression, the man carries a large and cumbersome pack upon his shoulders in an almost

evidentiary display of his physical prowess, signifying his potential for arduous work in the nation's industrial sector.

It is his work at Ellis Island in 1905 that has indelibility permeated a visual mythology of what the immigration of Europeans to the United States *looked like*. Celebrated documentarian Ken Burns often speaks of this idea of "mental glue,"[48] that catches, categorizes and congeals our collective memory. For the immigration of Europeans to the United States in the early 20th century, that mental glue is Hine's images. While Sherman's work faded from the public's collective memory, Hine's images from Ellis Island endured to become the accepted visual narrative of early 20th century immigration. His work provides the backdrop and the visual context that, when combined with family lore, leads to the nostalgia for Ellis Island shared by so many of what their ancestors endured in seeking a new life in the new world.

Gutman suggests that because of his egalitarian principles, and his desire for "revelation" through his notion of being "fellow citizens of one great people," Hine was often conscientiously in conflict with the era in which he lived and worked.[49] His belief that the average worker, the immigrant was just as "you and I"[50] was contrary to the reformist nativist views prevalent in turn of the century American society.[51] It is perhaps because of this disjuncture combined with his interpretive approach to photography that much of his work at Ellis Island possesses homogeneity in ethnic representation. Hine's pursuit of constructing a reality of equality when it came to immigrants at Ellis Island had the effect of omitting representation of populations deemed undesirable in the contemporary society. Hine's later work, however, specifically of steelworkers for the *Pittsburgh Survey*, was more inclusive of various immigrant types, Slavs in particular. The *Pittsburgh Survey* was a project spearheaded by Russell Sage, who owned the Western Union Telegraph Company. The project focused on identifying the social and economic

problems of the Pittsburgh region in an attempt to improve the civic and industrial needs of the people.[52] Hine's work with the *Pittsburgh Survey* helps contribute to an understanding of the influence stereotypes and economic conditions had on nativist perceptions of immigration.

That Hine approached photography from a personal philosophy and social motivation puts into context the notion that photographs are not free of bias.[53,54] Making an image, as with creating any type of message, is the deliberate making of a series of decisions. Advancements in technology, for instance interchangeable lenses, continue to increase the number of choices a photographer has, but even historically, photographers could choose what angle to shoot from, what to include in the frame or what to exclude, and who or what would be their subjects. All of these decisions along with the instinctual judgment of when the decisive moment arrives, and the shutter is released have profound impact on the resulting image and representation of reality.[55] But as sociologist and Protestant theologian Peter Berger points out, reality is a social construction of man. As such, histories are especially challenging, because they are constructed from the particular viewpoint of those providing the narrative at an alternate point in time and cannot be verified through direct observation.[56] To this end, it is important to consider the very nature of photography, especially within the historical context that photographs are produced.

French theorist and philosopher Roland Barthes, who is credited with developing the field of semiotics, argues that photography as a medium has no inherent code.[57] Celebrated art historian John Tagg echoes this notion, writing that, "photography has no meaning outside its historical specifications … its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work."[58] Considering Sherman as an agent of history, it is not known whether the immigration commissioners he served with at Ellis Island directly requested he undertake these photographic endeavors. However, given the volume of his known work, and the

amount of time that would have been required to produce such a body of work, it could be argued that at minimum there was at least a tacit support of his photographic salvos especially considering both Williams and his successor Frederic C. Howe collected Sherman's photographs. To illuminate the environment of photographing at Ellis Island Hine writes, "We are elbowing our way thro {sic} the mob at Ellis trying to stop the surge of bewildered beings oozing through the corridors, up the stairs and all over the place, eager to get it all over and be on their way."[59] This description of the brink of chaos is in stark contrast to the calm settings and formal poses of Sherman's subjects, who were often photographed in isolation giving the illusion they were the only ones there. But Sherman as a producer of photography is not the only agent that serves as an important factor in considering the meaning of photography under Tagg's assertion. As collectors Williams and Robinson were acting as representatives of the 'institution' of immigration.

Photography by its very nature plays an important role in shaping public opinion and U.S. policies of exclusion. From the Great Depression and Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother," to the Vietnam War era's "Napalm Girl," and "Street Execution of a Vietcong Prisoner" photography has influenced public opinion of controversial issues. Images made through the lens of skilled photographers can go beyond showing the world what something looked like and illuminate what happened.[60] Photographs have the power to visually depict cultural and ethnic differences among immigrant populations, for instance, reinforcing notions that they don't look like they belong. The idiom "seeing is believing,"[61] is imperative to the paradigm of photography as it suggests that one must actually observe a phenomenon to truly accept that it exists. In the case of immigrants, it is one thing to tell society that certain types of ethnicities do not fit within the cultural and racial constructs of being an American. Showing their cultural and ethnic

differences through a photograph, however, has a completely different impact in reinforcing those beliefs because it creates a voyeuristic scenario allowing society to see these differences for themselves.

While not the genesis of negative attitudes toward immigrants, photography has historically played an important role in shaping both public opinion and U.S. policy toward immigration issues. Existing research into this effect focuses on the use of photography as an instrument of exclusion of Chinese immigrants toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.[62] Following the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and leading up to the Barred Asiatic Zone Act of 1917, the United States placed more and more stringent restrictions on immigrants from Asia including implementation of requirements for photographic identification. Pegler-Gordon and Lee argue the photographic ID requirement, while expanded to all immigrants in the 1920s, was initially implemented to underscore the status of Chinese and other Asian immigrants as genetically, culturally and economically undesirable.[63,64] After passage on May 5, 1917 of the Barred Asiatic Zone Act closed immigration to the Asian continent, the exception being Philippine nationals, the undesirable status was extended to include immigrants from eastern and some southern European countries as well, because of their proximity to Asia. Studies investigating the portrayal of ethnic Roma, or Romani people, often derogatorily referred to as "Gypsies,"[65] or the Greek diaspora surrounding the Mediterranean,[66] suggest minority representation in photography is often a form of exclusion. Photography visually illustrates the cultural and physical differences among ethnic populations and racializes those differences.[67] Images of immigrants, in particular Eastern Europeans and Asians, serve as reinforcement of these groups status as "undesirable" based on the notion that "they don't look like Americans."[68]

CHAPTER TWO:

METHODS OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

"Though his pictures have the look of anthropological studies, in that most of the people face the camera directly, and all of them are isolated from their surroundings against a plain white background, most of his subjects are drawn from a narrow range of Western types. ... He seems to be possessed by an artistic vision of the American West as purgatory, if not hell, on earth."

— Gene Thornton, 1985

This passage from *The New York Times* art critic Gene Thornton's review of famed fashion photographer Richard Avedon's book and exhibition "In the American West, 1979–1984" is a classic example of analysis and criticism of the photographic art form.[1] Besides the utility of illustrating the result of photographic analysis, Thornton's assessment of the effect Avedon's visual aesthetic had on limiting his ability to authentically capture the spirit of his subject matter closely resembles Sherman's inadequacy in portraying the true nature of immigrants at Ellis Island. There are striking similarities between analysis of Avedon's western portraits when they debuted and how Sherman's photographs can be described today. Thornton compared Avedon's commissioned portraiture of the west to that of German photographer August Sander's survey of Germans between the World Wars that set out to illustrate "what is most characteristic" of the subjects.[2] Sherman's constructed visual topology compared to Hine's survey of immigrants at Ellis Island reveal a failure similar to Avedon's portrayal of the west. While Hine and Sander were both methodical in their subject selection, Sherman and Avedon, by comparison, were more reliant on their idiosyncratic visions of who their subjects should be.[3] In drawing critical comparisons between the work of Avedon and Sander, critics like Thornton lay the groundwork for subsequent comparisons such as the present comparison of the work of Sherman and Hine. The advantage here though is that whereas the work of Avedon and Sander

were separated by more than five decades, Sherman and Hine's work were in direct conversation with one another, each debating opposing conventions of immigration within the same historic public sphere. Building upon these described comparisons makes it possible to construct understanding of how photographs are assembled in collections, such as the collection of Williams and Robinson, and what meaning can be assigned to those collections.

ASSIGNING MEANING TO HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS

How can it be known, that the family in Hine's photograph (Figure 6), are Italian? Or that the way the man in the photograph is holding his bags has significance? Likewise, how can meaning be derived from the way Sherman posed the Guadeloupian woman (Figure 4)? Examining evidence found outside the photographs themselves. Sources of such evidence can be found in many different places. Primarily sources such as letters, notes, scrapbooks, journals, or direct ethnographic observation, and secondary sources such as history texts or documentaries all provide valuable evidence in supporting the construction of historical conclusions. Hine was methodical in his research and documentation, so from the description he provides in his caption, "Italian Family En Route to Ellis Island," it is reasonable to conclude the family is Italian. This caption, an example of a primary source in that it came directly from the photographer who made the image, provides important context to the photograph. Though comprised of only seven words, there is a great deal of information that can be gleaned from the caption that makes it possible to describe and interpret the photograph. For instance, that the family is "en route" to Ellis Island places them on the deck of a ferryboat, rather than on an ocean liner, meaning they are on the last leg of their long and arduous travel across the Atlantic. Very little of the boat can be seen in the photograph except the waffled-pattern railing in the foreground and a row of

windows in the background, yet that conclusion can be made by researching and understanding how immigrants arrived at Ellis Island. Because the majority of the island was man-made, the harbor was too shallow to accommodate the deep draft of an ocean liner[4]. This forced the massive steamships to dock at Castle Garden, the former immigration-processing center located at the southern tip of Manhattan known as The Battery. Immigrants would disembark, and then be loaded onto smaller ferryboats that would take them to Ellis Island for processing. Knowing how immigrants arrived at Ellis Island also allows for additional conclusions about the photograph to be made. For instance, knowing that ferryboats docked at Ellis Island with their bows pointing west along a pier that ran parallel to the southern façade of the great hall suggests that the Italian family is standing on the starboard side of the boat. Evidence for this conclusion found outside the photograph can be reinforced by evidence within the photograph as well.

Examine the man to the right of the family as an example. The man is looking past the frame of the photograph and holding his bags at the ready as if he is anticipating something about to happen. The directionality of his stance, and that he has gathered his belongings, suggests then that the boat is arriving at Ellis Island and he is looking toward the bow of the boat where passengers disembark. This reinforces the initial conclusion, made by assessing the historical procedures of ferryboat arrival at the island that the passengers are on the starboard deck. Whether or not it is important to come to this specific conclusion depends on the questions being asked and the focus of the particular research being conducted. Although this conclusion is not particularly relevant to the current investigation, it has illustrated how critical historical evidence is within the process of describing and interpreting photographs; and it sets the stage for outlining the process of analysis that will be used in this thesis. It also illustrates that much more can be known about the reality of a particular scene than what appears to be happening

within a photograph. Without presenting evidence external to the photograph, though, it could not have been read with the context needed to completely understand the *photograph as history*, rather than just an artifact of a historical event.

DESCRIBING AND INTERPRETING PHOTOGRAPHS

Philosopher Roland Barthes, in his explanation of how to approach the analysis of photographs, lays out a process of both *denotative* and *connotative* description.[5] The denotative aspect of analysis prescribes for the literal reading of a photograph. Considerations in this regard include aspects of the photograph such as its physical size, its tonal value and how elements are arranged in the frame. These are the pictorial conventions that "fall below the threshold of conscious attention" and are often the focus of social science approaches to visual cultural analysis. For example, description of how Sherman's Guadeloupian woman (Figure 4) was posed and her facial characteristics were examples of the denotative approach. However, the implication that those facial characteristics deviated from the characteristics of those who were considered desirable immigrant types, moved the analysis to the connotative approach. Connotative description begins to see the manifestation of early interpretation moving beyond the literal reading of an image to reading it for secondary meaning. Secondary meanings are those that can be implied; for example, that a low camera angle connotes power because from that perspective the subject is imbued with stature and is looking down upon other elements in the photograph, or even the reader.

To further illustrate this, consider two photographs of the Empire State Building. The first photograph (Figure 7) is shot from a considerable southern facing elevation and shows mid-town Manhattan in the foreground, the Empire State Building being the focus, with lower

Manhattan and the recently completed One World Trade Center in the distant background. Denotatively this photograph shows, for those familiar with the geography of Manhattan, where the building is located, and in terms of scale, that it towers in height over the buildings that surround it. Compare this to the second photograph (Figure 8), where denotatively, aside from noting the angle of view and the upward leading lines, there is not a tremendous amount to describe. Connotatively however, the secondary meaning of stature and power, and in this case architectural achievement, begins to manifest as the reader stands ostensibly in awe of this magnificent edifice that towers to such heights that its very apex is not visible. Though this example is of an inanimate structure, it is emblematic of the task ahead in describing a group of immigrant portraits that on the surface, denotatively are relatively benevolent, however connotatively, possesses a more ominous meaning.

Chapter one began to illustrate that immigration is a complicated issue. It follows then that analysis of photographs that depict immigration would be complicated as well, given the nuanced nature of race and culture embodied in the images. Navigating the vast complexity of immigration, it is helpful to focus on the immigrant both as an individual, the subject of a photograph, but also as a symbol in determining what that photograph means. To accomplish this, analysis needs to consider immigrants in terms of migration, a function of instinct to relocate in order to fulfill the need to survive, but at the same time consider the symbolic nature of this act. Within the social construction of reality, Berger and Luckmann posit a notion of the duality of man[6]. In one respect there is *man* as a biological entity, the literal description of what he is, the denotative man. He is a living, breathing being, comprised of much of the same materials as any other living organism[7]. Then there is *a man*, a social-psychological entity. This second description of man, the connotative man, is represented by the personality and individual

traits that constitute the concept of *self*[8]. This description examines man for *who* he is rather than *what* he is. This same perspective will be considered in the approach to the discussion of the immigrants photographed within the collections under examination. The immigrant will be considered both for their denotation as an individual or group of individuals migrating from one place to another, and for the connotation of what that migration meant to Americans in a historical context. This approach to analysis moves beyond seeing just an individual from far off lands wearing elaborate costumes and places the immigrant within the context of the society where they are arriving.

