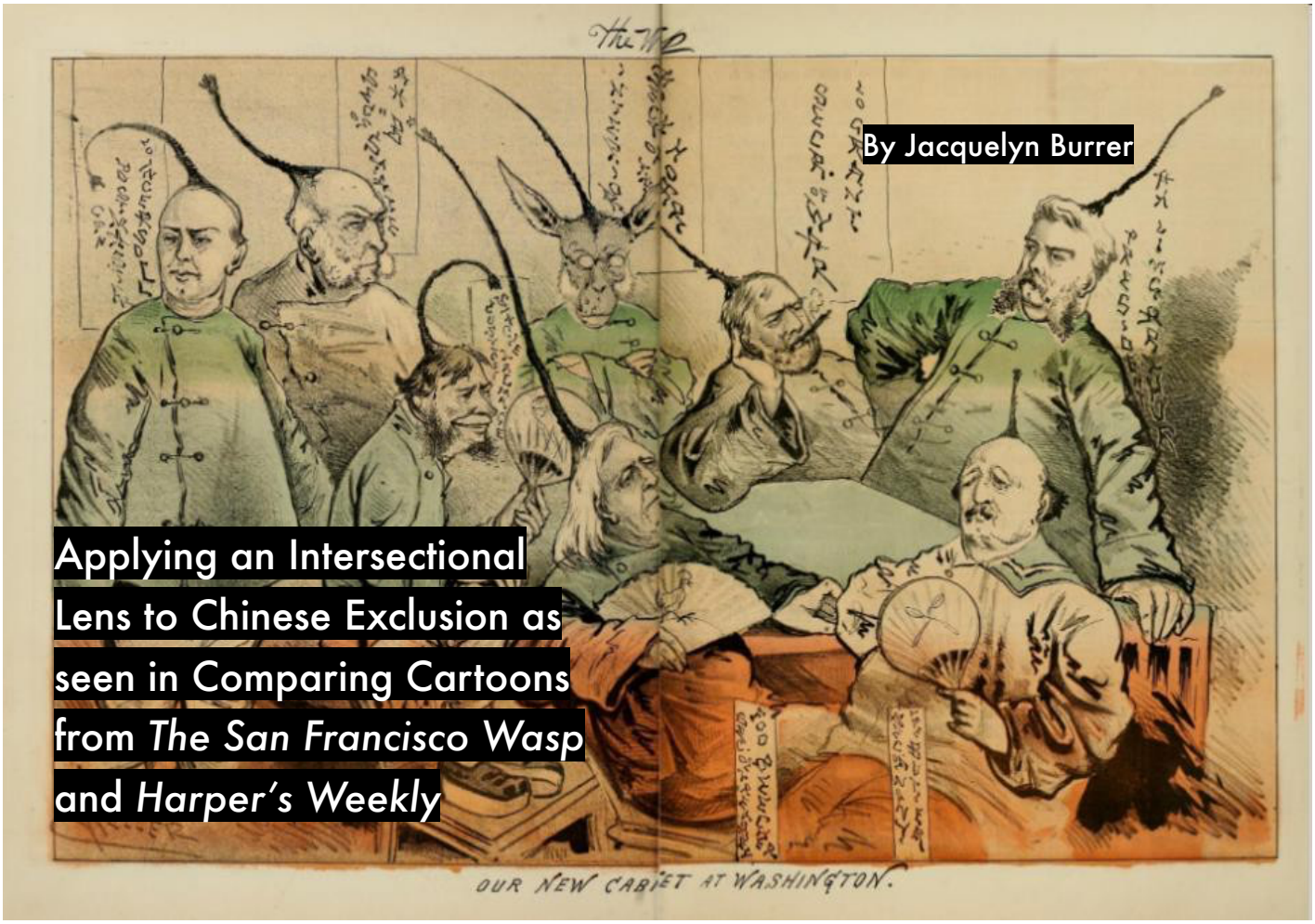

Applying an Intersectional Lens to Chinese Exclusion as seen in Comparing Cartoons from *The San Francisco Wasp* and *Harper's Weekly*

