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## Drawing Swords: War in American Editorial Cartoons <sup>1</sup>

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*Wartime editorial cartoons document a nation's underlying assumptions about the truth of their cause that justifies war and sustains them during the fighting. Increasingly during the past half-century in the United States, they also reflect the doubts and concerns of the opponents of a war. This study is an overview of U.S. editorial cartoons over more than two centuries of wars. Mainstream publications and reprint volumes of the work of major cartoonists were examined to seek patterns in the depiction of the enemy; to investigate the use of stereotypes; and to determine if these wartime cartoons might be considered propaganda.*

For a book that reprinted one hundred cartoons from the Great War, James Montgomery Flagg drew a self-caricature, dapper in an artist's smock, overlooking the shoulder of the Kaiser. The defeated German ruler is bending toward a mirror to stare at his reflection, which is a skeleton. The caption of the cartoon is "The Cartoonist Makes People See Things!" (Fig. 1)

Antebellum engravings and lithographs about America's wars evolved to become editorial cartoons as changes in newspaper and magazine publication technology made timely transmission of war news possible and as publishers discovered that pictures that maligned the enemy or glorified "our" cause sold copies. War cartoons of the first half of the twentieth century display a remarkable continuity of visual metaphors that are based on traditional artistic conventions in the depiction of one's enemy. Ameri-



(Fig. 1) James Montgomery Flagg, "The Cartoonist Makes People See Things!" *The War in Cartoons* (New York: Dutton, 1919), 1.

can editorial cartoonists also ridiculed the enemy with intentionally ludicrous depictions. Both types of images dehumanize the enemy: the other is always different than we are. The age-old technique of dehumanization makes it possible to fight wars because the enemy is not like us.<sup>2</sup> Glorification of national leadership is a third approach used by editorial cartoonists during war, and its use is continuous throughout the period covered by this article.

The editorial cartoonist has both opinion-molding and opinion-reflecting roles within the community served by his or her publication. As Michael DeSousa noted, the study of editorial cartoons reveals much "... about the American people, their values and traditions."<sup>3</sup> Although the job of the editorial cartoonist is to express personal perspectives about current events using visual metaphors in order to persuade readers, the cartoonist must not alienate either newspaper management or readers. This is possible only because the cartoonist understands his or her community and respects its values. Good cartoonists are driven by a sense of moral duty, a desire to oppose what they believe to be wrong, and the need to work for the greater good. Most American editorial cartoonists joined with their neighbors to

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support wartime causes until the middle of the twentieth century, at which time the Cold War shifted everything, even the definition of warfare.

## Editorial Cartoons in the United States

The seemingly incongruous partnership of capitalism and freedom of expression that characterizes the practice of editorial cartooning in United States springs from the political prints that were popular in Georgian England. Diana Donald noted, “No licensing of presses nor prior censorship impeded the circulation of these frequently abusive, scurrilous and volatile productions. They were gestural, functioning as an assertion of defiant independence and protest against government which would have been unthinkable in most other European countries . . . The development of the genre runs parallel to the extension of political information, debate and assertiveness in ever widening circles of British society.”<sup>4</sup> She added that the price of a print by Gillray or one of his contemporaries was “inseparable from the freewheeling license and irreverence” depicted in the drawing.<sup>5</sup> Because pictures that deride government leaders and question national policy attract customers, they are a long-established part of U.S. publications.

In the American journalistic tradition, editorial cartoons are signed statements of the personal opinions of their creators. They are not illustrations of news events to accompany articles or written editorials on the same topic. A newspaper’s editorial cartoonist interprets current events through the filter of his or her individual world experience and conscience to create cartoons that are synchronistic (to a greater or lesser degree) with the perspective of management and readers. Editorial cartoons are rhetorical devices, persuasive communication analogous to print editorials and op-ed columns that are intended to influence readers, part of the democratic tradition that requires an informed electorate knowledgeable about issues and candidates. Editorial cartoons trigger responses from outrage to delight. They are clipped, shared, discussed, and argued about, and they are the most read item on the editorial page.<sup>6</sup> Opinion, point of view, perspective—whatever it is called—sells.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, political prints created in the United States were rare and expensive. William Murrell documented only eight political prints that were made during the Colonial period and credits Benjamin Franklin as the source of the first, “The Waggoner and Hercules,” an engraving published in a 1747 pamphlet titled *Plain Truth*.<sup>7</sup> Newspapers could not afford to have new wood engravings cut or plates engraved for every passing event, so generic images were often reused. Leonard described the “dangling man” who lived in a printer’s case waiting to illustrate every story about a hanging.<sup>8</sup> The customers to purchase political prints were