The process of denotative and connotative description is also important for the approach of analysis in this thesis because the collections being examined are vastly different. It is not known who made the photographs that Robinson collected. While it is known that Sherman made the photographs that Williams collected, it is not known why Sherman made the photographs to begin with. To reconcile the challenges of unknown causal circumstances, a comparative approach to interpretation will need to be taken. In order to fully describe the photographs and assign meaning based on the context of their creation, they will need to be compared to other photographic works and contrasted against other historical evidence available in the collections. Comparison is necessary because in the case of both sets of images, Sherman and the unknown photographer(s) from the Robinson collection have no other known bodies of work to reference. It becomes necessary then to compare these collections to the works of other contemporary photographers, which is why Hine is central to understanding the photographs under examination. Using the approaches of denotative and connotative description and comparative analysis, the present investigation will explore socio-economic indicators of cultural influences on nationalist attitudes and historical immigration policies to understand and draw

conclusions about the photographic collections under examination.

CHAPTER 3:

RACE, NATAVISM AND POLICY:
TOWARD THE EXCLUSION OF UNDESIREABLE IMMIGRANTS

"…more than 14,000,000 still live among us, and their children and children's children are now in good truth bone of our bone and blood of our blood."[1]

This excerpt from a 1917 *National Geographic* article "Our Foreign Born Citizens" exemplifies a pervasive social concern present in the early 20th century that immigration would inevitably lead to the "mixing of races." Illustrated by 27 of Sherman's photographs, the article introduces the complex notion of race into the present discussion of immigration. Race is an important underlying current that flows throughout the forces of capitalism, culture, society and government. Discussing this powerful current is essential in framing understanding of this period and how these forces coalesced to construct the conditions of exclusion present at both Ellis Island and Angel Island. Race is a societal construct, a man-made mechanism of power in which to systematically sort, categorize and label individuals and groups along a dynamic scale of whiteness. The scale is dynamic, race lacks fixity in both the temporal and spatial sense. In what political historian Matthew Jacobson conceptualizes as the "alchemy of race,"[2] time and place are critical considerations to the discussion of who can be considered white and when. Jacobson writes that race, "Bound in a wildly complex skein of political, cultural, ideological, psychological and perceptual strands, their movements are glacial rather than catastrophic, uneven rather than linear or steady."[3] What is commonly accepted as being white today, for example, is very different from what was considered white a century ago. That same fluidity applies equally to regionality—what is considered white in some places, is not in others. The underlying historical logic that frames the creation of race centers on two fundamental

ideologies, *capitalism* and *republicanism*,[4] both of which are prisms through which one can view the history of immigration.

Histories are complex, nuanced, and interconnected. The history of any people, place, event, period, issue or object is never just about that one singular subject in isolation of the perspectives, forces or mechanisms that contributed to their construction. The history of steel in the U.S., for example, embodies the cultural and sociological conflicts of race as much as it does economic forces and urbanization.[5,6,7] The agents, actors, and witnesses of the transformation of the urban landscape are forged into its narrative like the rivets holding together the towering structures of the modern world. Much has been written about the struggles and experiences of Chinese and European immigrants to the U.S. from varied perspectives. For example, there are Erica Rand's exploration of morality, sexuality and exploitation at Ellis Island; Erika Lee and Judy Yung's explication of American exceptionalism and its effect on notions of Asian inferiority; and Anna Pegler-Gordon's extensive examination of the interconnectedness of photography and immigration policy. Each of these works provides perspectives that are critical to our understanding of immigration in a historical context. Through providing this critical context, the current body of knowledge helps inform the argument that photography not only served as a catalyst and reinforcement to exclusionary policies, but also served as a means to surveil those who the policies were designed to exclude.

Race and immigration were entwined and solidified in the ideology of U.S. citizenship with passage of the Naturalization Act of 1790. Enacted during the second session of the first Congress, the law established the criterion of "any alien, being a free white person"[8] as being eligible to become a naturalized U.S. citizen. This phrase manifests from republican ideology that citizens should be civilized, therefore able to govern themselves. Those seven words—any

alien, being a free white person—catalyzed the importance of race and the notion that certain races of immigrants possessed the requisite character necessary for self-governance, and others did not, making them racially undesirable by historical conventions of whiteness. Countering the republican idealism of self-governing civility, however, is the nation-building force of capitalism that requires an abundance of cheap labor to ensure growth and prosperity.[9] It is within the tension between these two principles that the alchemy of race exists. This tension, the ebb and flow between the conflicting forces of republicanism and capitalism, is the lens through which the following discussion should be viewed. Discussing the social, economic and political forces that existed during this period establishes a context in order to understand the conditions in which the photographs under investigation were made.

CAPITALISM AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The industrial revolution came late to the U.S. in comparison to the rest of the developing world. While much of Europe was adopting new processes and technologies to make the production of goods more efficient, similar growth lagged in the U.S. through much of the early 19th century.[10] When industrialization did arrive in the U.S., it came with rapid growth and innovation. Advancements in the production of machinery, chemicals and raw materials used in everything from agriculture to the production of goods catalyzed industry and the need for labor to support it. Fulfillment of this need for labor came with a caveat in the form of a contrived social contract. In exchange for low wages and poor working conditions, immigrants would benefit from the elasticity of race. What it meant to be white stretched; it expanded in the early to mid-19th century to accommodate newly arriving European laborers, comprised mainly of Irish Catholics.[11] This new-found inclusivity into whiteness, however, was superficial, and applicable only to their eligibility for naturalization, not to social and cultural acceptance.[12] It was the

consequences of this social contract between industry and immigrant, that Hine turned his eye toward after his work at Ellis Island.

Armed with the egalitarian perspective, Hine began to document the working and living conditions of laborers, many of them immigrants. Between 1907 and 1920, Hine documented life in the slums of Washington, D.C, the effects of war in Europe, the relationship between man and machines and the development of the industrial urban landscape. Throughout his career, Hine's aesthetic began to change as he became more disenfranchised with the direction of the modern world around him.[13] The shift in perspective and the focus of his work can best be illustrated by examining his work prior to the 1920s, and his work after. Of this transformation Gutman wrote:

> When Hine saw these "un-natural" industrial by-products choking off the "natural," new urban growth, he turned angrily upon the environment surrounding him, traveling twelve thousand miles in the United States alone in 1913. However, a person—child or adult—found his relationship to the new industrial world, Hine photographed it. Sweeping. Baking. Waiting. Shipping. Houseworking. Carrying. Arriving. Existing.[14]

Although still aiming to illuminate the social condition, his work after the 1920s began to focus less on righting what he saw as wrong with society and instead focused more on what he saw was right, such as celebrating laborers as a heroic embodiment of American society. What is relevant for the present discussion is Hine's pre-1920s focus on bringing the plight of immigrants and their worth to society to the forefront of public discourse. For example, his image titled "Breaker boys, coal mine, 1911" (Figure 9), depicts a group of weary young men and boys huddled on coal car tracks. Black soot smeared across their faces throughout the course of long and laborious workday conceals evidence of their racial and individual identities. In the photograph, viewers stare into a darkened void, a mass of faceless workers, a commodity whose only value is measured by economic output, not individualism. This image is symbolic of the

powerful force of capitalism and reveals its ability to suppress, mask or even transform the conventions of race within society in order to meet its needs.

To illustrate the entwined relationship between labor and immigration, the 1917 *National Geographic* article references the Calumet copper mines of Michigan's western Upper Peninsula. "Twenty different races share in its population, and not even Babel heard more tongues." The reference to Babel from the book of Genesis underscores the deep Anglo-Protestant traditions that are foundational in nativist ideology. It is said that Babel was the meeting place for all the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth to reunite after being scattered and forming their own nations after the great flood.[15] The article continues, "in New York the foreigners colonize, as on the East Side; in Calumet it is the native population that colonizes, the American colony there being known as Houghton."[16] This suggests that despite the value immigrants have to industry, there was a perceived risk of immigrants outnumbering natives especially when large populations migrate outside the industrial eastern corridor in search of work. In this case the transformation of race does have its limits, especially when confronted with societal demands for civility.

In the mid-19th century as the newly-minted white immigrant workforce was laboring away in the northeast industrial corridor, tens of thousands of Asians were arriving on the west coast. Some were eager for work helping to build the nation's vast railway infrastructure to transport mass produced goods, while others were hoping to strike it rich in mining during the U.S. gold rush.[17] More efficient means of production, however, brought by decades of innovation and labor expansion lead to a disparity by the century's end between the robust supply of goods and the nation's demand for them. This disparity led to a slowing of the nation's economy in the 1870s, including the need for rapid construction of infrastructure to connect the coasts. The

economic downturn continued, deepening into a depression by 1882. Between 1884 and 1886, wages decreased, and U.S. unemployment escalated, having a devastating effect on the nation's workforce comprised, in large part, of immigrant laborers. The economic depression led many to begin questioning the nation's immigration policies and began forging a connection between economics and protectionist ideologies.

"NEW IMMIGRANTS" AND THE RISE OF NATAVIST VIEWPOINTS

While separate forces, the principles of republicanism and self-governance along with conventions of race and economic fears that immigration would pollute American standards of whiteness and rob natives of economic opportunity, worked in concert with one another to orchestrate a rise in the nativist movement. The 1880s saw a shift in immigration from Europe. European immigration prior to the Depression differed from European immigration during and after the Depression both in terms of scale and of where the immigrants were coming from. By 1890, immigration from desirable countries such as the then Germanic Empire, Great Britain, France, Switzerland and Scandinavian countries, all considered to be highly civilized and racially mirroring the early colonizers of North America, slowed considerably. Immigration of the skilled laborers and merchants from these desirable regions ebbed and a wave of new immigrants began to arrive. Fleeing conflict and oppression from the then Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire, millions of eastern and southern Europeans hoped to enjoy newfound prosperity in the U.S., similar to that found by their continental neighbors to the north and west. This wave escalated into one of the largest phenomena of human migration in history. Between 1880 and 1920, 20 million—primarily eastern and southern Europeans—immigrants sought admittance into the United States. Implications of this shift, in terms of affected population demographics fueled nativist sentiments toward the restriction of immigration.

One of the principle fears of protectionist nativism was of losing control of the government to the foreign-born immigrants that had been arriving in mass for more than a century.[18] Being a government founded by white Protestants and wanting to protect that locus of control is the primary force behind the view of native-born citizens that the United States was a nation of Anglo-Saxons for Anglo-Saxons.[19] One way to limit the influence of foreign-born populations was to deny them permanent citizenship, preventing them from becoming eligible to vote. Debate of over who should be allowed in, and who should not, played out not only in what German sociologist Jürgen Habermas would call the public sphere, but in the U.S. press as well. Take, for example, one political cartoon titled "The Hyphenated American" (Figure 10). Appearing in the popular magazine Puck in 1899, the scene is of polling on an Election Day, with a forlorn figure of Uncle Sam looking down at a line of voters waiting to cast their ballots. Each of the would-be voters is drawn wearing two identities. Dissected down the sagittal plane, one-half of each voter is wearing a topcoat, and either a top hat or a bowler, and the other half is wearing some vestige of their previous cultural identities. The caption reads "Uncle Sam—Why should I let these freaks cast a whole vote when they are only half Americans?"

Another fear that fueled the protectionist ideology of nativists was that because of the economic depression, the U.S. needed to take measures to ensure that economic opportunities were available first for native-born citizens. The Irish were able to enjoy the elasticity of whiteness in being granted the ability to become naturalized, thus vote, because of their willingness to accept low wages and deplorable working conditions. Asians, along with eastern and southern European immigrants, however, tested the limits of the elasticity of race. There is a contradictory reciprocity inherent within the nature of racial inclusivity. Exclusion must first exist as a condition before there can be inclusion, otherwise it would be a null process. In other

words, in order to include some races within the nebulous lexicon of whiteness, others must inherently be excluded, otherwise the construction of race collapses. It is through the logic of *othering*—similar in process to the casting of freed slaves, Native Americans and Asians, into distinct non-white racial categories—that the new wave of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe found themselves being categorized as racially, or culturally undesirable. Of this notion of othering historian and American culture scholar John Higham wrote, "An initial distrust, compounded largely out of their (the immigrants) culture and appearance, swelled into a pressing sense of menace, into hatred, and into violence."[20] One of the ways hatred of the new immigrants manifested was in the unfounded development of stereotypes, meant to justify harsh treatment and discrimination toward immigrants. Stereotypes were not a new convention, for example it was a long-held protestant belief that the Irish were subversive papists whose loyalties were with the Pope in Rome.[21] However, new stereotypes were needed in order to match the racial or cultural characteristics of the present crop of immigrants. Notions that Jews were inherently greedy and intent on world domination, that Slavs were untamable savages and Italians unrelenting assassins, were invented to underscore the hierarchy of race, and place these ethnicities well outside the bounds of whiteness. This practice, Jacobson suggests is an exercise in sorting and distinguishing racial types by the republicanism logic of "civilization versus barbarianism or savagery, or Christianity versus heathendom."[22] This binary either/or status of immigrants at the turn of the 20th century codified nativist sentiments propagating the view that "each of the south and eastern European groups appeared as a particularly insidious representation of the whole foreign menace."[23]

The foreign menace, not just European but also Asian immigration, is aptly depicted in a pair of political cartoons, one produced in 1865 (Figure 11), the other from 1919 (Figure 12). The

first depicts two immigrants, one Irish and one Chinese, devouring a third individual wearing stripped pants. The title of the cartoon "The Greatest Fear of the Period" and caption "That Uncle Sam may be Swallowed by Foreigners," are indicative of the fear that America's racial identity was being compromised by immigrants. The second cartoon, appearing nearly 40 years later in Puck magazine, echoes and reinforces these fears. This cartoon, titled "We Can't Digest the Scum," depicts a man, presumably also Uncle Sam, holding a large ladle standing next to a caldron with the words "The World's Melting Pot" written on the side. Inside the pot is a frothy concoction that appears to be boiling over, containing phrases such as "Bolshevism," "The Mad Notions of Europe," "Anarchy" and "Un-American Ideals." The perceived threat of the Asian and European menace was manifested in the form of pressure from various politically connected nationalist groups on politicians to protect American idealism and identity.