By Jacquelyn Burrer

This paper will provide an intersectional approach in analyzing how Chinese immigrants were depicted in the late 19th century in newspapers on the East Coast versus the West Coast and how these depictions reflected the underlying racial, religious, and class dynamics inside the United States. Through using political cartoons, this article will examine the degree to which newspapers and racially charged cartoons impacted anti-Chinese sentiments at the time, both through the long-lasting effects of the dehumanizing depictions of Chinese immigrants and how the underlying Irish conflict between those on the East and West Coast further impacted anti-Chinese legislation. In analyzing the motivations and influences on the anti-Chinese movement, this article will also examine the role that newspapers played in stirring racial tensions and encouraging hostility and violence towards Chinese immigrants, as well as how this influenced U.S. policy and societal opinions. Examples used in this article come from two prominent newspapers at the time – The San Francisco Wasp and Harper's Weekly – with most cartoons being illustrated by George Keller and Thomas Nast.

Introduction

In 1881, George Keller, a cartoonist at The San Francisco Wasp, caricatured a Chinese man as a sinister rat coming to obtain a monopoly on the American economy and by extension the American Dream. The cartoon was titled, "The Coming Man," and stands to be one of the most racist depictions of Chinese immigrants in the United States (Fig. 1). Through depicting the Chinese man with rat-like hair, a single tooth, and a disturbing expression, Keller aimed to portray Chinese immigrants as inhuman and

grotesque. In the cartoon itself, the Chinese man is looking directly at the reader in an unsettling manner, almost breaking the fourth wall to make it feel as though the Chinese man is coming specifically for the person looking at the drawing. The cartoon represents an overarching theme of Chinese immigrants being portrayed as sneaky invaders as well as "sinister and vice-filled, bringing opium and trouble; and as a threat to white society, taking over jobs and overpowering 'proper white society.'"[1] In addition, the cartoon utilizes nativist sentiments as those perpetrating these racist beliefs see themselves as the first line of defense against the Chinese "invaders." This messaging highly emphasized the growing fear of immigration as the media, particularly those on the West Coast, continued to produce fear mongering imagery surrounding Chinese immigrants "invading" the United States as seen in "The Coming Man."

Fig. 1. Illustration by George F. Keller, "The Coming Man," *The San Francisco Wasp* (1881).

This paper will analyze and compare cartoons through an intersectional lens from publications based in the East and West Coast, including *The San Francisco Wasp* and *Harper's Weekly*, which was

[1] Maren Dick, "Sneaky, Sinister, and Scapegoated." *The International Journal of Comic* Art (vol. 9, no. 1, 2007): 373.

based in New York City, to determine the contribution the underlying racial, religious, and class relations portrayed in the newspapers made overall to anti-Chinese sentiments. In comparison to newspapers on the East Coast, which were more sympathetic to Chinese immigrants, the main newspapers on the West Coast heavily propagated racist depictions and messaging due to the West Coast having the highest concentration of Chinese immigrants in the United States. Therefore, the broader anti-Chinese movement was not only heavily influenced by racist caricatures and messaging circulated by newspapers mainly on the West Coast, but also by the dynamics between conflicting racial, religious, and class identities that were intertwined within the anti-Chinese movement.

This paper will cover historical events within the range of 1868, starting with the Burlingame Treaty, to 1885, ending with the Rock Springs Massacre and the aftermath. In 1868, China and the United States signed the Burlingame Treaty, which removed emigration barriers for Chinese people and vice versa. However, Chinese immigration was still occurring prior to the treaty, particularly to find work within the railroad industry, but the treaty guaranteed some protection for Chinese immigrants in theory. With this, Chinese labor heavily increased following the treaty, and as Chinese laborer numbers grew, white laborers became more insistent about addressing the "Chinese threat." In addition, throughout this period, violence began to increase against Chinese immigrants in California as seen in the Los Angeles Chinese massacre of 1871, in which white and Hispanic Americans attacked and lynched over a dozen Chinese immigrants.[2] Tensions significantly rose after Northern China faced a devastating famine following a drought in 1877, which led to a mass exodus of Chinese people. In the United States, there was also a devastating economic recession that led to significant unemployment rates, which accelerated anti-Chinese rhetoric as they were immigrating to find work in America. Also in 1877, Denis Kearney founded the anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party of California in San Francisco. This marks the main period of anti-Chinese legislation and sentiments as Chinese immigration numbers rose while white laborers dealt with the effects of the recession. In 1880, the Burlingame Treaty was altered to introduce some restrictions in relation to Chinese immigration after the government began facing pressure from California on their inaction to address the "Chinese problem." In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act went into effect, which consequently banned all Chinese laborers for the next 10 years. Chinese immigrants continued to face racially motivated violence and discrimination in America as seen through the Rock

[2] Kenneth Holland, "A History of Chinese Immigration in the United States and Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Vol. 37, 2007): 152.

