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Framing <Anarchy> in Civic Discourse: The Profanity of Chaos

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Abstract
Key texts circulating during the Gilded Age show how "anarchy" became a negative ideograph in political discourse. Following the work of McGee (1980), Edwards and Winkler (1997), and Cloud (2004), this work posits that <anarchy> came to be associated with evil during the Gilded Age. The ideographic function of <anarchy> is buttressed by the rhetorical force in the visual metaphor of serpents synecdochically representing anarchism during the era. Foss's (2005) perspective approach to visual rhetoric is incorporated to illustrate how visual imagery can support the function of ideographs. The unique character of <anarchy> leaves it perpetually antithetical to "civilization," hence opposed to <the rule of law>.

The artistic use of words is paramount in political discourse. Labels can be strong points of identification for millions of U.S. citizens, especially during a presidential election season. Once a more progressive party, having championed abolition, the Republican Party appears to have taken a drastic turn towards nationalism. Donald Trump, the Republican nominee for U.S. President, has been an influential force in taking the Party further to the right, and has even received praise from the Chairman of the American Nazi Party, Rocky Suhayda (Kaczynski, 2016). On the other end of spectrum, Bernie Sanders's inclusive and progressive platforms were frequently summarized by mainstream media outlets with a single term: "socialist." Possibly related to being the only candidate who self-identifies with the term "socialist" tagged onto "democratic," Sanders was largely dismissed by the popular media. One example of Sanders's lack of coverage is evidenced in a speech he gave on March 15, 2016. Borchers (2016) comments on the coverage that the speech received, stating, "Sanders was the proverbial tree falling in a forest on Tuesday night. None of the three major cable news channels [Fox, CNN, nor MSNBC] aired even a moment of his speech live" (para. 1). Another example is seen in Chris Cuomo's discrediting of Sanders with the single term during a Town Hall meeting which was hosted by CNN. Cuomo began his discourse with Hillary Clinton by harkening back to her 2008 bid for the Presidency, saying, "here

you are again, another election. Praise and promise coming your way, but another nail biter [. . .] with a self-described socialist named Bernie" (Transcripts, n.d.).

Though "socialist" tainted his campaign, Sanders's platform is reminiscent of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, which, with a degree of success, lifted the United States out of the Great Depression. Nonetheless, the mainstream media has been complicit in advancing a negative caricature of Sanders. This has been accomplished with allusions to the trope of dangerous, anti-American socialism. A writer for CNN even compared Sanders to the late leader of China, Mao Tse-Tung, who led China from socialism to communism, killing millions along the way (Graham, 2015). The bad reputation "socialist" has garnered seems to obscure "democratic" in the term "Democratic Socialist." An older, and similar, negative caricature of socialism was advanced in the press prior to the New Deal's implementation, reflected in the remarks of Republican senator, Simeon Fess. Boettiger (1934) writes that Franklin Roosevelt's "'recent statements,' declared Mr. Fess, 'remove any doubt of his policy of state socialism'" (as cited, para. 7). Just decades prior to the New Deal, and shortly after the Civil War, there was a socialist movement within the labor class. It was at this time, during the birth pangs of the first Red Scare, that "socialism" became infamous in the United States' political lexicon. While Sanders is bringing the term back into the forefront of public and political consciousness, in a more positive way another term has been slipping further into obscurity and becoming more abstract.

Problems and Questions

In April, of 2015, Fox News aired a segment with Bill O'Reilly emphasizing drug use on the South side of Chicago, while he promoted mandatory minimum sentencing for drug-related crimes and denounced protests against police brutality (O'Reilly, 2015). His comments concerned a region that historically has included a predominantly Black community. By the time O'Reilly's remarks became public, the Black Lives Matter Movement had already gained national attention as an influential force for spreading the message about police brutality against unarmed U.S. citizens. A "chaotic" situation also occurred during the same month O'Reilly delivered his comments, after an officer-involved shooting took place in Chicago. The Chicago Tribune covered the story of an off-duty police detective killing an unarmed woman. A Cook County judge chose not to substantiate the charge of manslaughter against the detective, even though it was noted in the judge's ruling that the shooting was "'beyond reckless,'" and the detective's actions were "'intentional and the crime, if there be any, is first-

degree murder'" (as cited in Editorial Board, 2015). In effect, the detective was acquitted due to a legal technicality.

Days before the Chicago Tribune covered the Judge's decision on the case, O'Reilly referred to the Black Lives Matter Movement as "an anarchistic group . . . that wants to tear down the country and . . . is talking about genocide and really, really extreme things" (Secular Talk, 2015). During the following month, on May 1, protesters associated with the Black Lives Matter Movement marched to the Cook County jail in protest of the Judge's decision. These situations highlight events that transpired more than a century ago. The march commemorated the 129th anniversary of May Day and the month that seven anarchists found themselves awaiting trial in the Cook County jail for a bombing that took place in the Haymarket area on the South side of Chicago. After the bombing occurred, "anarchy" became more heavily associated with the Labor Movement for an eight-hour workday. The popular root of "anarchy" then stood (and still stands) in opposition to the United States' vision of democracy as the rule of, for, and by the people. Yet, when used in political rhetoric, "anarchy" does not immediately connote the philosophical implications given by its formal meaning.