PHOTOGRAPHS AS RACIAL TOPOLOGY

Sherman's photographs continue the work of political cartoons in propagating racial stereotypes by creating a pictorial topology of ethnic immigrant types. Evidence of this typology in the public sphere is in the use of his photographs to illustrate immigration narratives presented by the press. A 1907 *National Geographic* article "Some of Our Immigrants," connects Sherman's photographs to anti-immigrant sentiments of the period. The article begins, "The following series of illustrations, showing different types of the immigrants who are now pouring into the United States in even greater numbers than in 1905 and 1906."[24] *National Geographic* uses Sherman's photographs to directly illustrate a perceived problem with immigration. Page after page of Sherman's photographs are entwined with descriptions of the geographic distribution of immigrants trying to enter the U.S. along with nativist tomes of racial mixing that

appear throughout the 18-page spread. The last three pages of the spread clearly represent the way in which Sherman's photographs illustrate historical sentiments toward eastern and southern Europeans. A group of 13 immigrants labeled as "Servian Gypsies" appears on page 331 of the magazine (Figure 13). The family consists of four adult males standing stoically behind four adult females sitting on what appears to be a bench somewhere on the grounds of Ellis Island. There are also five children in the photograph, two of them sitting on the ground in front of the women, two of them sitting on the laps of two of the females, and one sitting on the bench in between two of the females. All of them are expressionless, and a few appear disoriented as they gaze off in different directions. This same photograph also appeared in the 1917 *National Geographic* article "Our Foreign Born Citizens," which over the course of 36 pages echoed and reinforced many of the same nativist themes of the 1907 essay. On the opposite page of the spread a photograph appears of a much more vibrant and lively scene compared to the subdued and downtrodden Romani people. This photograph (Figure 14) titled "Children's Roof Garden, Ellis Island" depicts a mass of children, many waving American flags while others play on wagons, carts and bicycles. Though there are no visible plants or trees or any assemblage of an actual garden as the title of the photograph suggests, it is a cheery scene on the surface. The caption, however, that reads "here the immigrant children, who are temporarily detained, romp and play until their parents or guardians come for them," reveals reality of the scene being shown.

After immigrants arriving at Ellis Island completed their initial inspection they were directed to "the stairs of separation" positioned at the end of the great hall. Those directed to the left side of the stairs were bound for quarantine, detainment or further interrogation; those directed down the center of the stairs had been granted admission and were off to board ferry

boats to Manhattan and their new lives; and those sent to the right, were denied entry and assembled for deportation.[25] Those ordered to the right side of the stairs are the subject of the photograph appearing on the last page of the 1907 *National Geographic* spread. This photograph (Figure 14) captioned "Excluded Gypsies about to be Deported" shows a large group of immigrants clutching their possessions as they wait outside the Ellis Island immigration station after being denied entry. Close examination of their clothes reveals that some of the immigrants waiting in line to board the ferry back to the docks of the ocean liners that brought them to the U.S. appear to be the same immigrants pictured in the posed group photo (Figure 13) two pages prior. The same photograph of the posed Romani group also appears in *The New York Times* 1905 (Figure 15) appearing with the caption "Hungarian Gypsies All Of Whom Were Deported…" confirms that they were denied entry. The article "Four Years of Progress at Ellis Island," directly praises the accomplishments of commissioner Williams in his efforts to improve efficiencies, cast out corruption and crack down on undesirable types of immigrants.

The page the article appears on is an interesting case study and is symbolic of both the atmosphere of change in immigration policy as well as a change in the way immigrants were being shown. Sherman's photograph of the Romas was arranged with photographs of other ethnic immigrant groups—one group from Holland and one from Romania— along with photos and illustrations of Ellis Island in a large collage that is the dominate feature of the page. In the center of the collage, a drawn likeness of commissioner Williams holds these other images together as if he is the glue or rivet without which everything would fall apart. The mixing of drawing and photograph is emblematic of the shift from the press' use of line drawing to the photographic medium. Shifting to the use of photography allowed immigrants to be shown with much more clarity, and with much more detail to accurately illustrate their perceived differences.

Photographs of Williams did exist at the time but using a drawing to represent him in this collage instead of a photograph suggests that while he was the focus of the article, visual attention needed to be paid to the immigrants being represented in the photographic topology Sherman was creating to illustrate the right and wrong type of immigrant. The article quotes Williams as saying, "a strict execution of our present laws makes it possible to keep out what may be termed the worst riff-raff of Europe." William's use of Sherman's photographs in this and other publications reinforces his ardent support of restrictive immigration policy. While Sherman's entire body of work is selective and subjective by nature, the photographs found in Williams' personal collection in particular are even more restrictive in their view. This restrictive view of immigration is in line with nativist views. In the article, Williams continues on calling for even more exclusion:

> But these laws do not reach a large body of immigrants who, while not riff raff, are yet generally undesirable, because unintelligent, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desiring to locate almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American wage-worker, and unfitted, morally or mentally, for good citizenship.

Whether directly or indirectly because of this call, Congress over the following two decades passed a series of new laws, aimed at excluding this "large body of immigrants."

ACTS OF EXCLUSION: IMMIGRATION POLICY 1900–1924

Prior to 1891, immigration was a state-based process. Individual states were tasked with setting standards for inspections, intake processes, admittance criteria and deportation.[26] It was an ad-hoc system that lacked consistency and proper oversight. The Immigration Act of 1891 federalized immigration for the first time in U.S. history. The act established the Bureau of Immigration, housed within the U.S. Department of Treasury, a testament to immigrants being

viewed as a commodity at the time. The Bureau of Immigration was charged with deporting illegal aliens and enforcing U.S. immigration law.[27] With immigration becoming standardized under the newly formed federal bureaucracy, enactment of restrictive policies began to accelerate. From the time the first U.S. immigration law was enacted in 1790, to the turn of the 20th century, new policy was introduced at infrequent intervals. In the one-hundred-year period between 1790 and 1898, only ten immigration acts became law[28] compared to the nine, in the twenty-year period under examination.

A series of acts implemented during the first two decades of the 20th century sought to limit acceptance of certain nationalities by placing quotas on the numbers allowed to immigrate, while other policies produced greater regulation on the ship lines that delivered immigrants from Europe to U.S. ports. The nation's nativists were increasingly concerned with the preservation of the country's Anglo-Saxon heritage and led the movement to limit, and ultimately close, immigration. Known as the progressive era, immigration was not the only issue scrutinized in the national discourse during this time. The progressive era also saw the rise of other movements leading to social and economic regulatory policies, such as the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and Prohibition. Newspapers and photography played a pivotal role in facilitating conversation, perpetuating fears and establishing national attitudes toward immigration. Beginning with the Immigration Act of 1903, exclusion of undesirable immigrants began to expand beyond Asians. This act further developed restrictions by expanding upon the list of immigrant classes that were not admissible. These classes included anarchists, those with epilepsy, beggars or those associated with prostitution.[29] Further restrictions where placed on those with disabilities with the immigration acts of 1907 and 1918. The Immigration Act of 1917, the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, implemented the requirement of a reading test for those over the age of 16.[30] The

Emergency Quota Act of 1922, set limits for the first time by way of a percentage-based formula on the number of immigrants who would be admitted from eligible classes. This initial quota was set at 3 percent from any country, based on the number of immigrants counted in the 1910 U.S. census.[31] This temporary quota system was made permanent through the National Origins Formula included in the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which placed permanent limits on immigration.[32]

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE AGENT AND THE IMAGE: PHOTOGRAPHY AND SURVEILANCE IN U.S. IMMIGRATION

"The photographer's primary purpose has been to reveal the individual before his camera, to transfer the living quality of that individual to his finished print … to record the essential truth of the subject; not to show how this person looks, but to show what he is."

— Edward Weston, 1942

Penned in a *Complete Photographer* magazine essay, Weston's notion of portraiture is essential in describing and understanding the photographs examined in this thesis. His assertion that a portrait must transcend mere description to embody the spirit, character and manner in which the subject lives is challenging to reconcile with the visual record presented in both the Robinson and Williams photographic collections. In both collections, photographs read more like they are the visual representation of objects, catalogued away for reference, rather than artfully crafted visual narratives illuminating the experience of immigrants entering the U.S. hoping to forge a new life for themselves and their families. The lack of visual narrative in this regard is striking when Sherman's work is compared to Hine's work at Ellis Island. By comparison, two photographs of immigrant families illustrate the stark contrast between the presence and absence of narrative in the work of these two photographers. Made in 1905, Hine's "Mother and Child– Italian, Ellis Island" (Figure 16) represents the complexity of family dynamics against the backdrop of emotional struggle and cultural alienation. The photograph shows a young girl being comforted by her mother as she sits on her lap outside a detention cell in Ellis Island's Great Hall. The girl's face radiates as it emerges from the darkness of the scarf carefully wrapped around her head. Her eyes are turned upward to meet the calming expression of concern that hangs on the mother's face, as she is consoled. Behind them, the chain-link enclosure of a

detention cell separates the mother and child from the amassed immigrants waiting to be processed. In the caption, Hine writes, "This beautiful mother and child sit outside a detention cell. Sometimes 1,700 immigrants were crowded into a room which was built to accommodate 600."[1] Whether it is the noise and chaos of overcrowding, or the uncertainty surrounding their future that drives this child into her mother's arms, their familial connection and the movement of their posture is reminiscent of the classic renaissance motif of Madonna and Child (Figure 17).

Through Hine's photograph something is learned of the subjects' relationship with one another. He is able to show closeness—the emotional bond felt between this woman and her daughter at an important and transitional period in their lives. The photograph is an exemplary example of success in achieving Weston's notion of transferring living qualities to finished print. Sherman's 1902 photograph titled "Gypsy Family" (Figure 18), by comparison, fails to achieve the same level of success in capturing the essential truth of his subjects. The photograph depicts a family of five Serbian immigrants: a mother, a father and three children. Standing, the mother holds what appears to be the youngest child in her arms. As she smiles, her eyes roll to one side looking to the right of the frame. Beside her the man sits void of expression, hands rested on his knees, his head turned slightly as he gazes in the opposite direction as the woman. All three children—the one being held, the other two sitting on the ground in front of the man—are pictured in profile; their heads turned as if they are distracted by something out of frame to the left. These same five individuals also appear in the larger group photograph titled "Serbian Gypsies." Compared to the Hine photograph, this photograph lacks any of the same connotative qualities that reveal familial bonds between the subjects, which limit understanding of their relationship. The lack of background removes any sense of place. There is no emotion, no apparent attempt to capture who these immigrants are or the nature of their experience. If it was

not known who made this picture, knowing when and where it was made would be increasingly more difficult to determine based on the little visual evidence contained in the photograph itself. This lack of context of visual narrative is characteristic of all the Sherman photographs found in the Williams collection.

AUGUSTUS F. SHERMAN

On the surface, one could argue that differences between the Hine and Sherman photographs are a result of one being made by a professional photographer and the other an amateur. However, both Sherman's and Hine's photographs demonstrate a high level of technical skill, despite neither having any known training or background in art or photography. Photographic technology being what it was at the time makes it likely that there was little difference in the equipment they were using to make their images. So why was Hine so successful at recording the essential truth of his subjects, when Sherman was not? The argument is that the difference was not a matter of professionalism or skill; it was a difference in motivation and purpose. Hine and Sherman set out to accomplish very different objectives through their photography, resulting in vastly different bodies of work. Through existing examinations of Hine, his motivations and purpose has become clear—humanize every subject to reveal their value and worth in society. It is through this approach that he was successful in capturing the narrative of the "Mother and Child," the "Italian Family en route to Ellis Island," and the "Breaker Boys in Coal Mine." Far less has been documented about Sherman's motivations. Clues as to the purpose of his photographs, however, can be found in the way in which he selected his subjects.

To both Sherman and Hine, Ellis Island was a classroom; a photographic laboratory where they experimented and developed their skills. However, in terms of access to the

immigrants that arrived there, Sherman had a tremendous advantage over Hine; he worked there. In 1905, Hine was still a teacher at the Ethical Cultural School and made photographic salvos to the island when he could.[2] Sherman, on the other hand, was embedded in the culture and bureaucratic mechanisms of the nation's largest immigration station, giving him the perfect opportunity to create ethnographic studies of the immigrants arriving on a daily basis. If ethnography or documentary were his approach, one would expect Sherman's photographs to be rich with visual narrative and show variety, including all manner of immigrants and their experiences; this however, is not the case. Sherman chose his subjects based on their physical appearance, asking inspectors and interrogators to notify him when unusual looking individuals or groups arrived.[3] Reliance on receiving notification from colleagues of unusual looking groups separates his approach from that of Hine who would immerse himself in the crowds of Ellis Island looking for his subjects. Sherman's inherent isolation and interest in only certain types of immigrants defines his visual preference, which has the subsequent effect of radically skewing his body of work toward those not fitting the era's convention of social or cultural desirability. Selecting subjects based on appearance suggests that in contrast to Hine, Sherman was less interested in egalitarian notions of inclusivity than he was in objectifying immigrants, transforming them into visual specimens of race. In total, immigrants from 34 different nationalities are shown in Sherman's known body of work.[4] While the nationalities do include immigrants from countries considered desirable, these immigrants were also identified by some ethnic or religious characteristic that placed them in the classification of undesirable, such as the "English Jew," or "Sami Woman" which shows a woman of the indigenous Ugic sub-ethnicity of Finland. In other cases, immigrants from desirable countries were photographed because of

physical anomalies such as being conjoined twins, dwarfs or giants, or those embodying some manner of deviance through social taboo, which also classified them as exotic or undesirable.