also sparse, with long distances and poor roads between population centers. According to Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, only seventy-eight political prints were made in the United States before 1828.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1850s, publishers of illustrated newspapers and magazines discovered the public's fascination with pictures of current events and began to hire artists to provide them. Good reportorial artists gave papers a competitive edge. For example, twenty-year-old Thomas Nast was sent to England in 1860 by the *New York Illustrated News* to cover the bare-knuckled boxing fight between Heenan and Sayers. Within seven hours of the completion of the bout, Nast drew two double-page illustrations and a cover picture on wood engraving blocks that were then rushed to a waiting ship. The blocks were cut during the ocean crossing so that a special edition of the paper could be printed as soon as possible after the ship docked in New York City.

Even greater changes occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. Joseph Campbell has summarized the developments of the 1890s that fundamentally altered American journalism: the emergence of a "graphic revolution" with half-tone photographs, illustrated news stories, and cartoons; a decline in the cost of newsprint; improvements in newsroom technology; and enhanced delivery systems that could put publications in the hands of purchasers quickly.<sup>10</sup> Additional factors in the growth of American newspapers were the increase in disposable income and the growth of literacy: people could afford to buy papers and knew how to read them.

## **Editorial Cartoons and War**

Thomas Kemnitz observed that editorial cartoons "are primarily visual means of communicating opinions and attitudes or of 'summing up' situations..."<sup>11</sup> He then noted that such cartoons can provide insight into "the depth of emotion surrounding attitudes,"<sup>12</sup> and are, therefore, useful tools for the historian. Because warfare generates many emotions, the passions revealed in editorial cartoons are especially informative to the historian. James Steakley elaborated further, "Because political cartoons generally comment on or embellish news reports, they are documents rather than historiography, historical in nature rather than in mode. They are reliable indicators of the response to new information that is still being digested (a process they stimulate), but their full operational effectiveness relies upon a context of cultural and historical assumptions embedded but not necessarily inscribed in their images."<sup>13</sup> The editorial cartoonist's work is successful only if readers understand the framework within which the point is made, which means that he or she must gauge the community's familiarity with the topic of the

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day and choose images to express her or his opinion succinctly and appropriately. As Desousa and Martin Medhurst note, “cartooning is a culture-creating, culture-maintaining, culture-identifying artifact.”<sup>14</sup>

Nevins and Weitenkamp have noted that a “really good cartoon” is witty, truthful (or it depicts “one side” of the truth) and serves a moral purpose.<sup>15</sup> That only one side of an issue may be covered and that a cartoon serves a moral purpose are particularly relevant observations to the study of wartime cartoons. Cartoonists must know where they stand on an issue and be able to compress their opinion into a suitable visual metaphor. Their moral purpose is to further the cause they passionately support or to thwart a perceived wrong. Cartoons lacking this motivation, passion, and concern are weak and pointless. One must, however, always acknowledge that editorial cartoons are printed in newspapers that are businesses controlled by editors and publishers who have the ultimate authority over their content. The tension between the editorial cartoonist and management is usually resolved by hiring a cartoonist whose politics are compatible and, as Richard Samuel West has noted, it was not until the 1960s that editorial cartoonists began to think of themselves as graphic columnists with the advent of work by Herblock and others.<sup>16</sup>