Springs massacre in 1885, which, despite the mass murder of at least 28 Chinese miners, resulted in overwhelming sympathy for the white miners and increased anti-Chinese sentiments and violence. The Chinese Exclusion Act was reinstated in 1892, and Chinese immigration was eventually permanently restricted through the National Origins Act until all Chinese exclusion laws were repealed in 1943.

Racial relations on the West Coast during this time period were extremely fraught, especially in comparison to the East Coast. In addition, numerous labor movements were starting to rise following the recession, including the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. The Knights of Labor were unusually inclusive except when it came to Chinese people. The organization was made up of many Irish people (including both Catholics and Protestants, but Catholics in particular were drawn to the Knights of Labor) who saw Chinese people as the reason for their economic struggles as businesses were paying less for Chinese laborers rather than paying full price for white laborers.[3] Tensions between white and Chinese people were at an all-time high, resulting in many instances of mobs and violence against Chinese people. For example, after the branch of the Knights of Labor workers went on strike, the Union Pacific Railroad in Wyoming hired Chinese laborers to work as strikebreakers, which culminated in the Rock Springs massacre.[4] While race was a large factor in much of the anti-Chinese sentiments and rhetoric, for some, including many Irish Catholic laborers, it was based in labor issues as they saw Chinese people as a threat to their financial security. For some, racism was simply the methodology used to target Chinese people when rather the reason for their disdain and aggression was largely based in labor issues rather than pure racism. However, racism still played an exceptionally large factor in this, but it is important to note there were other causes for this movement of anti-Chinese sentiment and violence. In addition, religion also had a significant degree of influence on racial relations at this time, especially when looking at the difference between the East Coast and the West Coast.

The two main cartoonists that this paper will examine will be George Frederick Keller, who emigrated from Prussia to eventually live in California, and Thomas Nast, who was a German Catholic turned Protestant that grew up in New York City. While Keller was not an Irish Catholic, Irish Catholics had a significant degree of influence in San Francisco, including within the press and government. This was entirely the opposite on the East Coast, where anti-Irish bigotry was still much more prevalent – including Thomas Nast, who was extremely anti-Irish himself.[5] This paper will continue to examine how

[3] Wenxian Zhang, *China through American Eyes* (New Jersey: World Scientific Publishing Company, 2018), 471.
[4] Ibid., 473.
[5] Ibid., 426.

these racial, religious, and class demographics fit into the anti-Chinese caricatures and messaging that was being perpetrated at this time and how it influenced the general public.

The San Francisco Wasp

In 1877, The San Francisco Wasp published their first anti-Chinese cartoon, titled "The equal of Persons Gibson and Loomis" (Fig. 2). The cartoon was published in response to Reverends Gibson and Loomis who testified on the behalf of Chinese immigrants in April 1876 before the Committee of the Senate of the State of California. The hearing was held to determine the "social, moral and political effect of Chinese immigration," and if Chinese immigration would "advance or hinder 'Christian civilization.'"[6] Gibson and Loomis argued Chinese immigrants were not a threat and that rather the anti-Chinese tensions and sentiments were caused by religious issues rather than racial motivations from the Irish Catholics. The illustrator used this testimony to twist it into a four-panel response depicting Chinese immigrants committing violent acts with Gibson and Loomis's testimony written above said acts. In particular, the cartoon quotes, "facts and figures make liars of those two charlatanical divines," which aims to stoke the already existing tensions by displaying Chinese immigrants as a devious, eminent threat to white America, i.e., Irish Americans as well as calling

Fig. 2. Illustration, "The equal of Persons Gibson and Loomis," *The San Francisco Wasp* (1877).

[6] "The equal of Persons Gibson and Loomis," *The San Francisco Wasp*, November 18, 1877, https://thomasnastcartoons.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/equal-persons-18-november-1877.jpg

Gibson and Loomis heretics (Fig. 2). In addition, the actual caricatures of the Chinese immigrants inside the cartoons depict Chinese immigrants in a particularly grotesque and racist manner as violent, dirty people. While this cartoon is not extremely well known, it documents the beginning of anti-Chinese sentiment in America, specifically on the West Coast.