Illustrating social taboo is the case with a 1911 photograph titled "German Stowaway" (Figure 19). A man is shown shirtless with tattoos filling his chest and running up and down his crossed arms. The largest tattoo is located in the center of his chest, just below his clavicles, and depicts the sun rising between the spread wings of a predatory bird flying over what appears to be a pair of draped buntings. This tattoo is framed by tattoos of three women, one on either side and one below. On his right bicep is a tattoo of a man with one arm extended into the air clasping what appears to be a ball and chain. The large tattoo on his left bicep is indistinguishable, but below it, bundles of flowers are tattooed on his forearm. His stance is stiff, unnatural which makes him appear uncomfortable. Folds of skin gathering under his chin curve up his neck to cradle his face making it seem like he is leaning back, pulling his head away as he stares blankly into the camera. Suggesting he did not properly pay for his passage by labeling him a stowaway, Sherman catalogues him in the classification of criminal, but suggests deviance by showing him shirtless and tattooed adds an additional layer to his undesirability.

COLLECTING PHOTOGRAPHS FOR SURVEILENCE

As a product of evolution, humans are hardwired to surveil their environment and recognize deviance in their surroundings. Surveillance developed in humans as a mechanism of defense, to search for and identify threats—whether natural or mediated—in order to protect oneself and warn others of the danger.[5] The historical perception of nativists that immigrants threatened national identity founded on conceptions of whiteness, illustrates this biological function on a socio-ideological level. By the turn of the 20th century, photography had become a well-established extension of tracking and physical observation as a mode for the surveillance of

threats. In the case of immigration, threat is perceived as the disappearance of a collective whiteness, the dilution of homogeneity through the introduction of ethnic variety, by way of immigration, into the American population. Through photography, the visual cataloguing of race could be achieved, and collecting those photographs could be used as a warning sign that a threat approaches.

JOHN A. ROBINSON

Cataloguing immigrants through photography is perhaps most evident in the collection of Robinson. By all accounts, Robinson was a governmental bureaucrat, an agent of the state working on the frontline of immigration by investigating prostitution and the white slave market on the west coast. The photographs contained in his collection are a reflection of his role in the immigration process and an important link to understanding photography's early use in surveillance. Consisting of a combination of police mug shots and various forms of identification photographs, compared to Hine and Sherman, the Robinson photographs are even further removed from Weston's standards of portraiture. These photographs possess no living quality and strictly serve the purpose of documenting the physical descriptions of how these immigrants looked. Housed in a single archival box, referenced as MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society archives in San Francisco, the Robinson collection consists of 32 photographic prints all of unknown origin. The collection also contains correspondence and leather-bound journals that detail his daily investigative activities. In 22 volumes spanning his three-decades at Angel Island (1906–1936), Robinson recorded notes on immigrants and resident aliens, primarily of Asian origin, in his journals. These notes include assigned immigration numbers, case numbers, physical descriptions, and in many instances, details of immigrant activities or known locations. Notes written on the back of many of the photographs in the collection also include

similar information related to those pictured suggesting that the photographs were used in some capacity for his investigations.

The use of photography in law enforcement has a long history dating back to the mid-19th century. By 1841, the development of the Petzval lens along with advances in daguerreotype technology, which resulted in shorter exposure times, increased the speed of the photographic process making it a more practical means of record keeping.[6] Prisons and police forces adopted the technology and began hiring civilian photographers to photograph prisoners[7]. By the 1890s, photography started to become an integral part of the immigration process. Passage of the Geary Act and McCreary Amendment required nearly all Chinese to present photo identification with their immigration documentation[8]. In addition to photographic identification, use of photography for investigative purposes was not an uncommon practice at Angel Island. Robinson's colleague Charles Franklin is known to have taken both interpreters and photographic prints around the streets of San Francisco investigating the citizenship status of immigrants.[9] His own records, however, suggest that Robinson's scope was not limited to the Bay Area, but rather encompassed much of the west coast. Evidence of this can be found in the notes on the back of many of the photographs, or records related to them. For example, one of the identification photographs in his collection (Figure 20) is of a Chinese immigrant. The photograph shows a young, well-dressed man identified as Serno Dison, both on the front and back of the print. Below his image, the numbers 12020/19328 are stamped on the front of the print along with a notation p. 22422 appearing under his name. These numbers are consistent with the classification system Robinson used in his journals to organize notes pertaining to his various investigations; the numbers 12020 in particular reference Chinese deportation cases. In addition to the photograph, Dison also

appears in a 1902 passenger manifest for a ship arriving in Seattle, WA[10] suggesting Robinson was not just investigating immigrants arriving at Angel Island.

A series of prison photographs in Robinson's collection further supports the assertion his investigations reached far beyond the shores of the San Francisco Bay. One photograph (Figure 21) shows a 57-year old man identified as Eng Jeik. The man is bald, and his face looks gaunt as he stares expressionless into the camera, an identification slate hangs from his neck. On the back "SAN QUENTIN" is stamped on the print in magenta ink, below it appears the handwritten case notation 12020/1. Identified as prisoner number 30985, prison records note his nationality as Chinese and, color being a key characteristic of the convention of race, includes the notation of his complexion appearing "yellow."[11] The record also indicates Jeik was a farmer from Fresno, which is 200 miles south of San Francisco. Convicted in 1917, he was serving a sentence of 5-years to life for infamous crimes against humanity, a designation of the period that signified all manner of deviant crimes including acts of fellatio, sodomy, or being involved with prostitution. The classification of Jeik's crime is consistent with the focus of Robinson's investigations during this period. One *Oakland Tribune* article published on Oct. 31, 1919 (Figure 22), illustrates the nature of the crimes he investigated while stationed at Angel Island. With a headline reading "Chinese girl arrested in 'slave' hunt," the article details the arrest of an immigrant named Wong Ying, and two others, Lum Hay Yung and Lo Slim, accused of smuggling her into to San Francisco from China. Robinson is described in the article as having spent several weeks investigating the alleged prostitution ring, which led him "at times through some of the blackest mazes of which crafty Oriental conspiracy is possible." The language used here is characteristic not only of the editorialized narrative writing style of the press during this era, but also illustrates wide-held sentiments of suspicion towards Asian immigrants.

The geographic extent of Robinson's investigations is perhaps best illustrated by the single non-prison or identification photograph in his collection. The photograph (Figure 23) shows the façade of a large Spanish style building with three arches reaching several stories high at the entrance. Two individuals are shown sitting on the steps underneath the arch to the left, and two individuals lean against separate columns supporting the center arch, one on either side. A large sign attached to the railing above the arches reads "Plaza de Toros C. Jurez" (translation: Bull Square, City of Juarez, Mexico). Below the sign hangs a temporary banner promoting some type of traveling exhibition. A postcard (Figure 24) in the historical collection of the Ciudad Juarez library shows a wider view of the building, which appears to be an open-air event arena. On the back of the photograph in the Robinson collection, a handwritten case number notion, 12020/215, is written along with the name Wong Heong. This suggests he was investigating someone in the photograph and that this investigation took him as far as Mexico. This image also supports the argument that Robinson possessed these photographs as a method of surveillance. Photographs of immigrants identified as Leung Yuk, Lum Choy, Chuck Poy Yuen, and Gum Toy all include cases numbers noted on their reverse. One photograph (Figure 25) of a Chinese immigrant named Lau Sam, includes a notation that he has a "large mole near his left temple," while another (Figure 26) of immigrant Sarga Sergoro notes that he "hangs out at the Matsuoaka Hotel." All of these notations along with his journals suggest Robinson was visually cataloguing immigrants and that he collected these photographs for the purpose of surveilling those he was investigating.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS

Four years before Robinson began traversing the west coast investigating immigrants suspected of deviant crimes, a new commissioner was settling into his role at the helm of the nation's largest immigration station 2,900 miles away. Like Robinson, Williams collected photographs of undesirable immigrants; however, his use of photography was different from that of Robinson. Appointed in 1902 by Roosevelt, Williams arrived during a time of perceived turmoil and corruption at Ellis Island. A controversial figure, Williams represents an interesting dichotomy within the historical narrative of U.S. immigration. On one hand he is credited with being a great reformer in terms of facilities and process at Ellis Island.[12] On the other, Williams also received harsh criticism, especially in the foreign language press of New York, for his deeply entrenched views toward restricting immigration.[13] Canonizing his perceived accomplishments, Williams kept a scrapbook containing correspondence, various newspaper clippings, and photographic prints made by Sherman and other photographers, all memorializing his two terms as immigration commissioner. Kept as mementos the same articles in his scrapbook, many of which illustrated by Sherman's photographs, also illuminate Williams' biases. One clipping from 1904 reveals his views on immigrants coming from southern and eastern Europe. The article details how Williams advised the Maine State Board of Trade to be weary of certain types of immigrants as they were recruiting workers to populate their state. In the article Williams suggests that those from southern Europe were of a class of immigrants that were "unfitted to till our soil,"[14] suggesting they were unfit for even the most laborious of jobs, therefore having no value to society.

In another article with the headline "A New Keeper of the Nation's Gate,"[15] Williams suggests that only 60 percent of the immigrants arriving at Ellis Island had the character to be of

any "value to our nation," placing the remainder in his view, as undesirable. He also suggests that policy at the time was not exclusionary enough in not allowing discretion in denying entry. "Of the 40 percent remaining, by law we can exclude 20 percent," Williams says, "but we cannot stop the remaining." The article—which has a handwritten notation of "American Boy" next to the author's byline suggesting Williams approves of his lineage—goes on to laude Williams' hardline stance on immigration restrictions. The author writes that, "the 'undesirable minority' will find it more difficult than ever to pass through the gates of Ellis Island under the sharp eyes of commissioner Williams." The reference to Williams' sharp eyes is reminiscent of Foucault's notion of the panopticon, a concept of a circular prison configuration where one could keep both eye and order over many.

One page from Williams' scrapbook (Figure 27) containing rearranged segments of a dissected newspaper article is key to understanding this comparison. At the top of the page to the left, in a large illustrated font appear the words "On Guard," directly to the right of that, a left facing photograph of Williams is framed by a decoratively embellished oval. Below the oval, is another cutout containing the printed headline "Common Sense and Deep Knowledge of Human Nature Are Applied in Weeding the Unfit from the Fit at Ellis Island." A photograph showing a massive crowd of immigrants upon the deck of a steamer ship is affixed to the page to the left of the headline. This page, with the portrait of himself being placed at the top, his "sharp eyes" gazing down surveilling the huddled masses below him symbolizes Williams atop the panopticon. This symbolism helps contribute to an understanding of how he saw himself as being "on guard," as a lookout, protecting the whole of American society from the racial deviance and cultural intrusion of immigrants before him. Edwin Levick's "Observing the harbor, 1913," (Figure 28), a photograph commissioned by Williams, reinforces this notion of

him as protector and seer of all. The photograph shows Williams standing on the observation deck at Ellis Island keeping watch over New York Harbor. The strong diagonal leading line of the balcony rail leads the eye up to a haze covered Manhattan far off in the distance as if to suggest that America is an almost unattainable destination under his watch. Within the context of the Levick photograph, the panopticon's central structure is Ellis Island, and the seer, Williams is represented as a literal manifestation of the Argus, a fabled one-hundred eyed creature whose gaze reach all distances in all directions.

DISCUSSION

The Robinson photographs, and those in the Williams collection made by Sherman, do not measure up to Weston's narrow standard of what a portrait is and should convey. On one hand you have the Robinson photographs which serve as nothing more than a visual record of what the subjects looked like, on the other you have Sherman's photographs which fail to capture the true essence of the immigrants depicted. Through omission of narrative, the failure to capture the true essence of the immigrant subjects, these photographs are more reflective than revealing. As bodies of work, they say more about the attitude of Americans toward immigrants at the time, than they do the immigrants that are pictured. If Sherman's intent, for example, were to show the immigrants as they were at Ellis Island his subject matter would have been more broad and inclusive of all manner of immigrant, desirable and undesirable alike. Like Hine, he would have shown their experience within the context of Ellis Island, being questioned, being examined, interacting with one another instead of isolating them, voiding out any sense of place. Whereas Hine's work at Ellis Island is under representative or absent of the undesirable ethno-type, Sherman's work is over representative of this type of immigrant. Sherman purposefully sought

out those that looked unusual to sit for him. That unusualness, however, is a characteristic imbued by the American perspective, and conventions of race, not one that is naturally inherent or self-evident of the immigrants themselves. The immigrants did not look unusual to one another, nor within context of the cultures, communities and countries from which they originated.

Both Rand and Pegler-Gordon describe Ellis Island as an observatory, a looking glass of sorts through which the differences among mankind could be observed. This was true for the masses who would travel to Ellis Island as spectators, to view the immigrants arriving, to gawp in leisure at their dress and cultural peculiarity.[16] This was also true for both Hine and Sherman who gazed through the lens of Ellis Island with very different interpretations of what they saw. Hine chose to see the potential of humanity whereas Sherman chose to see those that seemed, on appearance, not to conform to manmade conventions of race and desirability that would outwardly signal their worth to society. That Sherman chose this type to be his subjects is a reinforcement of the societal norms of being American—of a national identity forged over centuries of Anglo-Saxon heritage. The role national identity plays in establishing the broader context of surveillance argued is this thesis is one of identification. In order to surveil, one must first determine whom to surveil—a threat must be identified. As collectors of photography both Williams and Robinson help identify that threat. Both of their collections contain photographs that visually describe and catalogue immigrants that threaten the conventions of desirability.