The editorial cartoons produced during a war provide insights not available elsewhere. The economy of the genre—a limited amount of space and the necessity of a visual metaphor to communicate complicated information succinctly—forces the cartoonist to encapsulate and summarize his or her point of view. Several scholars have noted that this concision increases the impact of editorial cartoons, since readers get the point in seconds, not after reading columns of dense text. According to Victor Alba, the cartoons published in satirical newspapers during the Mexican Revolution were a means to irritate or attack those in power and played an important role in nation building.<sup>17</sup> In “The German Cartoon and the Revolution of 1848,” W. A. Coupe studied prints that he described as depicting “laughing” or “punitive” satire, and providing “commentary on the tragic-comedy of the year of German liberalism.”<sup>18</sup> Virginia Bouvier examined cartoons related to the War of 1898 and found that “As cultural forms, political cartoons reflect and contribute to the formation of imperial attitudes. They illuminate the myths, references, and experiences upon which U.S. national identity was constructed in the wake of the War of 1898 and reveal a legacy of images that provide the foundation for current U.S. attitudes toward Latin America.”<sup>19</sup> Jane Elliott surveyed 344 cartoons about the Boxer War that were published primarily in American, British, French, German, Japanese, and Russian publications.<sup>20</sup> She categorized the cartoons she sampled as “atypical” because only one cartoon from her sample used “belittling” images, which is not usually the case in wartime cartoons. She continued by stating that “The cartoons of the Boxer rising represent a

remarkable manifestation of the rarely heard and even more rarely publicised sentiments that this was not a just war and that 'we' behaved dishonourably toward 'the enemy.'<sup>21</sup> She then noted that although no written editorial columns in the publications she surveyed commented on the brutality of the Allied forces, the cartoons did so repeatedly.<sup>22</sup>

One of the functions of the editorial cartoonist is societal critic. In his attempt to create a theory of political caricature, Lawrence Streicher observed that it is "definitely negative."<sup>23</sup> Negative caricatures of enemy leaders during war generally are of two broad types: those that poke fun at them and make them look foolish and those that demonize and vilify them. In the sense that the best editorial cartoons are those that reflect their creators' passions against injustices and wrongs, the negative attribution is accurate, but the role of the editorial cartoonist as critic becomes more complicated during wartime. Especially during popular wars perceived as justified, patriotism may become the dominant motivator for the cartoonist. This can abrogate what Charles Press described as the role of the cartoonist in a democracy to serve as a critic of government and can lead to what he characterized as "the darker side of democratic comment—uncritically parroting a national line."<sup>24</sup> If the definition of an editorial cartoon as a signed statement of personal opinion is accepted, then the cartoonist must be given the benefit of the doubt that he or she honestly supported the cause at the time a cartoon was drawn, whether it was in favor of a war or critical of the government position.

The visual images of the enemy used in editorial cartoons about a war inspire the public to fight. Streicher believed that editorial cartoons are "a guide for the aggressor . . . [They provide] negative definitions, stereotypes, which are aimed at dramatizing aggressive tendencies through the definition of targets, the collective integration of 'private' feelings into public sentiments of 'self-defense' and the training of hatred and debunking techniques. [An editorial cartoon] *interprets* [author's emphasis] nations, figures, and events and helps to supplement the news presentation with statements of 'meaning.'<sup>25</sup> For example, the cartoon C. D. Batchelor drew for the 25 April 1936 *New York Daily News*' comments on Europe's slide toward another war in the late 1930s—"Come on in. I'll treat you right. I used to know your daddy"—shows a skeletal prostitute named "War" who is standing on the whorehouse steps, attempting to lure a young man symbolizing "European youth" to her bed.<sup>26</sup>

In the context of wartime editorial cartoons, the interpretive role of editorial cartoonists relates to the visual archetypes of "the enemy," Sam Keen proposed: the other (as in faceless strangers or outsiders); the aggressor; the evil-doer; the uncivilized barbarian; as well as depictions of the enemy as criminals, sadists, and rapists; non- or sub-human creatures (such as rodents, reptiles, insects, or germs); and death.<sup>27</sup> Keen postulated that such