O'Reilly's reference to the Black Lives Matter Movement as "anarchistic" raises questions about what "anarchy" signifies in current political discourse and how it carries an immediate, negative connotation in political rhetoric. His utterance is no small voice crying in the wilderness; Fox News is a subsidiary News Corp, of one of the most powerful media corporations in existence. The term's negative associative qualities are not limited solely to the conservative end of the political spectrum. Elizabeth Warren, a progressive U.S. Senator, also used "anarchy" to describe the conservative-led government shutdown of 2013. "She slammed her Republican colleagues on the Senate floor Thursday, calling them an 'anarchy gang' for bringing the government to the point of a shutdown" (Gentilviso, 2013, para. 1). Ironically, Warren exhibited a positive outlook toward the Occupy Wall Street Movement (OWS), a movement largely described as being anarchistic (Welty, Bolton, & Zukowski, 2013; Gibson, 2013; White, n.d.). Speaking of OWS, Warren professed to "'support what they do'" and even claimed to have "'created much of the intellectual foundation for what they do'" (as cited in Jacobs, 2011, para. 2). On one hand, O'Reilly negatively referred to a movement as "anarchistic," devoid of anarchy's formal meaning. On the other, Warren characterized governmental actors as engaging in "anarchy" while praising a movement that is widely accepted to actually be anarchistic. The ambivalent referents that "anarchy" signifies provide what Bitzer (1992) termed a "rhetorical situation." The apparent lack of a stable, concrete referent for

"anarchy" in political discourse warrants an examination into its history as a politically charged label. Doing this through an ideographic analysis helps to better understand its usage as descriptive of politically unacceptable behavior. The forgetting of "anarchy" as an ideological movement along with its colloquial referents of "chaos" and "disorder" provide the basis for the questions guiding this project, and the invitation to recall historical usages of "anarchy."

Examining the term's most pronounced usages in politically charged rhetorical battles yields evidence regarding how the term acts as a negative ideograph, and the ideologies its usages have pointed towards in contemporary political discourse. This work constitutes a case study of the key historical period in which "anarchy" came to acquire new and more abstract connotations in the political sphere—after a labor rally that took place May 4, 1886, when a bomb exploded in the Haymarket Square area of Chicago. The explosion resulted in the instantaneous death of one police officer and seven anarchists being convicted on conspiracy charges, four of whom were hanged for their offenses. This event has been memorialized around the world, yet it somehow eludes recall in public and mainstream U.S. political consciousness. Yet "anarchy" continues to carry currency in contemporary political discourse. The first segment of this study consists of an overview of pertinent scholarship on ideographs. Following, different texts from the 1880s and 1890s are examined, which chart the rise of "anarchy" as a negative ideograph. This argument is bolstered with a political cartoon that stands as a synecdochic representation for "anarchy" during the time. A discussion of the argument being advanced is then offered before concluding.

This essay offers a critical perspective on what can be called the exigence for a response to extreme right-wing rhetoric that is increasingly becoming normalized, which marginalizes voices from the moderate to far-left. Current political discourse calls for a collective remembrance of when the term "anarchy" came to prominence—during the Labor Movement for an eight-hour workday at the turn of the twentieth century. From a critical lens, this work acts as a reminder for the public consciousness of the lingering impact of "anarchy." It also contributes to uncovering possible ideological commitments that underwrite its usages in contemporary political discourse. Whereas Warren's invocation of "anarchy" is closer to its dictionary sense of connoting a lack of a ruler, O'Reilly's reference to the term serves as an example of "anarchy" apparently being employed for the purpose of stereotyping an entire group of people. The range of "anarchy's" current political usages, from Warren's use of it in the dictionary sense of lacking government or ruler ship to O'Reilly's essentially postcolonial use

of the term as an epithet signifies that it carries an ominous connotation prima facie, with its referents including the lack of "civilized" society.

"Anarchy" concretely referred to a political ideology, and a philosophy opposed to hierarchical rule, during the birth pangs of the first Red Scare. The seeming amnesia in the U.S. consciousness regarding this era invites inquiry into how "anarchy" came to acquire ominous referential qualities in contemporary political discourse. An ideographic analysis is fitting for such a study. Senator Warren's use of "anarchy" to describe a lack of government within a government stands as a testament to the abstract character of the term. Similarly, ideographs are described as existing at both ends of the ladder of abstraction, becoming more abstract when not given concrete meanings in politically charged rhetorical battles (McGee, 2001, pp. 378-379). First coined by Michael McGee (1980), an ideograph acts as a "one-term summary of an aspect of a people's historical ideology; for example, a clear case is the English word Liberty [emphasis in original]" (McGee, 2001, p. 378). Conversely, "negative ideographs contribute to our collective identity by branding behavior that is unacceptable. American society defines itself as much by its opposition to tyranny and slavery as it does by a commitment to liberty and equality" (Winkler, 2006, p. 12). In 2013, Senator Warren's usage of "anarchy," despite her intended meaning, evinces the clear notion that she did not consider the Republican-led government shutdown acceptable behavior—lending to the term the appearance of a negative ideograph as described by Winkler (2006).