While the role Robinson and Williams play as collectors is significant, what is more important is the product of their actions—the product being the collections they assembled and what those collections represent. How the immigrants in their collections were *shown* is a telling clue to the purpose of their creation. Both Robinson and Williams collected images that, when

viewed together, read like a manual for seeing race—race manifested through undesirable immigrants. Seeing race, Jacobson asserts, is tantamount to its existence, it is how race displays itself in society. He writes "race is not just a conception; it is also a perception. The problem is not merely how races are comprehended, but how they are seen."[17] In other words how someone looks—their physiological characteristics; the tone of their skin, their facial features, all of the detailed characteristics photography can illustrate—are visual evidence within the paradigm that race exists. Photography, with its ability to accurately depict reality in a way no other medium could, became a natural and powerful way to illustrate differences among immigrant types, and reinforce visual perceptions of race. Prior to Sherman and Hine making photographs at Ellis Island, artists such as Joseph Stella[18] would record likenesses of immigrants using ink or charcoal on paper. Sketches and line drawings in pen and ink, no matter how detailed, lacked realism or tonal accuracy necessary to really bring to life the perceived racial differences of the immigrants arriving at Ellis Island (Figure 29). "It is here that the photographer has so great an advantage of his competitors in the other graphic arts," Weston writes. "The most accurate and detailed drawing cannot compete with the photograph in providing a vivid representation of a living person."[19] So, it would seem that the role of photography in state power is one of asserting and reinforcing ideological norms of race and a national white identity belonging to the ruling class. Robinson and Williams, being a part of that ruling class, were imbued with authority that they wielded like the powerful Argus, collecting photographs of the targets they surveilled from their panopticon island fortresses.

Understanding what Williams, as collector, did with Sherman's photographs also helps define and understand Sherman's role as a photographer and his contribution to the photographic history of immigration. If one thinks of Sherman within the context of 17th-century Europe, his

role becomes clearer. In his influential work *Discipline and Punishment*, Michel Foucault describes a hieratical structure in which surveillance and the transmission of acquired information manifested within the populated realm as a defense against the spread of the Bubonic Plague. Each subject in the realm would present themselves at a window for visual inspection by sentinels positioned on every street. Those sentinels would report back to neighborhood officials, who would aggregate the information and offer their reports to a municipal level, which would be aggregated and be reported to a regional level, until the necessary information was relayed to the highest levels of the kingdom creating a micro to macro capillary system of surveillance. The key to surveillance in this system was a visual inspection of subjects followed by the recording and cataloging of their physical condition. In this regard, sight and how one appeared—whether they appeared to present with symptoms or not—was the mechanism for collecting information.

Foucault posits that surveillance is a "capillary function of power."[20] Just like blood is circulated through the body via a network of arteries, veins and capillaries feeding essential nutrients to the far-reaching regions of an organism, while collecting toxins and waste for disposal. As a mechanism, surveillance collects information and distributes it throughout a network of power. Surveillance feeds power through the leveraging of knowledge to achieve, often forcibly, hegemony. Sherman's role in this scenario of surveillance then becomes that of the sentinel stationed on the village streets peering up through windows warning all that the great plague of immigration is upon us. Sherman amongst other photographers—many unknown—whose work has been examined in this thesis conducted their visual inspection of immigrants through the lens of their cameras rather than the frames of clapboard windows. Whether willing accomplices or incidental bystanders in the broader societal construction of race, each of the

photographers, cartoonists, artists, writers, politicians, advocates, and citizens discussed in thesis played a role in the historical visual narrative of U.S. immigration, contributing information circulated through the capillaries of power. Sometimes that information, Sherman's photographs for instance, were distributed more widely to society at large through the press making the media, by extension, part of the network of capillary power. In other cases, the Robinson photographs, were more localized in their use not making it out of the hierarchy of the U.S. Immigration Bureau, but still proving nourishment to the growing organism of race and exclusion in the 20th century.

More than a century after *National Geographic* began publishing Sherman's photographs of immigrants at Ellis Island, the storied publication is attempting to reconcile its past with its future through a very uncomfortable admission. "For decades our coverage was racist," Executive Editor Susan Goldberg wrote in the editor's note of the April 2018 issue, which is dedicated entirely to race. In interviews promoting the issue's release, Goldberg acknowledges a legacy of cultural insensitivity that plagued the publication throughout much of its 130-year history. In the 1907 issue that published Sherman's photographs to illustrate the story "Some of Our Immigrants," then editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor wrote: "The National Geographic Society of Washington D.C., is doing a work, through the monthly publication of its magazine, which no intelligent man or woman can afford to remain ignorant of."[21] Goldberg challenges this claim, saying that, "*National Geographic* did little to push its readers beyond the stereotypes ingrained in white American culture."[22] To help navigate their reckoning, magazine leadership asked University of Virginia Professor John Edwin Mason to examine their representations of race. Mason said he found some troubling themes. "The photography, like the articles, didn't simply emphasize difference, but made difference ... very exotic, very strange, and put difference into a

hierarchy."[23] Mason's analysis perfectly parallels the institutional conventions of race, representation and exclusion represented by Robinson and William's photographic collection of immigrants.

Sherman's photographs, and the narratives they illustrated did not simply show race, they helped create race in much the same way as other photographs did in *National Geographic.* Like the photograph of aborigines (Figure 30) described as "savages" in a 1916 article, Sherman's photographs of immigrants illustrated difference in appearance and were distributed for publication to be viewed with novel curiosity. "We're all curious and we all want to see," writes Mason. "I'm not criticizing the idea of being curious about the world. It's just the other messages that are sent—that it's not just difference, but inferiority and superiority."[24] Reconciling this past is not *National Geographic's* burden alone. A CBS News segment, discussed in chapter one, focused on the re-discovery of the Sherman portraits contained in the Williams collection. But, the digitization and release of the collection online prompted other media coverage as well. An article from *The Washington Post*, "What America's immigrants looked like when they arrived on Ellis Island,"[25] also focused exclusively on the exotic appearance of those depicted in the photographs. Describing the collection as "fascinating" because of the immigrants shown in their "native dress," the article underscores societies fascination with difference and reinforces the function of surveillance through the biological need to identify deviance in one's surroundings. In every instance of their publication, both historic and contemporary, the Sherman photographs have been used to illustrate difference, to cast the immigrants shown into a category other than the norm. Though they were not known to have been published anywhere, the photographs in Robinson's collection illustrate that same difference. It seems then that the effect Williams, Robinson and Sherman have had on the visual narrative of immigration is a product of their

immersion into a culture of racial superiority predicated on the suspicion, degradation and exclusion of immigrants; a culture of lessening humanity and othering immigrants into classes and types deemed unworthy to "till our soil" let alone walk and live among us. More than a century later, this culture persists today. From Trump's harsh rhetoric calling immigrants "these people from shithole countries,"[26] to his restrictive executive orders and rescinding of the DACA program,[27] to violence and the chanting of "Jews will not replace us" in the streets of Charlottesville, VA[28] following a rally by white supremacist leader Richard Spencer, radical nationalism is as prevalent today as it was during the rise of the nativist movement at the turn of the 20th century.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored historical and contemporary attitudes and government policies regarding immigration, as well as constructed a framework and approach to analyzing and interpreting historical photographs. Throughout the discussion, the constructed notion of race and how it intersected with social, cultural, economic and political forces in the early part of the 20th century were used to further understanding of how immigrants in the two collections of photography were shown. These discussions illuminated social conditions present in the U.S. in the time period of the central actors examined in this thesis. The protectionist ideologies that emerged during the economic depression at the end of the 19th century and contributed to the ethnic-elitism of Anglo-Saxton nativism shaped the use of photography to illustrate and reinforce classifications of desirable versus undesirable immigrant types. Discussion of these conditions centered around four central figures—photographers Hine and Sherman, and photography collectors Robinson and Williams. These historical conditions helped compare and contrast

Hine's altruistic and egalitarian notion of immigration to Sherman's narrow and subjective vision of immigrants as cultural aberrations, rejects or freaks. The comparison of Hine and Sherman's work at Ellis Island was essential to establish how photography was used in the early 20th century to classify and cast immigrants into desirable versus undesirable topologies. These topologies provided crucial evidence in the argument of this thesis that these photographs were collected by Robinson and Williams, in part, to surveil undesirables at the U.S. immigration stations at Ellis and Angel islands.

In the known universe of immigration photography there were hundreds of photographs made of immigrants from all of the U.S. immigration stations during the time period investigated, and most of them were not examined here. There are photographs made in Detroit, for example, showing Canadian immigrants (Figure 31), whose appearance is shown to conform to perceived standards of whiteness that meet the racial convention of desirability. This image is in contrast to images from El Paso (Figure 32) that illustrate the degradation and scrutiny Mexican immigrants experienced in having to strip completely naked—only being afforded to demonstrate modesty by a piece of paper covering their genitalia—as their inspections were photographed. Where Hine's photographs and the photograph of the Canadian immigrants aim to show inclusivity, the humanity and benefit of immigration to American society, others sought to show the opposite. The image from El Paso, or the one of Jewish Immigrants (Figure 2), or Sherman's Russian stowaway (Figure 19), all show immigrants stripped and degraded, representations that take away their dignity and worth. Sherman's work specifically presents a continuum of degradation ranging from immigrants as novelty and ethnic curiosity on one end, to social outcasts, deviants and biological freaks on the other. But this thesis did not examine the full extent of Sherman's known body of work, or the representation of immigrants at ports other

than New York and San Francisco. A representational survey of how immigrants were shown in photographs in the 20th century was not the focus here. The purpose of this thesis was to provide possible meaning as to why two specific collections of photography, one created by Williams at Ellis Island and the other Robinson at Angel Island, exist and in doing so help expand our understanding of photography's broad, complex and often contradictory role in the historical narrative of U.S. immigration.

APPENDIX

FIGURES

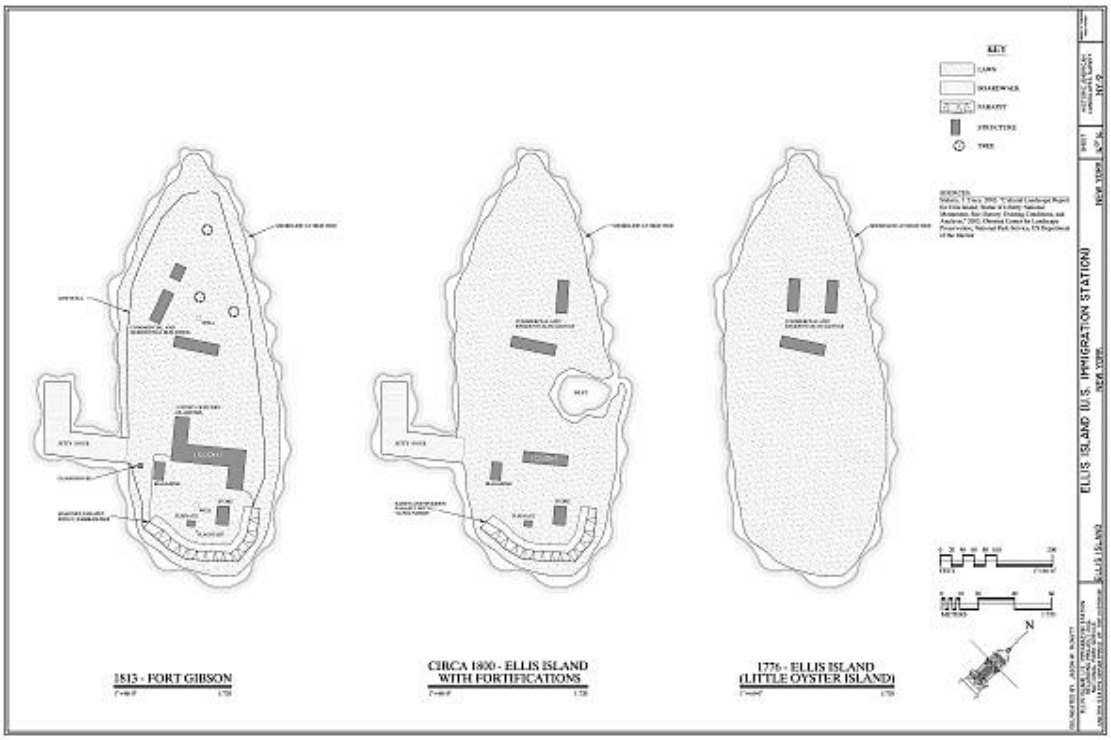

Figure 1. *Fort Gibson, Ellis Island Foundation.*

Figure 2. *Underwood & Underwood, c. 1907, Physicians examining a group of Jewish immigrants, Library of Congress SSF - Emigration and Immigration - Ellis Island, N.Y.*

***Figure 3**. Library of Congress SSF - Emigration and Immigration.*

Figure 4. *Augustus F. Sherman, American, c. 1911, Guadeloupian Woman, Ellis Island, New York, New York, 9 1/8 x 6 s7/8 inches (24 x 17.5 cm), Sepia-toned gelatin silver print, Augustus Sherman Photographs, CA. 1905–1914, William Williams Paper, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.*

Figure 5. *Unknown, French, c.1793, Madame Roland (née Jeanne Marie Philipon en 1754) est guillotine.*

Figure 6. *Lewis Wickes Hine, American, c. 1905, Italian Family En Route To Ellis Island, Ellis Island, New York, New York, Ellis Island, scenes and personalities, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, New York Public Library.*

Figure 7. *Empire State Building and lower Manhattan.*

Figure 8. *Empire State Building.*

Figure 9. *Lewis Wickes Hine, American, c. 1911, Breaker Boys in Coal Mine, South Pittston, Pennsylvania, silver gelatin print.*

***Figure 10**. Puck magazine (USA) Aug 9, 1899. Opper Project Archives, The Ohio State University, Cartoon Research Library.*