depictions of the enemy enable armies to kill their enemies because they are foreign and unlike them.<sup>28</sup> The division between self and other, or us and them, during conflict is ubiquitous. For hundreds of years artists and writers have portrayed the enemy using the archetypes summarized by Keen.<sup>29</sup> As John Dower noted in his description of World War II, “The war words and race words which so dominated the propaganda of Japan’s white enemies—the core imagery of apes, lesser men, primitives, children, madmen, and beings who possessed special powers as well—have a pedigree in Western thought that can be traced back to Aristotle, and were conspicuous in the earliest encounters of Europeans with the black peoples of Africa and the Indians of the Western Hemisphere.”<sup>30</sup> Given this history, it is not surprising that American cartoonists adopted this type of visual metaphor to express their opinion of the foe. Because the editorial cartoonist gives form to the enemy during wartime, readers’ imaginations are fed and the will to fight, built.

Medhurst and Desousa’s exegesis of editorial cartoons as a rhetorical form is based on the neoclassical canons of rhetoric: invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery.<sup>31</sup> Although all five devices are important to the cartoonist, invention and memory may be the most pertinent to a study of wartime cartoons. Invention is the source or starting part for the drawing and may be political commonplaces, literary or cultural allusions, situational themes and/or personal character traits. When invention is linked with memory, the so-called “communal consciousness” of the reader, the cartoon communicates the idea the cartoonist intended. The commonplaces described previously, such as depicting an enemy as Satan, are familiar to American readers and, therefore, are effective devices for the cartoonist.

In addition to drawings that malign the enemy, editorial cartoonists have historically used two additional techniques in war cartoons. One is to belittle the enemy. Ridicule replaces venom in the cartoon. Powerful leaders are depicted as children or clumsy, stupid, incompetent oafs. Another device used by editorial cartoonists is the glorification of one’s own country and its leaders, people, and traditions. Editorial cartoons that vilify the enemy have been discussed much more frequently than the other two categories of war cartoons, perhaps because the depth of their hatred of the enemy generates controversy or support, but the other two types of war cartoon are equally common.

It is important at this point to distinguish between the archetypes of the other used in war cartoons and cartoon clichés.<sup>32</sup> Depictions of the enemy as a monster, snake, or rat are archetypes based on longtime artistic conventions that call on the community’s collective memory of what is good and what is bad. Editorial cartoon clichés are variants on familiar imagery such as *American Gothic*, the Iwo Jima monument, or something from a current movie. Each requires the reader to have prior knowledge of the

metaphor's source, but the archetypes draw on much deeper emotions to tap into the community's most fundamental beliefs and values. In the cartoon cliché, if the reader does not know what the United States Marine Corps Memorial is and looks like, the cartoon is meaningless.

## Stereotypes in Wartime Cartoons

Cartoonists cannot do their work without stereotypes, the visual shorthand understood by their readers, who are members of a shared community (however that community may be defined). The root of the word stereotype comes from a printing plate cast in metal from a mold or matrix, thus its secondary definition is something that has no individuality and is unvarying. The consistent and persistent interpretation by readers of stereotypical visual images enables the cartoonist to communicate complex concepts and identities quickly. As John Appel observed, "Late nineteenth century cartoonists experimented with the reduction of vital cues until one or two minimal tags-of-identity—a curved tobacco pipe with Meerschaum bowl or a dachshund for a German; a straight razor, watermelon, and chicken for African Americans—served as escutcheons affording instant recognition of a nationality or ethnic group."<sup>33</sup> A cartoon by Ellison Hoover from the 24 August 1924 issue of *Life*, titled "Old Jokes Come Home," uses thirty-one cartoon stereotypes, including the absent-minded professor, a mother-in-law, a cannibal boiling a missionary in a large pot, an angry wife with a rolling pin, and so on. These were standard gags in cartoons of the day that every reader would have understood. This widespread standardization may, in part, be traced to the fact that many publications had artists' bullpens where cartoonists, illustrators, and courtroom artists worked side by side and shared techniques, tips, and practices. Another reason for the prevalence of these visually encoded jokes may be the enormous popularity of cartoon correspondence courses that encouraged their students to use them.