While there is an abundance of scholarship on ideographs, this work highlights two aspects of ideographic analysis that appear to have been glossed over. First, much of the argument for the existence of ideographs is premised on Ortega's (1957) concept of "language usage" as "the essential demarcation of whole nations," (McGee, 2001 p. 8). McGee (1980) asserts "the significance of ideographs in their concrete history as usages, not in their alleged idea-content" (McGee, 1980, pp. 9-10). Yet he also states that "earlier usages become precedent, touchstones for judging the propriety of the ideograph in a current circumstance" (McGee, 1980, pp. 10). In the present study, special attention is paid to the notion of the "alleged idea-content" of ideographs. Winkler's (2006) definition of negative ideographs opens a space for exploring associative relationships that usages of an ideograph may conjure, which leads to questions regarding their "alleged idea-content."

Secondly, in this study negative ideograph is used not only to refer to unacceptable behavior—it is also used to denote negative in the sense of lacking (e.g., negative space). While there is considerable scholarship on ideographs and

their positive uses in propping up hegemonic ideologies, it is beneficial to the field of communication studies, specifically the rhetorical tradition, to build on its theoretical framework of ideographs. Inquiring into how negative ideographs work to support hegemonic structures, not merely considered as being antithetical to them, contributes to a more robust discussion on how they function. Better understanding "anarchy's" historical usages helps to uncover nuances in how the term is currently being employed, and contributes to rhetorical studies by adding to a vocabulary of negative ideographs. The term "anarchy" is unique in its ideological function as not merely having negative referential qualities, but also its flexibility to include the idea of lacking ideology. This work also adds to the portfolio of visual rhetoric by providing an example of how metaphors visually function to buttress the rhetorical force of "anarchy" as a negative ideograph. To date, the only work that considers "anarchy" as a negative ideograph is found in an M.A. thesis, which is also an extension of this present work. It has become a convention of scholars to identify ideographs by enclosing them in brackets (<ideograph>). In the present study, <anarchy> is used to denote its usage in ideographic form, as distinguished from "anarchy" as a term of general expression. Exploring the usages of <anarchy> at the turn of the twentieth century, during the height of the Labor Movement for an eight-hour workday, helps to show the ideological commitments behind its manifestations.

Theoretical Framework

Ideographs function similarly to Althusser's (2012) conception of an ideology in that "an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice or practices," and "this existence is material" (as cited in Durham & Kellner, 2012, p. 82). For McGee (1980), "ideology in practice is a political language, preserved in rhetorical documents, with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior" (p. 5). In the United States, this "political language" includes terms such as "equality," "property," and "liberty," which are enshrined in the U.S. mythos (and U.S. Constitution) as characteristic of the nation's ideological composition. This brief explanation illustrates McGee's (1980) proposition that ideographs constitute "the basic structural elements, the building blocks, of ideology" (p. 7). McGee (2001) discusses how ideographs are set in competition due to the ideological commitments behind their usages. He cites an instance of "arguments in the 1970s about so-called 'open-housing,'" where he explains that "liberty" and "equality" came into contention in relationship to "property" (p. 379). He asserts that "most constitutional and revolutionary political arguments are characterized by . . . struggles for the power to define ideographs in a concrete case, either

absolutely or in their structural relationships" (p. 379). McGee (2001) describes ideographs as being especially pronounced in their usages during times of extreme political importance, when they are "'pulled down' the ladder of abstraction" and become concrete in their meaning; for example, "as political street fighting, in other words Liberty may be defined in relationship to Religion, Equality, Property, and dozens of other ideographs" (p. 379).

A more nuanced example of "equality" helps to further explain how ideographs function. There was a time when in the phrase "all men are created equal," in the preamble to the U.S. Constitution, included the notion of "equality" for all (wo)men. "Equal" came to mean differently after the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The usage of "equal" as only referencing White, property-owning men became outdated, as did "equality." This example highlights McGee's (2001) explanation of how "an ideograph's usage in losing causes . . . is unacceptable after the loss, and all meanings that can be shown to be anachronistic (such as counting slaves as three fifths of a person) are unacceptable" (p. 379). This change in the ideological constitution of "equality" shows how outdated usages of ideographs fall into obscurity and out of use. However, their previous usages become "touchstones" for later usages, and retain "a formal, categorical meaning" (McGee, 1980, p. 10). The changing usage of "equality" shows how an ideograph functions to both support hegemonic ideologies while providing agency for changing their political composition. This example also highlights how the ideological idea of "equality" is subject to the U.S. Constitution, hence the "rule of law."