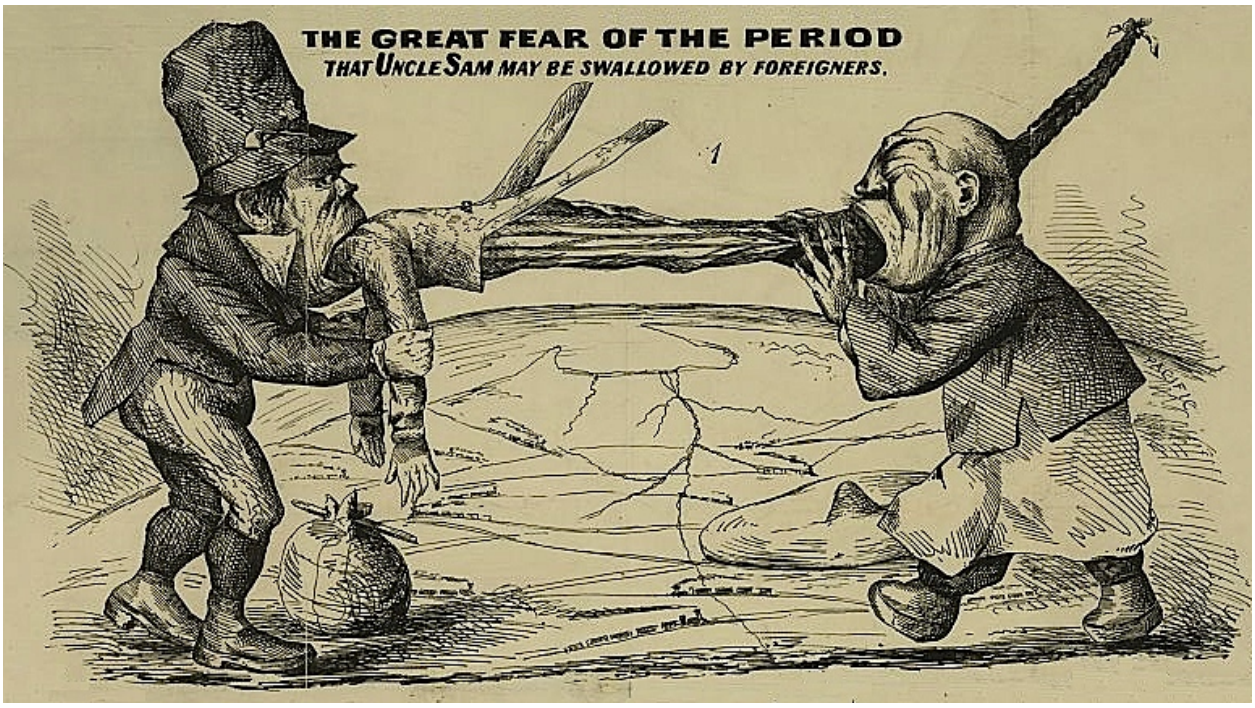

***Figure 11**. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540.*

Figure 12. *March, 4, 1919, Opper Project Archives, The Ohio State University, Cartoon Research Library.*

Figure 13. *National Geographic, Jan. 1905, pg. 331.* *(Page flipped for visibility).*

Figure 14. *National Geographic, Jan. 1905, pg. 332–333.* ***(Pages flipped for visibility).***

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1905.

FOUR YEARS OF PROGRESS AT ELLIS ISLAND

THREE HOLLAND GIRLS WHO WERE ALLOWED TO LAND.

A VIEW OF ELLIS IS. WHERE MR. WILLIAMS BECAME COMMISSIONER.

THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION STATION ON ELLIS ISLAND.

A VIEW OF ELLIS ISLAND TO-DAY.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

HUNGARIAN GYPSIES ALL OF WHOM WERE DEBARRED.

THREE ROUMANIANS ALLOWED TO LAND.

Enviable Record Made By William Williams, the Retiring Commissioner of Immigration at this Port--Improvements Made in Equipment and Efficient Service--Some of the Problems that Confronted Him.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, by common admission about the most efficient Commissioner of Immigration that the New York harbor has ever known, the man who found Ellis Island a disorganization, a reproach to the nation, where immigrants were jostled and roughly handled, and who transformed what at that time was about the ugliest property in all New York into one of the most beautiful, relinquished his position last week. Mr. Williams leaves Ellis Island with the work that he agreed to do accomplished and with the indorsement in all that he has done of the President, who has publicly stated that it will be hard to fill the place--one of the most arduous in the public service.

When Mr. Straus tendered the task that Mr. Williams was undertaken with when he assumed charge of the office, he told him that it is necessary to state briefly exactly the conditions that prevailed there when, in April, 1901, he became Commissioner of Immigration at this port. He went to the island knowing just about as much as the average citizen does of that interesting establishment, through which enter 75 per cent. of all the aliens that come into the United States. The job that faced him was one that nine out of ten men would certainly have balked at. To accomplish the things for which he was appointed seemed absolutely impossible, but the new Commissioner said he would do it, and, as a Western Congressman who recently visited Ellis Island said, "he done it."

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Mr. Williams had not been on Ellis Island twenty-four hours before he learned that hundreds of thousands of people, some of them the worst characters on the face of this earth, would have to be adjudged by him fit or unfit to enter this country each year. He knew that they would each and every one have to be carefully inspected, both as to their past and present condition, and that the tests that he would by law be compelled to apply in their cases were indefinite and difficult of application--whether or not, for example, a man is a "contract laborer," or has become a public charge," or is an anarchist, a murderer, or what not. It was "up to him" to ascertain all these things in every case.

The new Commissioner was told that these people spoke forty different languages, that annually they exhibited on Ellis Island about $12,000,000 in cash, and that as a result there was a most thriving business carried on by the part of many people who had the entree to Ellis Island to turn their visit to a big personal profit. He knew that thousands of them were as stupid as mortals well can be; that they were the dirtiest of the dirtiest from the dirtiest spots on earth. All these things Mr. Williams quickly ascertained, and then he began to issue orders, and those orders, couched in the plainest and most positive terms, had to be obeyed, and that instanter. There has been no such word as "to-morrow" on Ellis Island during the Williams regime.

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The treatment of immigrants received his first attention. Notices were posted everywhere that immigrants were to be treated with all kindness and consideration. These little white sheets of paper were called notices, but they were, in fact, orders, and every man and woman employed on Ellis Island was made to understand that to disregard them in the slightest particular meant the offender's instant dismissal. Those persons who were allowed to visit Ellis Island, but who were not in the pay of the Government, were told that the new orders also affected them, and that any failure on their part to live up to the letter of them meant that they would be immediately barred from the island. From that day to this the immigrant who lands on Ellis Island has been treated as a human being.

Next the Commissioner looked into the matter of the food supplied the landed guests, and here he made one of his most disagreeable discoveries. He found that the same bowl was used over and over again without washing until all the immigrants were fed. He dismissed promptly the holder of the restaurant privilege. The dismissed man appealed to Washington, but Washington upheld the Commissioner. To-day every immigrant has a knife, fork, and spoon, and there are dishes enough for everybody. The waiters are kind and everything is clean--so clean, in fact, that the rooms in which these thousands of poor foreigners are fed can be favorably compared with many cheap but decent restaurants along Broadway.

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The men who held the money-changing privilege went next, and a well-known New York banking concern got the place they had held so long. The old money changers "kicked like steers" and appealed to the President, and again Mr. Williams was indorsed and upheld. Then the people who handled the baggage privilege went by the board and again Washington was appealed to in vain. Next derelict officials in the department were ferreted out and men more responsible and of a higher character put in their places. And this was the work of a few weeks, and all the time the strong arm of the Williams administration Ellis Island had already become a changed place.

The main structure at Ellis Island is a beautiful building. It had to be kept clean, even if it had to be swept and dusted a hundred times a day, for that was the Williams way of doing things. It was not an easy job to keep such a tremendous establishment clean, but it was done. Outside the grounds were cleared of great masses of débris that for months had made them an hideous to view. Hedges were planted and the ground tilled and grass seed sown. A landscape gardener took charge, and today one of the beautiful sights that greets the eye on arrival at his ship steams slowly up New York bay is the flower garden at the United States Immigration Station.

The great accomplishment of Mr. Williams, however, is the removal of bad influences from Ellis Island. To do this charges were promptly formulated against all officials whose conduct had not been up to the standard of the service as promulgated by Mr. Williams, and the dismissal of those people quickly followed. The sharks and the thieves outside the Barge Office entrance on Whitehall Street were cornered, and when they learned the evidence that the new Commissioner had up his sleeve they lost no time in scattering to the four winds and have not been heard of since, so far as the immigration service is concerned. Runners and hackmen, whose practices were too diabolical to be borne, also quickly took to the woods.

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The missionary problem was one of the most delicate that confronted Mr. Williams, but he did his work without gloves and won every fight. He drew a sharp line of distinction between the true missionary who sincerely desired to help the unfortunates who come to our shores, and those who, under the guise of charity, were really on the island from instincts that were purely commercial.

These commercial missionaries Mr. Williams caught before they realized what was coming. One of them, the head of one of the most prominent of the church denominations, got his walking papers in a hurry. Mr. Williams declared that he would have none of the base sines followed in such cases. The head of another home was also debarred, and a great prelate in New York was asked to give his assistance in eradicating evils existing in the management of an institution under the auspices of his denomination. To-day there are no fake missionaries on Ellis Island.

Early in his Commissionership Mr. Williams began a study of the way in which the steamship companies did business on the other side. He learned that in many instances the medical examiners employed by them to ascertain their physical ability to pass the American law was lax indeed, and that many of the subpoenas of the law received in hundreds of instances only meant consideration.

He early warned the companies that they must reform, and then he began deportation of undesirable characters that has no parallel in the history of the service, the fines collected from steamship companies for disobedience of the law aggregating in 1904 alone over $21,000. He wrote a letter to the companies in which he made plain exactly what he was going to do. For the first two weeks after the letter was sent the fines were 50 per cent. of the accounts. A record never before approached in the misdemeanors on Ellis Island.

The companies realize now that they have got to be careful in accepting people for transportation to the United States, for at they have to take all deported persons back at their own expense, a continuance of such hasty would mean a loss that would take a good deal of cabin and steerage traffic to offset.

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In the days before William Williams became Commissioner of Immigration, immigrants were brought to Ellis Island in the most disreputable looking rum-shackles, known as barges, that ever disgraced New York harbor. Mr. Williams wrote letter after letter to Washington, in which he foretold such possibilities as the Slocum disaster. To-day those barges have been remodeled and new ones added.

That the immigration problem can be solved and that all the laws now in force, and those that are under consideration, can be faithfully and efficiently executed, is the opinion of Mr. Williams, who said in an interview:

"A strict execution of our present laws makes it possible to keep out undesirables from the most riff-raff of the race; paupers, diseased persons, and those likely to become public charges--and to this extent these laws are most valuable. Without a proper execution of the same, however, it is safe to say that thousands of additional aliens would have come here last year. But these laws do not reach a large body of immigrants, who, while not riff-raff, are yet generally undesirable, because undersized, of low vitality, of poor physique, able to perform only the cheapest kind of manual labor, desiring to locate almost exclusively in the cities, by their competition tending to reduce the standard of living of the American wage-worker, and unfitted, morally or mentally, for good citizenship.

"It would be impossible by state action to limit what proportion of last year's immigrants belonged to the class I have described. I believe that at least 25,000, and probably more, aliens came here who, although they may be able to earn a living, yet are not wanted, will be of no benefit to the country, but will, on the contrary, be a detriment, because their presence will tend to lower our standards, and if these 300,000 persons could have been induced to stay at home, nobody, not even those clamoring for labor, would have missed them. Their coming has been of benefit chiefly, if not only, to the transportation companies which brought them here.

"In the discussion of this question, which is becoming of greater importance to the United States every day, it is necessary to bear in mind that Europe, like the United States, has a labor unit, and that while the unskilled laborer would be glad to part with, and the strong agencies are constantly at work to send some of them here.

"To determine how to separate the desirable from the undesirable elements will tax the best skill of our lawmakers, but they will surely find a way to do this as soon as the American people have let it be known that it must be done. Aliens have no inherent right whatever to come here, and we may and should take means, either radical or drastic, to keep out all but a certain physical and economic standard of manhood. Above all we must prevent with here a tendency to lower our standards of living and civilization."

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Public opinion was becoming aroused at these repeated infringements on popular liberties. It became apparent that M. Combes was aping the dictator. Deputies complained that they were being watched by detectives, members of the majority grew restless at the persistent shelving of the social reforms promised to the constituencies for the sake of a policy that exasperated the country. M. Paul Deumer headed the party of revolt, and the signs were unmistakable when he was hissed by members of the Left as he rose to address over the head of the venerable Henri Brisson.

Dissatisfaction quickly developed into a crisis when the revelations in connection with the army spying scandals were made by M. Guyot-Villeneuve. Of course, the attention of M. Combes was that the vast majority of French officers were against the republic, and that "purification" was necessary. To this it may be replied that the republic would have been overturned long ago if the statement had been a true one. Successive Premiers have ever loudly proclaimed the loyalty and fidelity of the army to existing institutions. The crime of the disgraced officers was simply that they practised their religion. All the denunciations were set to the contrary. I take a remark from the last published to-day in the Gaulois and Le Figaro:

"Certainly, Lieutenant Colonel of the Thirtieth Infantry, (Annecy-Rumilly.) Militant clerical. Assists at religious services, and has his children baptized. Good work. The army needs leaders."

There you have a pretty specimen of the French Republic--one and indivisible--under the Combes régime. Multiply it by over France, and the astonishment appeals to the Grand Chancellory of the Legion of Honor to tear the red ribbon from the breasts of the spies. You can understand, too, the retribution that befell the statesman who clung to such methods, and the blind fealt the hitherto invincible knew.