As E. H. Gombrich noted, "...the artist, no less than the writer, needs a vocabulary before he can embark on a 'copy' of reality...The form of a representation cannot be divorced from its purpose and the requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency..."<sup>34</sup> Medhurst and DeSousa further observe that "No traits, whether physical or psychological in nature can be *totally* [authors' emphasis] manufactured by the cartoonist. The trait must exist to some extent in the popular consciousness or graphic tradition before it can be amplified and caricatured by the artist."<sup>35</sup> Many stereotypes are, at least to some extent, based on physical appearance or typical behavior patterns. For example, some Irish people have long foreheads, square jaws, and red hair.



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The fact is, however, that stereotypes are effective as visual shorthand. Readers know instantly who or what the cartoonist is communicating. A disadvantage to their use, as editorial cartoonist Draper Hill commented, is that a cartoonist may learn that “what serves him as meaningful simplification of significant characterization can strike a target group as blatant stereotyping.”<sup>36</sup> The negative connotation of the term stereotype derives from the use of racist, ethnic, and sexist images. The motivation of the cartoonist is critical to understanding the use of stereotypes—and in wartime cartoons, deprecation of the enemy with negative imagery is a prime motivator. In fact, most of the frequently used archetypes of the enemy are stereotypes. It is inevitable that war cartoons will include these and other stereotypes that communicate complex ideas succinctly and reflect the cartoonist’s view about the conflict.

### **Wartime Cartoons: Propaganda or Opinion?**

Editorial cartoons are understood to be powerful means of communicating ideas, although this is difficult to measure.<sup>37</sup> Robert Goldstein noted that in France between 1815 and 1914, authorities “greatly feared the power” of hostile caricatures and numerous attempts were made to regulate the work of the artists that produced them.<sup>38</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that at the outset of World War I when the United States wanted to mobilize every resource to fight Germany, a Bureau of Cartoons was created.

Woodrow Wilson issued an Executive Order on 14 April 1917 to create a Committee on Public Information (CPI) whose purpose was described in a report by its chairman, George Creel, as “educational and informative only” with the intent of promoting the “absolute justice of America’s cause, the absolute selflessness of America’s aim.”<sup>39</sup> CPI oversaw censorship, including the voluntary censorship of the U.S. press, and publicity related to various wartime projects and needs. Late in 1917, the National Committee of Patriotic Societies created a Bureau of Cartoons under the leadership of George J. Hecht.<sup>40</sup> In the spring of 1918, the Bureau of Cartoons was incorporated into the CPI. After the war, Creel recollected that its mission had been:

to mobilize and direct the scattered cartoon power of the country for constructive war work . . . Every week the bureau obtained from all the chief departments of the Government the announcements which they particularly wanted to transmit to the public, wrote them up in the Bulletin and sent them out to over 750 cartoonists. As general suggestions and advance news ‘tips’ were published rather than specific subjects for cartoons there was no danger of cartoonists losing their indi-

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viduality or originality. Cartoonists all over the Nation followed out these suggestions. This made for timeliness and unity of cartoon power, which developed into a stimulating and actively constructive force for shaping public opinion and winning the war.”<sup>41</sup>

Given the extent to which government agencies tried to garner the support of cartoonists during the Great War, were they lured into supporting a propaganda campaign? In *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, Harold Lasswell stated that propaganda (which he defined as the “direct use of suggestion”) is one of three primary tools that nations use to fight their enemies (with the other two being military force and economic pressure).<sup>42</sup> He further clarified that “Propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering other conditions in the environment. . . .”<sup>43</sup> If cartoonists were susceptible to the management of their wartime views by CPI, they joined the ranks of the majority of U.S. journalists at the time. Patriotic fervor motivated the response of American cartoonists to the Great War.

Creel denied that the CPI’s efforts were propaganda,<sup>44</sup> and a book reprinting selected World War I cartoons that was compiled and edited by George Hecht (who is described in the Creel Report as the “unofficial” supervisor of the bureau)<sup>45</sup> stated that “Never in history has there been presented so splendid an opportunity for cartoonists to demonstrate their power. . . . The suggestions that were offered [in the weekly *Bulletin*] were to enable cartoonists to be of the greatest possible service.”<sup>46</sup> Hess and Kaplan’s observation about World War I is telling: “For most American cartoonists . . . the coming of the war meant patriotism replaced originality, and their role, as they saw it, became little more than government cheerleader.”<sup>47</sup> Cartoonists joined the majority of people in the United States in the effort to make the world safe for democracy.