While some aspects of Chinese caricatures were accurate, such as traditional clothing or the hair, cartoonists, particularly those at *The Wasp*, heavily twisted these features and introduced new, blatantly racist attributes to influence the general public's opinion of Chinese people. In particular, the general Chinese caricature depicted Chinese people to be "unclean and unsanitary, frugal, cruel and cunning, morally debased, living in overcrowded housing, and bearing virulent disease and epidemic."[7] By constantly depicting Chinese immigrants in this fashion, cartoonists created a racist association in the mind of the general public even if they have never met a Chinese person themselves. In addition, these inaccurate depictions and overall anti-Chinese sentiments increased as tensions grew between white laborers and Chinese immigrants.[8] Furthermore, cartoonists and journalists also portrayed Chinese immigrants as "heathens." In some instances, "'heathen' was used interchangeably with the Chinese person.'"[9]9 This racist methodology was particularly effective as it utilized religious interpretation as heathens are seen as God's enemy in addition to the already dehumanizing aspects of racism that were seen in caricatures and actual Chinese Exclusion. As the Irish Catholics on the West Coast were the main perpetrators of these racist acts, they would

Fig. 3. Illustration by George F. Keller, "Uncle Sam's Farm in Danger," *The San Francisco Wasp* (1878).

[7] Dick, "Sneaky, Sinister, and Scapegoated," 335.
[8] Ibid., 354.
[9] Sang Hea Kil, "Fearing yellow, imagining white: media analysis of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882," *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* (vol. 18, 2012): 671.

actively wield this racism built with religious discrimination.

Additionally, in 1878, Keller created, "Uncle Sam's Farm in Danger," which depicted Chinese immigrants as hungry locusts that have come to destroy the American farm (Fig. 3). The caption states, "Seventy Millions of people are starving in the northern provinces of China. All who can do so are making preparations to come to the US. Look out for the grasshoppers, Uncle Sam" (Fig. 3). Furthermore, *The Wasp* added, "Uncle Sam, armed with House Committee Resolutions, assisted by his hired man, the California Press, is striving to stay the torrent of yellow grasshoppers. It seems almost impossible for them to succeed; and it is certain that they will be overcome by the invader unless assistance of a more substantial kind be rendered."[10] This commentary on the cartoon demonstrates the linkage between the press and the government in the context of anti-Chinese policy and prejudice as *The Wasp* essentially states the press on the West Coast, which was heavily anti-Chinese, was helping the U.S. government defeat the "Chinese threat." This relationship later proves to be more so the government placating Irish Catholics and white laborers on the West Coast rather than the government being actively anti-Chinese themselves. Further, in the cartoon itself, Keller depicts each locust with human (exaggerated Asian features) faces and in an overall evil manner. Keller uses a dark, shadowy figure with wings to represent the famine itself, making it look like this figure (i.e., the famine) will follow the Chinese locusts to America and take hold there. Keller uses this context to generate a sense of imminent danger for readers that they must help stop this "epidemic" of Chinese immigrants; otherwise, their homeland will fall to the famine.

By depicting Chinese immigrants as locusts, Keller contributed to a process of dehumanization that allowed white people (mainly Irish people on the West Coast) to perpetuate racism as they truly did not see Chinese people as human beings anymore. Through associating certain ethnic groups with distinct kinds of animals, cartoonists are able dehumanize these various identities. This has been seen throughout history in how cartoonists associated Black people with monkeys and apes, Chinese people with rats, and Jewish people with vermin.[11]11 By establishing the so-called "inferior" as subhuman, those actively committing racist acts make it even easier for themselves to be racist. This methodology was used constantly throughout the period of Chinese Exclusion as seen in both "Uncle Sam's Farm in

[10] Zhang, *China through American Eyes*, 365.

[11] Hea Kil, "Fearing yellow, imagining white," 662.