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Will the blow prove fatal? Will M. Combes survive popular wrath and fly justice on the informers? For my part, after thirteen years of close contact with French political affairs, I am persuaded that he will temporize; that there will be promise and not fulfillment, and that in a short while there will be another crisis, still more acute. President Loubet has not used the opportunity given him of securing the nation's applause. The present Cabinet is a Combes Ministry without M. Combes; it is foredoomed. Perhaps it is better so. In the interests of the republic the issues are too momentous not to come to a clear understanding. Next year there will be a new Chamber of Deputies. Then, and then only, will the real will of France will soon have the fairest test of

THE DOWNFALL OF COMBES AND WHAT LED UP TO IT

Special Correspondence of THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Feb. 11, 1905.

THE world has been too occupied with the stories of Russian defeats to give much attention to the political affairs of France. And yet these have not been lacking in interest, for it is tolerably certain that the downfall of M. Combes implies the crumbling to pieces of the famous bloc which for nearly six years has controlled the destinies of the country.

Since M. Thiers took office, in 1871, there have been exactly forty-one Republican Cabinets. The rapidity with which they succeeded each other was long a by-word in Europe, until the derision caused by the Dreyfus controversy spurred the country to a sense of shame at the hysterical spectacle it was furnishing to political disease. Happily for President Loubet, there was a man in the Senate capable of dealing with the situation.

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Waldeck-Rousseau, ripe in experience, firm of purpose, and of tried patriotism, denounced the scholarly seclusion he so much lauded at the call of the Chief of the State, and rallied the Republican forces together in solid array. Then the Democrats and Radicals, Socialists and revolutionaries laid aside minor differences to become the faithful and devoted followers of an intrepid leader. The reactionaries were soon routed. The Senatorial High Court, charged by Waldeck-Rousseau to deal with the leaders of disorder and rebellion, condemned Déroulède, the Nationalist; Buffet, the Royalist, and Jules Guérin, the anti-Semite.

The effect was electrical. Pretenders, Bonapartes, and Bonapartists were heard of no more. The anti-Jewish tornado fell to its head. Nationalism subsided. France was more republican than ever, and when, on April 27, 1902, the general elections took place the majority of Waldeck-Rousseau, notwithstanding the law of 1901 against non-authorized religious congregations, was approved by increased majorities.

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Unfortunately, the great French statesman was prevented from continuing the work he had begun. The excesses he had boldly checked proved fatal to his ministry. Waldeck-Rousseau fell on June 7, 1902, Waldeck-Rousseau was succeeded by Senator Combes, an obscure political personage until then only known to be consumed by a devouring hatred for everything that savored of the soil of poor parents, he had been placed by his uncle, a country priest, in the school of the Assomptionists, at Dijon. He was destined for an ecclesiastical career, and studied at the Seminary of Pons.

The time came when he had to prepare to take his doctor's degree in philosophy, but the seminary library had not all the requisite books. He was permitted to have recourse to the Town Library, and in that way he came in contact with certain volumes that undermined his faith. He abandoned the clerical cassock and tonsure, and ultimately became a medical practitioner at Pons. No adequate reason has been assigned for the excessive hostility he ever after displayed toward the Church and the clergy.

A statesman, with such fanatical proclivities would seem to have been the last person to select to apply Waldeck-Rousseau's law of associations. The mockery of fate, however, were delightful. In their ranks were 150 Freemasons, who in their lodges openly proclaimed their intention of sweeping religion out of France. Instead of using the law of associations as an instrument of control, it became an instrument of suppression. The Grands Chartreux, the English Benedictine College at Douai, the Jesuit College at Jersey, the Assomptionists in the Avenue Hoche, the Anglo-American Sisters of the Holy Child at Neuilly met with no more consideration than the thousands of French secours and frères who humbly petitioned Parliament for legal recognition. The communities were scattered, and their goods confiscated. To this moment, not one of their members has received anything in the shape of a pension to enable him to live, as provided for in the law of association.

But this was but a beginning. M. Combes had other cards up his sleeve. A law was passed last year abolishing all schools taught by the authorized congregations, notwithstanding that Waldeck-Rousseau had pledged his word to different Senators and Deputies that religious education would not be touched. Ten years were allowed for the full application of the law, but out of consideration for the authorized congregations, but because it was abandoned immediately to provide at once sufficient school accommodation for the new system.

Nevertheless, M. Combes quickly issued his edicts, and two weeks ago he boasted that 14,000 congregational establishments had been shut up. Among the sufferers were the Christian Brothers, whose admirable methods of technical education had won the most distinguished prizes at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, and over and over again elicited the approval of both Senate and Chamber.

Obviously, according to men's individual opinions will be their estimate of M. Combes and his works. The dispatches sent abroad seldom cover a situation. Often they are inspired by the French Ministry of the Interior; often they are one-sided, and they are always fragmentary. The world would have been weary of the thousand and one petty acts of tyranny that were published day by day in the columns of the French press.

The last straw was the visit of the King of Italy to the Quirinal, an apostate in the eyes of French Catholics, in front of the Castel St. Angelo Treasure at the very moment church service was going on; the abolition of the time-honored ceremony in the French Navy of flag half-mast at 2 o'clock on Good Friday afternoon; the suppression of the "Messe Rouge," or mass of the Holy Ghost, for the Magistrature; the removal of religious emblems from courts of justice, the anti-religious license given to State schoolmasters in teaching the young, the dismissal of 10,000 teachers from the Invalides are but a few instances of what I mean.

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The fatherland, in spite of pain,
His daughters does not heal,
His knees will some day beat in vain,
And vainly will unkneel.

DANISH.

But little coming lesser knows,
And proud without it coming goes.

ARTHUR STANLEY RIGGS.

PROVERBS IN VERSE

In these sayings will be found
Wisdom from the world around,
And to make the proverbs true,
I have put them into verse.

CHINESE.

It is the brittle egg alone
That hurls itself against the stone.

SPANISH.

Of folly who fails ill is sure
To suffer long before a cure
By wealth or wisdom be secure.

FRENCH.

No matter how much sound or where,
The noisiest drum holds naught but air.

TAMIL (INDIA.)

When you find a good, smooth stone,
Then be dog you see;
If a dog you meet alone,
There no stone will be.

ARAB.

It may be now a fire before my tent
The casual guest can warm and leave content;
Let be: for lo, the fire itself must pass
Like life-to-morrow soon its ashes spent.

ITALIAN.

God heals the sick man of his ill,
But thanks and fees the doctors fill.

ESKIMO.

Throughout the wintry waste of life
A man's best friend is not his wife;
But, brave and true, o'er flee and bog,
His faithful helpmeet is his dog.

TURKISH.

Figure 15. New York Times, Feb. 12, 1905.

Figure 16. *Lewis Wickes Hine, American, c. 1905, Mother and Child – Italian, Ellis Island, silver gelatin print.*

Figure 17. *Raphael Sanzio, c. 1503, Madonna and Child.*

Figure 18. *Augustus F. Sherman, American, c. 1902, Gypsy Family, Ellis Island, New York, New York, 9 1/8 x 6 s7/8 inches (24 x 17.5 cm), Sepia-toned gelatin silver print, Augustus Sherman Photographs, CA. 1905–1914, William Williams Paper, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.*

Figure 19. *Augustus F. Sherman, American, c. 1911, German Stowaway, Ellis Island, New York, New York, 9 1/8 x 6 s7/8 inches (24 x 17.5 cm), Sepia-toned gelatin silver print, Augustus Sherman Photographs, CA. 1905–1914, William Williams Paper, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.*

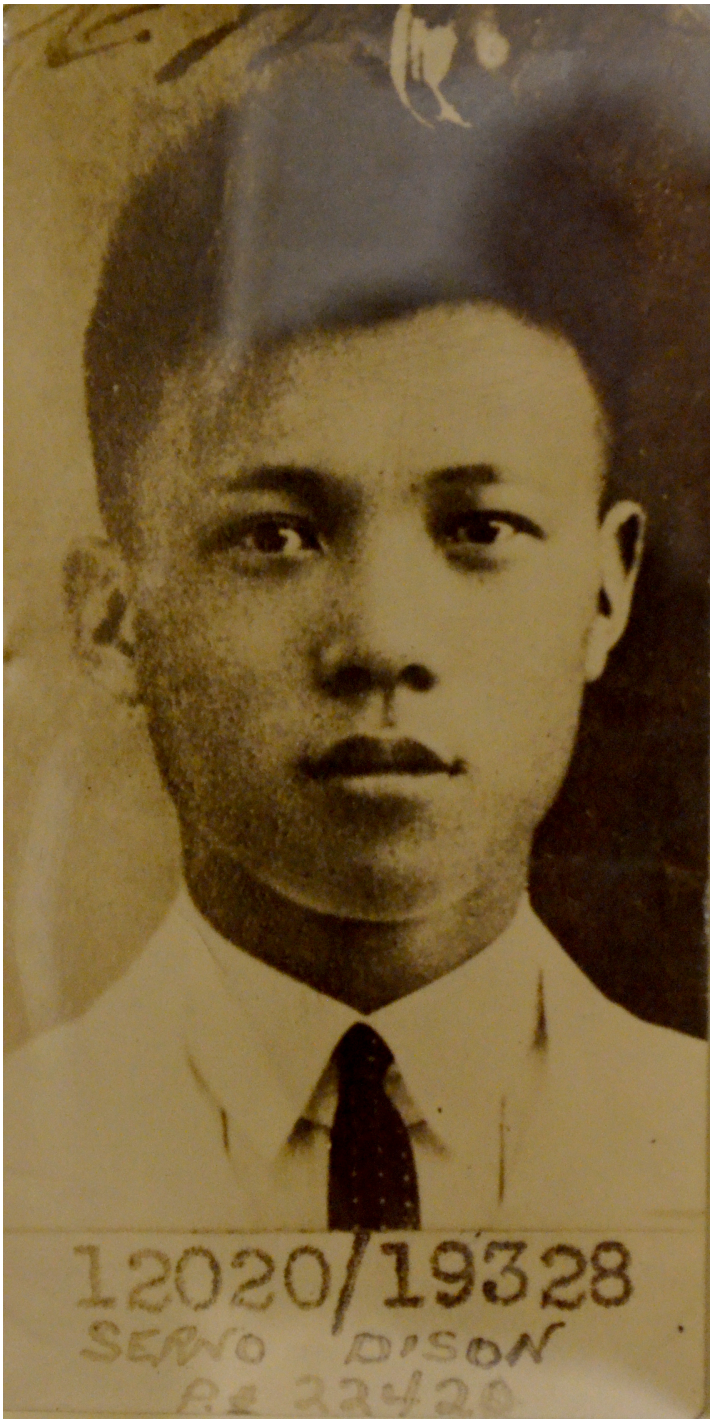

Figure 20. *Unknown, Serno Dison, MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society.*

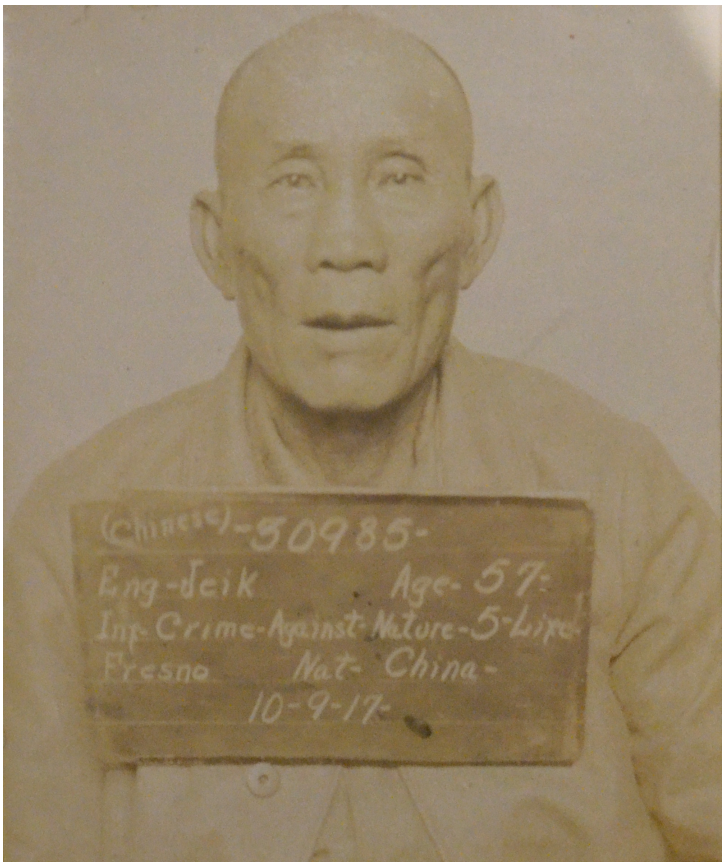

Figure 21. *Unknown, Eng Jeik, MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society.*

12 FRIDAY EVENING

CHINESE GIRL ARRESTED IN 'SLAVE' HUNT

The long arm of the law reached out this morning to the Chinese quarter of Oakland to stop a nefarious traffic which federal authorities believed about to get under way. In fact, in the wake of pretty Wong Ying, Chinese girl taken into custody at 519 Harrison street, a number of Chinese girls, they believe, were to be brought to this city.

Two Chinese, Lum Hoy Tung and Lo Sim, were also arrested. They are charged with transporting the girl here from China.

Behind the arrests is a long and secret investigation which has been conducted by Miss Donaldina Cameron, in charge of the Presbyterian Chinese Mission in San Francisco, and John Robinson of the United States immigration service. The investigation is not yet ended. Other results, more startling than Wong Ying's arrest, are rumored as imminent.

SUSPICIONS AROUSED.

Miss Cameron and Robinson have been at work on this case for some weeks, and it has led them at times through some of the blackest mazes of which crafty Oriental conspiracy is possible. They knew almost the time the girl was landed, supposedly to become the bride of a Chinese already in this country. Circumstances connected with her arrival, however, aroused their suspicions, and they kept as close watch as possible upon her movements.