Unlike conceptions of 'Ultimate' or 'God' terms, ideographs strictly refer to the "social, rather than rational or ethical, functions of a particular vocabulary" (McGee, 1980, p. 8). Burke (1969) explains a "god-term" as "the universal title or all-inclusive epithet to which any less generalized terms would be related as parts to whole" (p. 73). Weaver's (1953) "Ultimate terms" includes both "god terms" and "devil terms," and he proposes "devil term" as "the counterpart of 'god term'" (p. 222). Similarly, there are ideographs that McGee (1980) notes as being subject to the meaning of others. For example, during the Watergate scandal, President Nixon tried to use <confidentiality> in a new context, subordinated to the <rule of law> (McGee, 1980, p. 13). Here, Nixon attempted to gain the United States' "permission to expand the meaning of 'confidentiality' and thereby alter its relationship with the 'rule of law,' making what appeared to be an illegal act acceptable" (p. 13). Despite the ethical dimensions of either term, both are taken at face value in their application to specific situations. They then become ingrained in vernacular discourse under a hegemonic ideology, giving them their

function as "conditions of the society into which each of us is born, material ideas which we must accept to 'belong'" [emphasis in original] (McGee, 1980, p. 9). The competition for a reinterpretation of <confidentiality> evinces the horizontal, synchronic structure of ideographs. The vertical, diachronic structure of <rule of law> took precedence and won out over Nixon's attempt to reinterpret <confidentiality>. Thus, <rule of law> acts similarly to an all-encompassing "god term" or "ultimate term," yet not all ideographs are subordinated in the same manner.

McGee (1980) provides a parallel to Weaver's (1953) "devil term," noting that '"confidentiality' of certain conversations is a control on the behavior of government, a control that functions to maintain a 'rule of law' and prevents 'tyranny'" (p. 12). McGee (2001) does not make an explicit mention of the devil term-like qualities of "tyranny" or other specific ideographs, opting instead to describe them in terms of a "winning side" and "losers" (p. 378). Whereas the moralistic sense of "devil term" does not accurately reflect a competition between differing ideologies, it is similar to ideographs that "lose" the battle for hegemonic interpretation. Weaver (1953) explicitly notes some "devil terms," or "terms of repulsion" (p. 222), which exemplify what McGee might describe as ideographs that "lost" in relationship to ideographs like <rule of law>, <equality>, or <property>. Weaver (1953) explains, "we have all seen 'Nazi' and 'Fascist' used without rational perception," and during his time of writing, "in even greater degree . . . 'Communist'" (p. 223). The current use of "anarchy" in certain social circles may still be on par with other political philosophies, yet seems more akin to a "devil term." Once used more widely as a political orientation, "anarchy" has become abstracted and disjointed from its philosophical referents, used instead to describe an ominous notion of "chaos," or disorder. This reflects McGee's (2001) notion that "on the highest level of abstraction, ideographs are completely emptied and left to 'float up' in political discourse until they are needed again to justify in-the-streets Action" (McGee, 2001, p. 379). Bill O'Reilly's and Senator Warren's usages of "anarchy" show how it is being pulled down the ladder of abstraction in the service of differing ideological commitments, in a competition to define conceptions of unacceptable behavior. As a negative ideograph, "anarchy" is unique in that its "idea-content" appears to elude subjugation to "God" or "devil" terms.

There is exemplary literature on ideographs such as "equality" (Condit & Lucaites, 1993), "clash of civilizations" (Cloud, 2004), and that of "the people" (Enck-Wanzer, 2012). Yet the corpus of literature on negative ideographs is small and largely restricted to "terrorism" (Parry-Giles, 1995; Winkler, 2006; Jackson,

2011). Though insightful, contemporary literature on ideographs mainly focuses on their positive associations with a reigning hegemon, with the previously noted exception of "terrorism." Even "clash of civilizations" signifies a battle between two different forms of civilization, with civilization tacitly understood as a "good" thing. On the other hand, "anarchy" conjures a world without rulers—a world alien to Western civilization—according to its Greek root, anarkhia. In this way, the "clash of civilizations" still carries a positive connotation for a hegemonic ideology whereas "anarchy" conjures notions of "chaos" and a complete lack of civilization. This conceptual binary between "civilization" and "anarchy" prompts deepened theoretical research on ideographs.

While <terrorism> is a negative ideograph that functions similarly to <anarchy>, the difference between them reflects what Winkler (2006) has referred to as their "flexibility" in political discourse. In this study, such flexibility is considered to be contingent on what McGee (1980) described as not being significant—an ideograph's "alleged idea-content" (p. 10). The "idea-content" of "anarchy" gives it a unique flexibility because of its negation of itself rather than only being, as Winkler (2006) notes, "antithetical" to "a culture's foundational values" (p. 12). The idea-content of "anarchy" has a kind of "etymological" development, with its current usages contingent on how it came to be definitive of specific political situations. In McGee's (1980) words, "each ideograph has a history, an etymology, such that current meanings of the term are linked to past usages of it diachronically" (McGee, 1980, p. 16). Exploring past usages of "anarchy" points to its current usage as set in opposition to an ideal of civil order under a government. It is the lack of ideological commitment in "anarchy's" idea-content that provides its rhetorical force as a negative ideograph. In this study, Cloud's (2004) work on <clash of civilizations> and Edwards' and Winkler's (1997) pioneering study on visual ideographs have inspired the inclusion of Foss's (2005) perspective approach to visual rhetoric. According to Foss, a perspective approach consists of paying "attention to one or more of three aspects of visual images": (a) the nature of the image, or "distinguishing features of the visual image"; (b) the image's function for the audience; and (c) evaluating "whether it accomplishes the functions suggested by the image itself" (pp. 145-147). Aspects of this approach are applied in considering visual metaphors as buttressing the rhetorical force of <anarchy>.