Danger" as well as in "The Coming Man," in that these kinds of cartoons both helped further spread the dehumanization of Chinese immigrants as well as stoked racist fears of Chinese immigrants coming to "take over" the United States (Fig. 3, Fig. 1). Due to the simple presence of Chinese immigrants, Irish Catholics on the West Coast sought to sow division between America and Chinese people for the sake of protecting their own labor-based jobs and religious security. One scholar argues this motivation to protect their "homeland" was based in patriarchal beliefs of the home being intrinsically linked to women, so by defending America from Chinese immigrants, white Americans believed they were protecting their women from Chinese people. Furthermore, this overlap of racist and sexist beliefs led to "the purity of the white family bloodline [to fall upon] white women to prevent interracial mixing," which as seen throughout history led to the repetition of the inaccurate threat of men of color sexually assaulting white women.[12] This theme in particular was consistent as Chinese immigration began to increase and was even seen in the Gibson and Loomis cartoon mentioned previously (Fig. 2). In the bottom right panel, the cartoon depicts a Chinese man with a white woman, who it is implied he married, with their Chinese children. Above the image, the cartoon reads, "Gibson & Loomis theory exemplified," which heavily plays into the fear that white Americans had of Chinese men coming to "steal" innocent white women, and by extension, the purity of white America.

In 1882, *The Wasp* published, "Will It Come to This?" a cartoon representing the impending vote on the Chinese Exclusion Act and the resulting effect it will have on society (Fig. 4). The cartoon displays a Chinese man sitting on a board, with Columbia underneath wearing a headband that says, "white labor," as well as a barrel of dynamite that has a looming figure coming

Fig. 4. Illustration, "Will It Come to This?" *The San Francisco Wasp* (1882).

[12] Hea Kil, "Fearing yellow, imagining white," 673.

to ignite it. On the wall next to the man, there is a large question mark with text written above stating, "A public opinion." This cartoon depicts a representation of the tensions that were present in San Francisco at the time of this legislation as *The Wasp* was using this cartoon to emphasize that the idea of the "Chinese question" is like a barrel of dynamite and answering the question will cause it to go off. The illustrator employs the racist, false accusation of Chinese men attacking white women by depicting Columbia, a white woman that normally represents America but is also representing white laborers in this cartoon, as being crushed by the Chinese man who appears to not care or notice Columbia. This cartoon utilizes both white men's belief that Chinese immigration was a direct threat to their homeland and their women as well as continuing to villainize Chinese men as the reason for why white laborers were struggling financially.[13] As seen through Chinese immigrants being excluded in the Knights of Labor, which had a large Irish population, Irish men in particular on the West Coast viewed Chinese immigrants as people that were actively stealing their jobs. While Chinese immigration did influence labor, this was largely because Chinese immigrants were known to be paid extremely low wages and were given poor work conditions, which larger companies and corporations, such as the railroad industry, took advantage of. Moreover, although race played a large factor in the anti-Chinese movement, for many on the West Coast, racism was often the chosen methodology used to verbalize and push Irish labor issues. In addition, the cartoon demonstrates a multitude of fearmongering and racially motivated tactics to stir conflict between Chinese people and white people, especially as the Chinese Exclusion Act was growing nearer, which was likely the overall goal of the creation of this cartoon.

While most of the anti-Chinese depictions had a greater influence on the overall public opinion and rhetoric, some cartoons took a more active role in the policy side of the anti-Chinese movement. For instance, as seen in "Will It Come to This?" this cartoon takes a direct role in trying to stir up racial tensions to motivate people to push for the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (Fig. 4).
Although cartoons do not directly influence policy, cartoons influence people to act and put pressure on representatives and officials, similar to how social media works today. This can be seen through another cartoon, "Our New Cabinet at Washington," which was also published at The Wasp in 1882 (Fig. 5). The cartoon depicts President Arthur and his cabinet members, who was drawn in an incredibly racist manner as Chinese people, implying the President is being controlled by the Chinese. Much of the anti-Chinese federal legislation was passed to placate the racist fervor in California targeted against Chinese

[13] Ibid.

people. As the majority of Chinese immigrants were located on the West Coast, white laborers (mainly in California) were infuriated with Arthur as they believed he did understand the gravity of the "Chinese threat" as he was not living next-door to numerous Chinese immigrants on the East Coast. This fury increased when President Arthur vetoed the Miller Bill, which would have suspended Chinese immigration for 20 years. Arthur himself was not pro-Chinese but rather wanted to find a better way to suspend Chinese immigration without hurting the economy. The Miller Bill went on to become the Chinese Exclusion Act, which Arthur did eventually sign into law to pacify Californians. Through this, despite cartoons not having a direct influence on policy, newspapers utilized cartoons and rhetoric to stir racial tensions and encourage racially motivated violence and bigotry, which does have an effect on policy and society itself.