At first these investigations were confined to San Francisco, and in the Chinese quarter there Wong Ying made her home and seemed about to comply with the regulations which this government has made to protect immigrant Oriental girls. Suddenly she disappeared. Miss Cameron and Robinson renewed their investigation with even greater zeal.

The next trace they had of her was in this city, and they located her at last at 519 Harrison street. It was still difficult either to secure access to the girl or to prove that she had been brought to this country for immoral purposes. Evidence upon which they could act was at last secured by the investigators.

MAY BE WIDESPREAD PLOT.

Wong Ying yielded with little demur to her arrest. In the belief of arresting officers, the step came as a great relief to the alien girl. With the two men who were arrested with her, she was taken almost immediately to San Francisco.

Although Wong Ying declares she is 25 years of age, her appearance gives no indication that she is nearly so advanced in years as that. In fact, the charge against her is among the offenses provided in the juvenile statutes. Lum Hoy Tung and Lo Sim are accused of a violation of the immigration laws, the transportation of the woman to this country for illicit purposes.

Whether Wong Ying's case is unique, or is a part of a widespread plot to enslave Chinese girls and bring them to this country, the investigators hope soon to learn. They are probing other clews which have come to light during their work on Wong Ying's case.

BUSINESS MEN AT VISALIA TO BUILD HOUSES

VISALIA, Oct. 31.—To meet an acute shortage of homes here twenty-five business men formed what is to be known as the Visalia Building Corporation, which is now completing its organization. It will attempt to guarantee $100,000 for housing projects.

It is the indirect profits to be realized by this scheme, rather than a high rate of interest to renter-buyers, that appeals to the business men, who will outfit a score or more of young people with houses and furnishings.

Figure 22. *Oakland Tribune published on Oct. 31, 1919.*

Figure 23. *Unknown, Plaza Toros C. Juarez, MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society.*

Figure 24. *Postcard, Plaza Toros, Bibliotheca de Ciudad Juarez.*

Figure 25. *Unknown, Lau Sam, MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society*

Figure 26. *Unknown, Sarga Sergoro, MSP 1676-1816 at the California Historical Society*

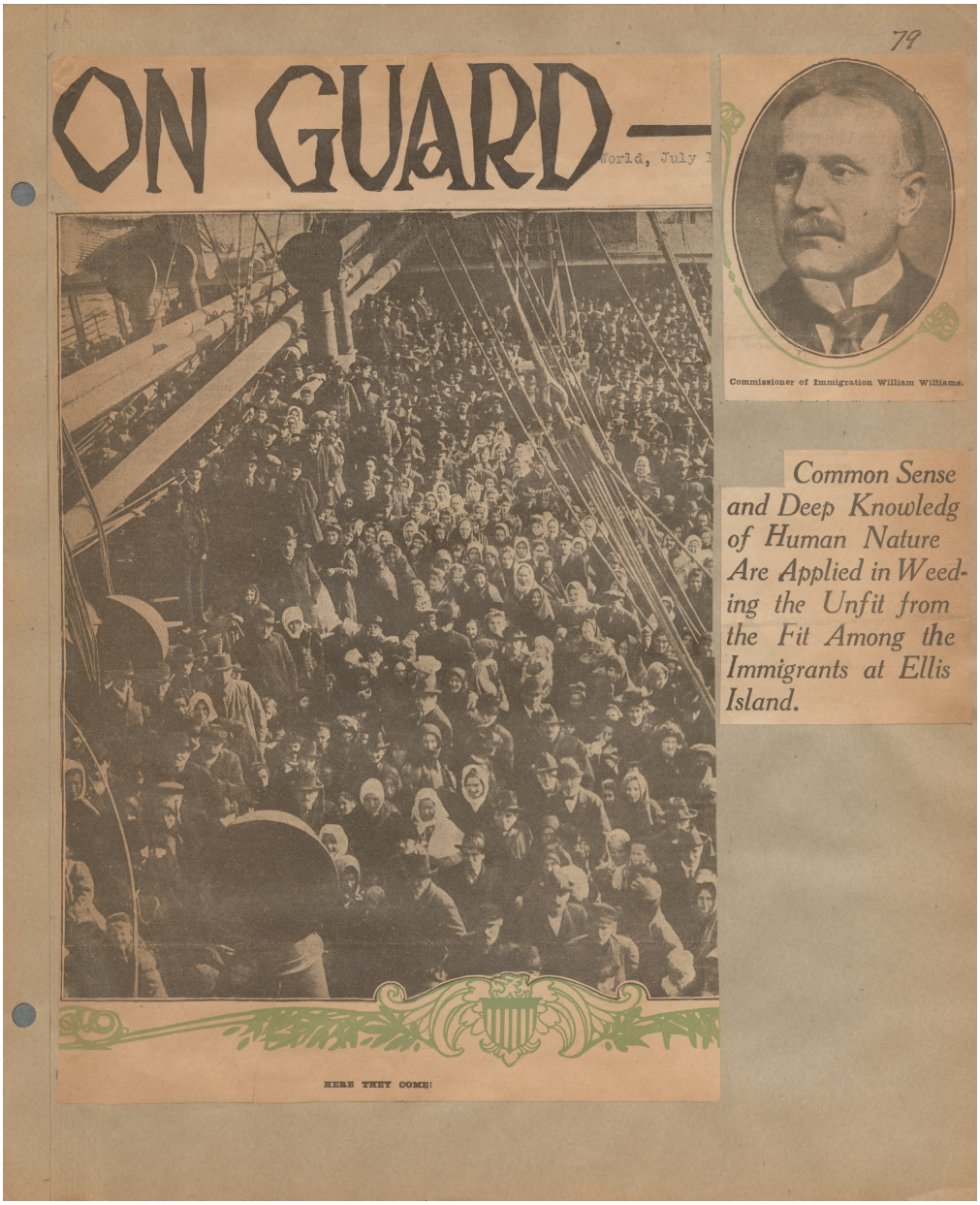

Figure 27. *William Williams Paper, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.*

Figure 28. *Edwin Levick, American, c. 1913, Observing the harbor, 1913, silver gelatin print, William Williams Paper, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.*

Figure 29. *Sketch of immigrants, unknown, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540*

Figure 30. *C. P. Scott (L), H.E. Gregory (R), c.1916, Aboriginal Australians, National Geographic.*

Figure 31. *Unknown, c.1944, Detroit Immigration Station, United States Customs and Border Protection.*

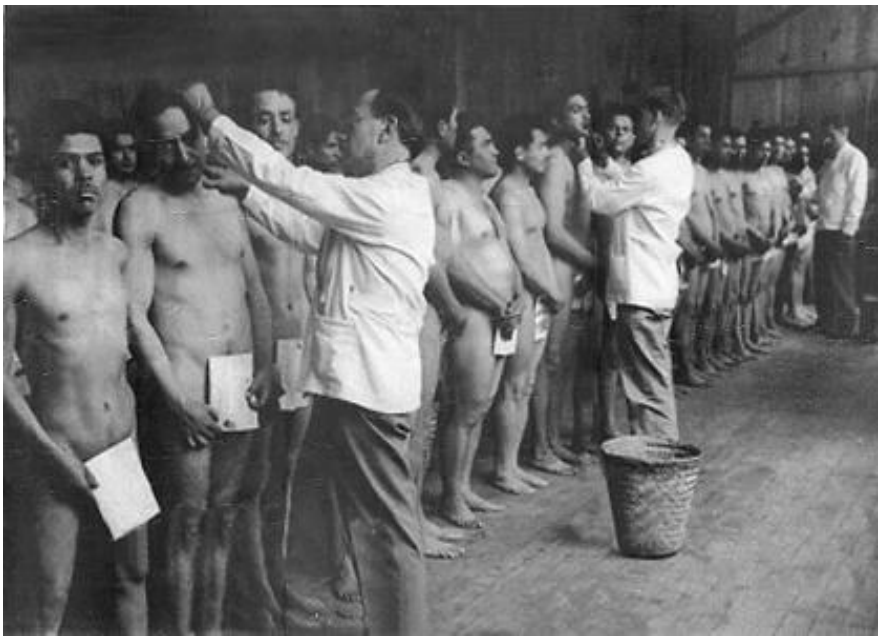

Figure 32. *Unknown, c.1917, Mexican Immigrants in El Paso, University of California-Berkeley.*

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[7] Messenhöller pg. 7.

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CHAPTER ONE

[1] Though Hine's work did include images made of immigrants in the Ellis Island infirmary and a few portraits of culturally "undesirable" immigrants, the vast majority of his work, and certainly his most celebrated and remembered images at Ellis Island, were of those deemed "desirable" and thus granted admission.

[2] Trouillot, pg. 23.

[3] Trouillot, pg. 23.

[4] Trouillot, pg. 23.

[5] In total 34 different nationalities are represented in Sherman's know body of work. Those nationalities are: Italian, Albanian, German, Guadeloupian, Greek, Chinese, Danish, Algerian, Finish, Russian, Boranaes, Ethiopian, Dutch, Romanian, Cossack, Montenegrin, Turkish, Hebrew, Indian, Slovakian, Moroccan, Belgian, Austrian, Canadian, Hindoo, Burmese, Hungarian, Scottish, Swedish, English, Serbian, Wallachians, Ruthianian, and unspecified nationalities unidentified only as eastern Europeans.

[6] Ritchin, F. (2013). *Bending the frame: Photojournalism, documentary, and the citizen* (First ed.). New York, N.Y: Aperture Foundation, Inc.

[7] The known universe of Sherman's work is 250 images. In some cases, there are multiple prints existing of the same image, but duplicate prints are not counted toward 250, only discrete images are reflected in this figure. Also there are several individuals that are pictured in a number of different photographs. Sherman would often make a photograph of a group, then make photographs of individuals from that group in isolation of the group, and in a few instances, he would make photos of the same individual in different poses. Each pose of each individual is counted as a discrete image and contributes to the 250 figures. So it is the number of discrete images, not the number of known prints, nor the actual number of individual immigrants Sherman photographed that is used in calculating the universe of 250 known Sherman photographs. See Mesenholler, Peter. *Augustus F. Sherman: Ellis Island Portraits, 1905–1920*. New York: Aperture, 2005.

[8] Messenhöller, pg. 7.

[9] Article special to The New York Times. "COMMISSIONER WILLIAMS OUT." *New York Times (1857-1922)*: 1. Jan 16 1905. *ProQuest.* Web. 28 Apr. 2016.

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CHAPTER TWO

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[2] *New York Times*, December 15, 1985, pg. 41.

[3] The review includes a quote from Avedon's assistant stating that his subject selection for the project was completely subjective.

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[3] Jacobson, pg. 13.

[4] Republicanism, in this context is an ideology, not a political party (i.e. The Republican Party).

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[14] Gutman, pg. 8.

[15] Genesis 10:5.

[16] *National Geographic*, July–December1917, Vol. XXXII Pg. 111.

[17] Lee, E., & Yung, J. (2010). *Angel island: Immigrant gateway to America*. Oxford University Press.

[18] Higham, pg. 97.

[19] Jacobson, pg. 23.

[20] Higham, pg. 89.

[21] Higham, pg. 89.

[22] Jacobson, pg. 31.

[23] Higham, pg. 92.

[24] *National Geographic*, January 1907, Vol. X III, pg. 317.

[25] Researchers field notes, site visit to Ellis Island, July, 2016.

[26] Hing, pg. 12.

[27] Hing, pg. 12.

[28] Hing, pg. 12.

[29] Library of Congress, Printed Ephemera Collection.

[30] Library of Congress, Printed Ephemera Collection.

[31] Hing, pg. 62.

[32] Hing, pg. 68.

CHAPTER FOUR

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[2] Gutman, pg. 8.

[3] Messenhöller, pg. 14.

[4] Those nationalities are: Italian, Albanian, German, Guadeloupian, Greek, Chinese, Danish, Algerian, Finish, Russian, Boranaes, Ethiopian, Dutch, Romanian, Cossack, Montenegrin, Turkish, Hebrew, Indian, Slovakian, Moroccan, Belgian, Austrian, Canadian, Hindoo, Burmese, Hungarian, Scottish, Swedish, English, Serbian, Wallachians, Ruthianian, and unspecified nationalities unidentified only as eastern Europeans. These are all the reported nationalities represented in Sherman's entire body of work, not just those in Williams collection.

[5] Shoemaker, 1997.

[6] Tagg, pg. 74.

[7] Tagg, pg. 74.

[8] Pegler-Gordon, pg. 8.

[9] Pegler-Gordon, pg. 96.

[10] National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C.; *Index to Chinese Passengers Arriving at Seattle, Washington*; NAI Number: *2953536*; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004*; Record Group Number: *85*; Series Number: *A4049*; Roll Number: *1*.

[11] California State Archives; Sacramento, California; *Secretary of State California State Archives San Quentin Prison Registers.*

[12] Rand, pg. 57.

[13] Rand pg. 58.

[14] Rand pg. 58.

[15] Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. (1902–1910). *Ellis Meredith. American Boy. "New keeper of the nation's gates."*

[16] Pegler-Gordon, pg. 110.

[17] Jacobson, Pg. 9.

[18] Stella and Hine were contemporaries, however Stella's work at Ellis Island pre-dates Hine's. See Gutman, Pg. 8.

[19] Complete Photographer (issue 45), pg. 2935

[20] Foucault, pg. 195.

[21] *National Geographic* 1907, pg. 823.

[22] Susan Goldberg (In Press, NPR, 2018).

[23] Mason (In Press, NPR, 2018).

[24] Mason (In Press, NPR, 2018).

[25] *Washington Post*, Oct. 24, 2015.

[26] Comments made by President Trump were widely reported in the press. In a Jan. 11, 2018 oval office meeting with lawmakers the President was reported as disparaging immigrants from Haiti, El Salvador and African countries saying "Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?" "Why do we need more Haitians?" "Take them out." See *Washington Post*, "Trump derides protections for immigrants from 'shithole' countries," Jan. 12, 2018.

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