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, an Office of Censorship was formed to serve as the domestic monitor of war reports from inside the country, while military censorship oversaw news from the front. Later the Office of War Information served as the clearinghouse for war news and took an active role in promoting government bond drives and warning against such things as “loose lips” that might sink ships. Once again, “the consensus both in and out of government . . . was that a temporary circumscribing of one of the Constitution’s most cherished guaranteed freedoms was a small price to pay for national survival in this moment of peril.”<sup>48</sup>

How the American editorial cartoonist understood his or her role as World War I or II unfolded is further complicated by the fact that the concept of propaganda and the widespread use of editorial cartoons both matured in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within the democratic system, public support of wars must be earned by government

leaders, and newspapers provide one means to accomplish this. George Roeder's comment about World War II is equally applicable to World War I:

Whatever the wisdom of the competing policies of restriction and openness, the war as presented gave many Americans an enlivened sense of purpose. Despite significant contributions to dialogue made by individual effort, free speech traditions, and the diversity of the American population, wartime imagery reinforced those aspects of the culture that encouraged thinking of international relations in simple terms of right and wrong. Because of its consequences, this encouragement of polarized ways of seeing must be calculated as one of the costs of war.<sup>49</sup>

What seemed right and appropriate to a cartoonist in the summer of 1917 or the winter of 1942 may appear in historical hindsight to be jingoistic acceptance of the government's script. American newspaper editorial cartoonists never understood their work to be the systematic manipulation of public opinion that is propaganda. The distinction between patriotism and government-imposed collaboration is clear in the history of American wartime cartoons. No American cartoonist has been forced to draw cartoons he or she did not believe in; and as of this writing, none has been convicted of treason or jailed for anti-war cartoons. It is, however, possible for editorial cartoons to be reprinted by others and used for propagandistic purposes.

### **U.S. Wars in American Editorial Cartoons: A Sampler<sup>50</sup>**

Following the skirmish of 5 March 1770 known as the Boston Massacre, Boston silversmith Paul Revere made an engraving of his version of the event.<sup>51</sup> It was not intended to be a historic record of the fight. In fact, Revere borrowed liberally from a drawing by Henry Pelham to create his work. Revere's hand-colored prints were sold as broadsides to encourage support of the anti-British cause. A poem beneath the print reads in part

Unhappy BOSTON! See thy Sons deplore,  
 Thy hallow'd Walks besmear'd with guiltless Gore.  
 While faithless P—n<sup>52</sup> and his savage Bands,  
 With mur'drous Rancour stretch their bloody Hands;  
 Like fierce Barbarians grinning o'er their Prey,  
 Approve the Carnage and enjoy the Day.

Paul Revere understood that vilifying the Red Coats as bloodthirsty brutes who enjoyed killing might turn people toward the cause he favored. The long artistic tradition of depicting one's enemy as alien to create the perception of the "other" was perpetuated in the Colonies.

William Charles, a Scottish immigrant to the United States, was the most prolific cartoonist during the War of 1812. "A Scene on the Frontier as Practiced by the *Humane* British and their *Worthy* Allies," an etching he made in 1812, shows a British officer receiving a scalp from a Native American while a second Indian nearby scalps a dead soldier.<sup>53</sup> "A Boxing Match, or Another Bloody Nose for John Bull," another etching by Charles, is about Naval losses inflicted on England during the War of 1812. It depicts King George III whose nose is bleeding profusely as he faces James Madison with his fists raised for yet another blow.<sup>54</sup> Despite the fact that the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846–1848 was unpopular (for instance, Congressman Abraham Lincoln was among those who opposed it), Nevins and Weitenkampf have noted that "the few cartoons that the war produced were . . . full of brag and jingoism."<sup>55</sup>