In the following section, a brief history of "anarchy's" "idea-content" is provided to highlight the conceptual binary opposition between "civilization" and "anarchy." This binary opposition is explained as an associative one, unlike more concrete oppositions such as "up" versus "down." This argument is set forth by

looking at how the associative relationships between “chaos” and “anarchy” are marred with the profane notion of a world without the Judeo-Christian creator and law-giver. The associative relationships are then shown to have manifested in <anarchy> as it was employed in political discourse during the height of the anarchist movement in the United States, in the late nineteenth century.

<Anarchy>: Associating with Serpents

Uncovering ideological commitments behind “anarchy” warrants examining the term’s “formal, categorical meaning” as well as its “alleged idea-content” (McGee, 1980, p. 10). In this section, an analysis of a political cartoon is preceded by examining the categorical meaning that “anarchy” holds in Western thought, specifically in relationship to “chaos.” Parallels are drawn between creation narratives that show associative linkages of the Serpent of the Judeo-Christian account with “chaos” and “disorder.” This linkage is shown to be included in the diachronic structure of <anarchy>. The idea-content of <anarchy> is then compared to texts surrounding the Haymarket bombing of 1886. As a negative ideograph, <anarchy> came to include connotations of evil and a corrupted nature, associated with the antagonist of the Judeo-Christian scriptures—the serpent of the Genesis narrative. The evil signified in the serpent came to be associated with connotations of “anarchy” as being opposed to monopolistic capitalism, and “anarchy” became a negative ideograph.

The Diachronic Structure of <Anarchy>

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, anarchy is defined in four ways: “[a]n absence of government; a state of lawlessness due to the absence or inefficiency of the supreme power; political disorder;” and “[a] theoretical social state in which there is no governing person or body of persons, but each individual has absolute liberty (without implication of disorder)” (Anarchy, n.d.). It is also described with reference to its etymological root, as a “state . . . without a chief or head” (Anarchy, n.d.). These definitions appear to agree with how Thomas Hobbes and John Locke conceived of “anarchy” (Johnson, 2014, pp. 22-23). Hobbes (2001) asserts that “the condition of mere nature, that is to say, of absolute liberty, such as is theirs that neither are sovereigns nor subjects, is anarchy and the condition of war: that the precepts, by which men are guided to avoid that condition, are the laws of nature” (p. 164). John Locke, following in Hobbes’s footsteps, uses “state of nature” and “anarchy” synonymously, evident in the extract, “the state of nature, or pure anarchy” (Locke, 1821).

The connotation of "anarchy" as "chaos" is pervasive in popular discourse, and places it high on the "abstraction ladder," as well as closer to nature. In both Hobbes's and Locke's understanding of "anarchy" there is an assumption that human beings are distinct from nature. Contrary to Hobbes's conception of "anarchy," Gibson (2013) states that rather than conceived of by "the popular imagination . . . [as] typically associated with chaos," anarchism "is a sophisticated ideology premised on opposition to externally imposed hierarchy" (p. 339). The first definition for chaos given by the Oxford English Dictionary includes a variation of its Greek meaning: "'the nether abyss, infinite darkness'" (Chaos, n.d.). Included in its definition are also polarized meanings for the term. On one hand, it is "complete disorder and confusion" (Chaos, n.d.). On the other, it does not imply disorder; rather, it is based on Hesiod's Greek epic, Theogony. Bussanich (1983) describes that in Theogony, "the name Chaos symbolizes the initial stage of pre-cosmic reality—a yawning chasm or abyss. Since it stands at the beginning of things, it cannot be envisioned according to the laws of perspective or dimension" (p. 214). Bussanich (1983) goes on to state his conviction "that in Chaos Hesiod attempted to symbolize an underlying, passive principle in which cosmic-divine manifestation occurs, with Gaia a creative matrix which participates in generation" (p. 218). Rather than disorder, Hesiod's Chaos is essentially the arche of creation—the point from which all else follows. This extreme abstraction signified in "chaos" provides "anarchy" with a peculiar versatility in political rhetoric.

The Divinity of <Anarchy> in Chaos

The association of the serpent icon with "chaos" became signified in <anarchy> at the turn of the twentieth century, and "anarchy" came to reference the Judeo-Christian "devil." This associative relationship is pertinent to this study given a few fine points of how McGee (1980) conceives of ideographs. He asserts that they are "terms [that] are definitive of the society we have inherited," and claims that "they are conditions of the society into which each of us is born, material ideas which we must accept to 'belong'" (p. 9). McGee (1980) astutely points out that "no present ideology can be divorced from past commitments if only because the very words used to express present dislocations have a history that establishes the category of their meaning" (p. 14). Society in the United States did not appear out of thin air, nor did its dominant language. McGee (1980) contends that "in any specific culture," there exists "a historically defined diachronic structure of ideograph-meanings expanding and contracting from the birth of the society to its 'present.'" (p. 14). Accordingly, precedent uses of "anarchy" inform

its present constitution, which includes “chaos” as a referent, in one of the most powerful Western societies—the United States.