Fig. 5. Illustration by George F. Keller, "Our New Cabinet at Washington," *The San Francisco Wasp* (1882).

Harper's Weekly

In 1879, *Harper's Weekly* published "Every Dog (No Distinction of His Color) Has His Day," illustrated by Thomas Nast (Fig. 6). The cartoon depicted a Chinese man (named the "Yellow Gentleman") and a Native American man (named the "Red Gentleman") reading a wall that features many expressions of nativist sentiments, including "Foreigners not wanted" and "The Chinese must go." The caption reads, the Native American man says to the Chinese man, "Pale face, 'fraid you crowd him out, as he did me" (Fig. 6). In the background of the cartoon, there is an African American man who is

Fig. 6. Illustration by Thomas Nast, "Every Dog (No Distinction of His Color) Has His Day," *Harper's Weekly* (1879).

relaxing and leaning against the wall. This cartoon is comparing how Native Americans were driven out of the East Coast and forced to move West and how Chinese people were facing significant racism in the West Coast to which the Native American man essentially says now Chinese people are going to be forced to move soon like they were. In this cartoon, Nast displays pro-Native American and pro-Chinese sympathies while simultaneously mocking the Irish and African Americans. By depicting the African American as relaxing in the background, Nast expressed his frustrations with what he perceived as the failures of Reconstruction to make hard-working citizens out of the freedmen. This cartoon was used as a four-part commentary on racial relations in the United States at the time, especially through the mocking subtext directed towards the Irish who have embraced the Nativist movement, which was heavily against Irish people years prior.

Inter-racial relations within the anti-Chinese movement were extremely complex, especially with how the anti-Chinese movement coincided with the Nativist movement. One analysis of the cartoon emphasizes this by explaining, "the current Irish have organized in rank and political power, and now eschew the same behavior and techniques of their Know Nothing oppressors from the past. Only the victims have changed."[14] For many immigrants, there is a period of time when the people of the nation

[14] Thomas Nast, "Every Dog (No Distinction of His Color) Has His Day," *Harper's Weekly*, February 8, 1879, https://thomasnastcartoons.com/2014/04/01/every-dog-no-distinction-of-color-has-his-da/

they are immigrating to portray these immigrants in a negative light. This has been seen with Irish, German, Japanese, and Chinese immigrants as well as many others in both the press and the overall public opinion. In addition, the anti-Chinese movement was compiled with many different identities, such as Hispanic Americans who played an active role in the Los Angeles massacre in 1871. However, in particular, it is especially interesting how Irish Catholics, who were still targeted by anti-Irish beliefs on the East Coast, became the people they tried to fight against through their active role in the anti-Chinese movement.

Harper's Weekly published, "Let the Chinese Embrace the Civilization and They May Stay," in 1882, again illustrated by Nast, which was an ironic comparison of Chinese people and Irish people, essentially saying if the Chinese could be more like the Irish, they would be accepted (Fig. 7). The cartoon displays Chinese men doing different activities, such as protesting unemployment, voting, drinking whiskey – all activities that Nast portrayed to mock the Irish as these were the activities they were doing. A popular racist attack against Chinese was to say they were "barbarians" and "uncivilized," so by displaying the Irish doing activities Nast and other white Protestants looked down on, Nast is simultaneously calling out the hypocrisy of the anti-Chinese movement and attacking Irish people.