The Fertile Crescent, often described as the cradle of civilization, provided a lush environment for “chaos” to grow, as well as its later associations with the serpent motif. Since at least Mesopotamia, serpent iconography has remained feminized and closer to nature than “civilization.” An early example includes the Babylonian “Godmother Mummu-Tiamat (a dragon-water deity)” (Harris, 2007, p. 20). Citing Matthews (1997), Harris (2007) notes, “parallels between the birth of Mesopotamia’s divine godhead, from the chaos of water,” with elements of the creation narrative found in Genesis (p. 20). Also, Keller (2012) observes that “the watery deep, the tehom, of Genesis” is the “semitic relative of the . . . Sumerian Tiamat which also means salt water, deep, chaos. Both are grammatically feminine” [emphasis in original] (pp. 16-17). The feminine aspect of a “dragon-water-deity” provides for associative links to the serpentine construction of the Judeo-Christian “devil.” First, in the Genesis narrative of creation, a woman is tempted by a serpent. Secondly, in the New Testament, prophecies of things that “must shortly take place” include “an angel coming down from heaven,” who “laid hold of the dragon, that serpent of old, who is the Devil and Satan [emphasis in original]” (Rev. 20:2, New King James Version). The serpent icon continues to bear associative linkages to the idea of a world without divine ruler ship—a vision of disorder, of “chaos.”

Synchronic Manifestations of <Anarchy> as the Epitome of Evil, Uncivilized

The serpent icon has been linked to <anarchy> in the U.S. mythos and has borne a concrete link to the “divine,” generative qualities of Chaos since the beginning of the United States. Olson (1984) argues that the serpent icon was among the “earliest pictorial signs of a collective identity among the colonies” (p. viii). Olson (1984) highlights that “the religious resonances of the serpent and eagle icon are intriguing in relation to American political life. Whereas the serpent represented Satan in Biblical texts, the eagle represented God in Deuteronomy 32:11” (pp. 65-67). As Olson (1984) continues to explain, “once the serpent icon became whole it no longer would have specified a particular folk belief. Instead, it more easily could become associated with serpents that in the Judeo-Christian tradition represented evil” (p. 37). Yet, when the representation of the intact serpent was given a rattle it lost much of its connotatively religious potency (Olson, 1984, pp. 50-67). Nevertheless, Olson (1984) illustrates there did exist associative linkages of the serpent icon to the devil as well as other sorts of social taboos. Considering

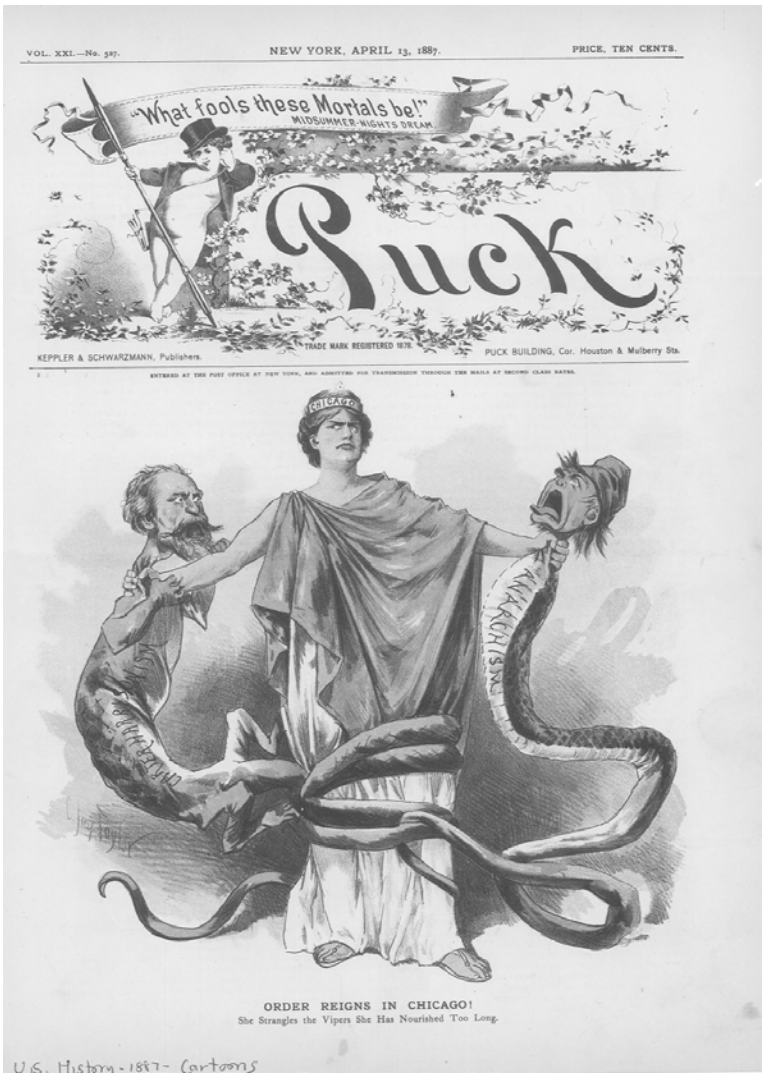
the associative relationship of the serpent icon to "chaos," Green (2006) notes that during the Gilded age,

> to most Americans, anarchy simply meant chaos, violence, and disorder. The word had been used, for example, to describe Paris in the last horrible days of the Paris Commune and Pittsburgh in 1877…. Anarchy was even thought to have appeared in the Arizona Territory, where, as one newspaper had it, the "savage" Apaches, "the Reds of America," fought to preserve their "communal system of government." (p. 131, p. 336)

Here, "anarchy" is associatively linked to "savages," and in turn linked to colonial notions of being less "civilized," whereas the serpent icon carried connotations of evil. Referents to being both less civilized and the serpentine "devil" came to be included in the constitution of <anarchy> during the late nineteenth century.