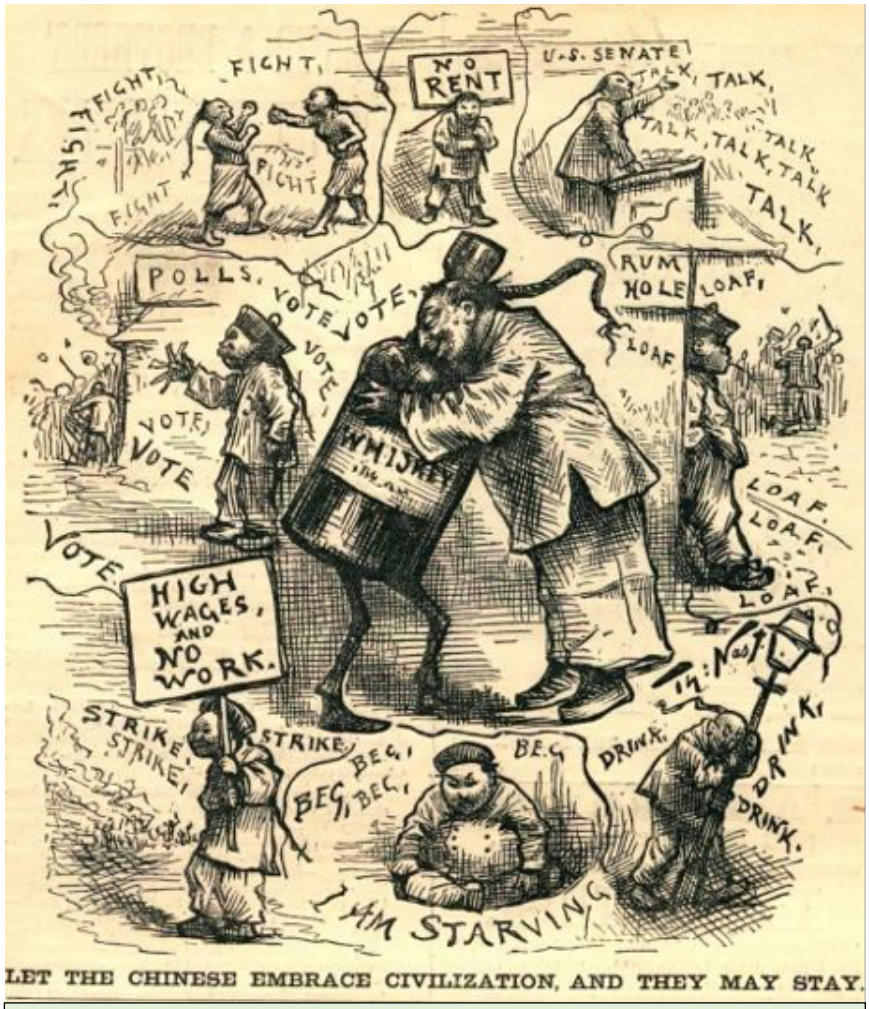

Fig. 7. Illustration by Thomas Nast, "Let the Chinese Embrace Civilization, and They May Stay," *Harper's Weekly* (1882).

One popular argument of the anti-Chinese movement was the Nativist belief that Chinese immigrants were incapable of assimilating in the United States or of being civilized. One scholar saw this development, pointing out that, "when the nation expanded its racial boundaries to include blacks and

some native peoples, the Chinese filled the need for a racial group that was 'incurably alien.'"[15] Because of this, some saw Chinese people as a powerful threat against white America and society at large. When Chinese immigrants came to America and continued to hold Chinese traditional values and practice their own culture, it was seen as an attack on American values and as a threat to the country institutionally and socially. Within the comic, Nast uses this argument and wields it to ironically demonstrate how "civilized" the Irish were and points out how in order for Chinese immigrants to be accepted they must act like Irish people, which Nast portrays to be as beggars, drunks, and protestors. Irish immigrants, though discriminated against, could naturalize and become U.S. citizens – something Chinese immigrants could not do due to U.S. naturalization laws. Through this cartoon, Nast questioned the logic of allowing Irish Catholics but not Chinese immigrants to become citizens.

Harper's Weekly published in 1886 Nast's cartoon, "The Chinese Puzzled," which was an ironic commentary on the Haymarket affair, a peaceful labor demonstration turned into a violent riot, in the context of the battle between Chinese and white laborers (Fig. 8). Nast depicts two Chinese men observing the ensuing riot, which is a clash of people in the background holding multiple signs saying, "Burn the Town!" and "Kill the police!" The caption reads, "It is because we don't do deeds like that, that 'we must go' and they must stay?" (Fig. 8). This cartoon is meant to serve as a commentary on the differences between white laborers and Chinese laborers, in that white laborers were able to commit violent acts which eventually resulted in improved labor

Fig. 8. Illustration by Thomas Nast, "The Chinese Puzzled," *Harper's Weekly* (1886).