Along with references to "savagery," serpent iconography became a central feature in a political battle for power to subordinate the Chicago anarchist's "freedom of speech" to the "rule of law," prior to and after the Haymarket bombing. On April 13, 1887, the cover of Puck magazine featured an illustration in which the city of Chicago is personified as a woman who "Strangles the Vipers She Has Nourished Too Long" (see Figure). In Foss's (2005) terms, the presented elements here include the "vipers" of "Carter Harrisonism" on the left and "anarchism" on the right, both anthropomorphized as serpents depicted as having human heads. The suggested elements include Carter Harrison's role in the Haymarket fiasco. He was the acting mayor of Chicago when the bombing occurred, which was quickly attributed to anarchists. Just one day after the incident, the Chicago Tribune described Chicago's anarchists in unflattering terms. Green (2006) illustrates this, citing the May 5, 1886, issue:

> "After warming these frozen vipers on its breast and permitting them to become citizens," America had been bitten by these "serpents" who had been "warmed in the sunshine of toleration." (pp. 201-202)



"Order Reigns in Chicago!" Chaos is defeated by Chicago and <anarchy> is profaned in the cover of the April 13, 1887, issue of Puck magazine. Acquired from JG Autographs, SKU #1179654-1.

As Green (2006) continues, "in the middle of this reactionary storm was Mayor Carter Harrison, whom the press and the business community held partially responsible for the attack on the police because he allowed the anarchists to

speak and assemble freely" (p. 202). Harrison was even "driven from office for allowing free speech to anarchists" (Green, 2006, p. 289).

Given the blame placed on Harrison, another suggested element in the image above is the political "street fight" that existed between <anarchy> and <freedom of speech>. This is presented in how "Chicago" is strangling the serpents, inhibiting their capacity to speak.

The idea of taking too much liberty with speech is yet another associative link between "anarchy" and the serpent in the Genesis narrative. (The serpent's speech in Genesis led to the concept of original sin.) Conjuring the antagonist of the Judeo-Christian scriptures, various newspapers at the time resurrected the serpent motif as synecdochic of <anarchy>. Burke (2004) looks at how "political cartoonists did the work of dehumanizing anarchists by filling local newspapers and national weeklies with pictures depicting anarchists literally as beasts (usually a snake)" (p. 239). Another example is given in a November 16, 1887 issue of The Deseret News, in an official statement offered by then-Governor, Richard Oglesby. He draws on the serpent motif to characterize the Chicago anarchists. He also implicates Mayor Harrison as being "indifferent" towards their speech, lamenting that

> city authorities affected for some reason to ignore all ebullitions of the mob. As a result of this OFFICIAL INDIFFERENCE, when it came at last for the eight-hour labor disturbances and the simultaneous inauguration of the secretly-cherished "revolution," the anarchists were a power indeed, and the police were ignorant of the danger [emphasis in original]. ("Telegraphic News," 1887, p. 693)

When discussing the burial procession for five of the condemned anarchists, Oglesby stated, "the route taken resembled nothing so much as a MONSTER BLACK SNAKE [emphasis in original]" ("Telegraphic News," 1887, p. 701). Oglesby stressed that,

> instead of a great sash of red, there was a simple strip of silk ribbon … from the head of the coffin [of Albert Parsons] to almost the centre and was then strung along the floor of the hearse…. "It is suggestive OF A SERPENT," was the remark of an onlooker [emphasis in original]. ("Telegraphic News," 1887, p. 701)

The way that Mayor Carter Harrison was depicted in Puck, along with other serpentine depictions of anarchists, shows a clear associative linkage between the serpent and uncleanliness. In the July 28, 1894 issue of Judge magazine, this

associative relationship is also present in a caricature of Governor Altgeld, who, after pardoning the surviving anarchist convicts, was depicted as an anarchist engulfed in a plume of smoke or dust (Rosemont and Roediger, 2012, p. 169). Both instances echo "Samuel Ehrhat's cartoon, 'Dust is Disease,' published in Puck at the turn of the century . . . [which] suggested the ease with which miasmic imagery was used to communicate new theories about atmospheric infection" (Burke, 2004, p. 14). Even though dust may not have explicitly referenced disease at the time these images were in circulation, both instantiations of <anarchy> still conjure the serpent of the Genesis narrative, cursed by God to eat dust (Gen. 3:14).