[15] Hea Kil, "Fearing yellow, imagining white," 674.

rights whereas Chinese laborers remained as peaceful as possible but were still barred from immigrating and faced significant racism. By having the Chinese man ask if it is because they do not do deeds like that, Nast is calling out the hypocrisy yet again of the anti-Chinese movement. In addition, the Knights of Labor were the organizers behind the Haymarket demonstration, which Nast uses to work in his own personal anti-Irish agenda to portray the hypocrisy of the organization through their own actions. This cartoon was also published in 1886, 1 year after the Rock Springs massacre, which Nast uses to direct the blame to the industries that used Chinese laborers as strikebreakers when they knew it would incite racially motivated violence. In particular, this cartoon clearly demonstrates the overlap of labor issues with racial and religious tensions and how those factors significantly complicated the anti-Chinese movement.

Although Nast was incredibly sympathetic to Chinese immigrants and heavily advocated against Chinese Exclusion, Nast still continuously used racist caricatures and imagery. In "The Chinese Puzzled" as well as many other cartoons, Nast depicted the Chinese men with rat-like features, including making their faces look more animalistic and drawing the racist and exaggerated rat-tail hair. However, this may not have been fully based in racism but rather, some as some scholars argued, "these stereotypes were resorted to as a form of journalistic shorthand," which essentially meant that was just how one denoted a drawing as a Chinese person at the time.[16] This has been documented among numerous ethnic identities and how they were caricaturized in the media, especially in cartoons. In addition, while Nast was a consistent defender of Chinese immigrants, this defense was likely more rooted in his anti-Irish agenda as the Irish were the main persecutors of the Chinese. In essence, Nast was likely more anti-Irish than he was pro- Chinese. Regardless, Nast was a strong advocate for Chinese immigrants and often pointed out the hypocrisy of the racism and violence they were facing.

Conclusion

The press, specifically cartoons and how cartoonists caricaturize different ethnic identities, has a significant degree of influence on public opinion and society at large. In addition, by having an influence on the public sphere, newspapers have an eventual effect on public policy through providing momentum

[16] Dea Lisica and David Sachsman, *After the War: The Press in a Changing America, 1865-1900* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 214.

for people to push their representatives towards different policies. With this, by generating fearmongering messaging and racist caricatures of Chinese immigrants, newspapers were able to help accelerate the anti-Chinese movement, which already had many complicated dynamics occurring behind the scenes, to push for legislation related to Chinese Exclusion. As a whole, racist Chinese caricatures and popular, inflammatory cartoons, specifically those published in West Coast newspapers like *The San Francisco Wasp*, highly fed into anti-Chinese sentiments in the United States. In particular, the cartoons that utilized dehumanizing tactics of portraying Chinese immigrants, such as depicting Chinese people as locusts or with rat-like, inhuman features, largely increased Nativist beliefs and contributed to an increase in racially motivated violence and rhetoric against Chinese immigrants. In comparison, cartoons in various East Coast newspapers like *Harper's Weekly* were often sympathetic to Chinese immigrants and called out the hypocrisy of the anti-Chinese movement.

In summation, a large amount of the anti-Chinese rhetoric began due to the economic recession and because of the growing fears white Americans on the West Coast, who were largely Irish Catholics, had of Chinese immigrants entering America and taking their jobs. This fear culminated into racist attacks, which those on the East Coast, who were mainly white Protestants in this context, condemned due to their hatred for the Irish Catholics rather than their own beliefs of combatting racism against Chinese people. While the East Coast still had blatant racism directed towards Chinese immigrants, it occurred at a much lower degree than on the West Coast, which can be documented through the cartoons in Harper's Weekly and The Wasp. Further, the overlap of these preexisting dynamics fed into the anti-Chinese movement, which was already gaining significant traction through the racist messaging and cartoons that were published in various newspapers. Caricatures in cartoons had a long-lasting impact in how Americans reacted to the recession as well as the greater anti-Chinese movement during the 19th century. Although the main conflict largely lied with the anti-Irish movement and Irish labor issues, due to heightened racial tensions and the prior existence of the broader anti-Chinese movement, the portrayals of Chinese immigrants in *Harper's Weekly* and *The Wasp* served as an extremely effective scapegoat and directly perpetuated the challenges Chinese immigrants faced in the 19th century.

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