The depictions of anarchists as serpents, along with the language used to describe them, lends to the efficacy of visual metaphors to support the ideographic function of <anarchy> manifesting as representations for the epitome of evil—the devil. This is bolstered by a statement Green (2006) provides, given by "an influential Protestant preacher, Professor David Swing," who called for "'a careful definition of what freedom is'" (p. 200). The preacher went on to state that '"if [freedom] means the license to proclaim the gospel of disorder, to preach destruction, and scatter the seeds of anarchy . . . the sooner we exchange the Republic for an iron-handed monarchy the better it will be for all of us"' (p. 200). Following this thread, Green (2006) states,

> if all Christian Chicagoans believed social order to be ordained by God, then disorder had to be the work of the devil and his agents, who lived on the dark side of life in this city of smoke. […] The anarchists often met at night, plotting conspiracies in saloon cellars and drilling their militia in basement rooms. (p. 201)

<Anarchy> in Review

In this section, the "formal, categorical meaning" (McGee, 1980, p. 10) of <anarchy> is explicated to show how it came to be associated with the extremely abstract notion of "chaos," and in turn associated with the serpent motif found in creation narratives which grew out of the Fertile Crescent. In turn, <anarchy> bears an associative link to the Prince of Darkness through its associative link to a divine Chaos. These associative links clearly manifested in Puck's anthropomorphized serpents, as well as the speech of political actors.

The definition of "anarchy" given by Hobbes (2001) and Locke (1821) as a state of nature lacking government (which is distinct from the original Greek meaning) adds to the conceptual binary opposition between civilization and nature. With "anarchy" being a state of pure nature without a ruler, the Judeo-

Christian serpent synecdochically represents a corrupt nature that arose after Eve was tempted in the Genesis creation narrative. Olson's (1984) examination of serpent iconology during the birth of the United States shows that these associative relationships have carried on, at least, into the Gilded Age.

The serpentine depictions of "anarchism" and "Carter Harrisonism" shortly after the Haymarket bombing highlight the political struggle for hegemonic control over <anarchy> in relationship to <freedom of speech>, and in turn <the rule of law>. Behind this hegemonic battle were ideological notions of "civilization" versus "savagery." Anarchy was conflated with ideas of being less "civilized." The visual metaphor of serpents as anarchists evince how such illustrations, and rhetoric that conjured similar referents, helped to establish concrete instantiations of <anarchy> as a vision of "chaos."

Conclusion

This work began by framing the study around current political discourse in which a relative of "socialism"—"anarchy"—has been deployed in popular media. This is done to highlight how "anarchy," in comparison to "socialism," has fallen deeper into obscurity since the time it came to prominence in political discourse, given that the rise of nineteenth century anarchism came in tandem with socialist movements. O'Reilly's reference to "anarchy" in labeling the Black Lives Matter Movement an "anarchistic group," along with Warren's usage of <anarchy> to describe a government shutdown, show how the term has been pulled down from the ladder of abstraction. In both instances, as well as in examples of its usages during the nineteenth century, the formal meaning is employed to characterize not a theoretical belief, but instances interpreted by interlocutors to exhibit something more akin to "complete disorder and confusion" (Chaos, n.d.).

The key to viewing <anarchy> as distinct from other negative ideographs is that it is not merely subjugated to other ideographs. The "formal, categorical meaning" (McGee, 1980, p. 10) of <anarchy> includes a complete antithesis to any <the rule of law>, and the antithesis of a "god term" or a "devil-term." Its diachronic structure is in opposition to the very notion of being subjected to rule, hence lacking ideology. Its diachronic structure relies precisely on its "idea-content," which can be described as having the ideological commitment of no ideology. It is in this way that <anarchy> is uniquely flexible; it is an ideograph that is opposed to paradigmatic modes of conceptualizing "civilization." This case study shows how the meaning of <anarchy> relies on its "concrete history as usages," yet calls attention to the importance of the "alleged idea-content," or the "precedent touchstones" of an ideograph's usages that inform their

subsequent usages (McGee, 1980, p. 10). The diachronic structure of <anarchy> points toward its function in U.S. political discourse as a negative ideograph, deployed by and in support of monopolistic capitalism. On the political left, <anarchy> is shown to be used closer to its dictionary sense of lacking a ruler—or lacking government. On the other end of the spectrum, the term has been employed similarly to how it was used during the nineteenth century—to demonize working class people struggling against monopolistic capitalism.

A more recent example shows the importance of including <anarchy> into rhetorical studies' vocabulary of ideographs, and the exigence for scholarship on its usage, especially when employed to demonize people rather than reference a philosophical idea. During the 2016 Republican National Convention, David Clarke Jr., a Milwaukee Sheriff, began his speech with a jab at Black Lives Matter by referencing a popular phrase used to counter the movement's slogan, stating "blue lives matter in America" (ABC15 Arizona, 2016). He proceeded to state that "what we witnessed in Ferguson, and Baltimore, and Baton Rouge was a collapse of the social order. So many of the actions of the Occupy Movement and Black Lives Matter transcend peaceful protest and violates the code of conduct we rely on. I call it anarchy" (ABC15, 2016). This final example shows that there is a justification to further look into how <anarchy> is functioning in political discourse, specifically in relationship to the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the rising populist sentiment against economic and police injustice.

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