The Civil War was the first major armed conflict to occur after the nation established urban areas and a system of highways and railroads, both of which were critical to the distribution and sale of newspapers and magazines. Artists were dispatched to the front to draw the carnage, and dramatic engravings depicting major battles were published in newspapers and magazines. Most served a reportorial function that showed what had happened at a particular time and place, and the illustrations were sometimes accompanied by maps detailing the topography of the place where the event had occurred. Currier & Ives produced large, colorful lithographs of Civil War events such as "Monitor and Merrimac" and "The Gallant Charge of the 54<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts (Colored) Regiment" that could be hung in the parlor or barbershop. They also made prints about politicians such as "The Capture of an Unprotected Female," which ridiculed the arrest of Confederate President Jefferson Davis as he attempted to escape from Richmond, Virginia, dressed as a woman.<sup>56</sup>

Politicians quickly recognized the power of graphics in the press. Thomas Nast's cartoon opposing appeasement, "Compromise with the South," (Fig. 2) was reprinted and distributed widely by the Republican Party and is credited as being very influential in Lincoln's reelection to a second term. Published in *Harper's Weekly* on 3 September 1864, it depicted an amputee from the Grand Army of the Republic shaking the hand of a victorious Confederate soldier over the grave of "Union Heroes Who Fell in a Useless War." Columbia, weeping with her face hidden, crouches beside the grave with the devastation warfare has caused to both sides shown behind her. The U.S. flag, with Northern triumphs (such as emancipation of the slaves, Lookout Mountain, and Vicksburgh [sic]) inscribed on it, is depicted up-



(Fig. 2) Thomas Nast, "Compromise with the South," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 September 1864, 572

side down in the international signal of distress. The C.S.A. flag behind the Confederate soldier bears reminders of the war's horrors such as slavery, guerrilla warfare, and starving Yankee prisoners. Instead of drawing a cartoon about the virtues of Honest Abe, Nast's cartoon reminded potential voters of war's toll, something each would have experienced by that time either personally or through family and friends. By connecting the South with despicable things, Nast urged his readers to support the justice of the Union's cause and to continue its defense by retaining Lincoln as President.

Not surprisingly, the opposite perspective was taken by Adalbert Volck, the best-known cartoonist of the Confederacy, who cartooned under the pseudonym V. Blada, an anagram of his name. Volck (who, like Nast, was a German immigrant) was a Baltimore dentist who maintained his practice by day and produced etchings at night to be smuggled out of the city for publication in three "series" underwritten by subscribers. Volck also aided the South by carrying dispatches across the Potomac, smuggling medicine, and opening his home as a refuge for Confederate sympathizers.<sup>57</sup> His art reflects his passionate support of his cause and his hatred of the Union. For example, "Jemison's Jayhawkers" depicts a band of Yankee marauders plundering a farmstead as one gallops away with a young woman flung across his horse.<sup>58</sup> The righteousness of the Confederate Army is shown in "Prayer in Jackson's Camp," which portrays Stonewall Jackson's men at worship.<sup>59</sup> "Under the Veil—*Mokana*" (Fig. 3) is one of the more venomous of Volck's



(Fig 3) V. Blada (pseudonym of Adalbert Volck), "Under the Veil, *Mokara*," *The Work of Adalbert Volck, 1828-1912, who chose for his name the anagram V. Blada* (Baltimore: Privately printed by G.M. Anderson, 1970), 7 June 1863, 95.

wartime cartoons. Mokana was an imposter in the seraglio described in Thomas Moore's then-popular poem "Lalla Rookh." Abraham Lincoln is depicted as a harem dancer with Negroid features and curly hair. (Rumors circulated throughout the war that Lincoln had African American ancestry.) The vulture's head on a scimitar symbolizes the bird of prey that feeds on carrion; and the asses' head on the medallion around his neck labeled the dancer a stupid fool. Volck's mockery of Abraham Lincoln as a woman of color with dubious morality would have been understood by his readers as a great insult to the President.

The War of 1898, also known as the Spanish American War, was a turning point in the wartime production of editorial cartoons since the advent of the telegraph and telephone made possible the fast transmission of war news. Such technological changes had a mixed impact upon editorial cartoonists' work. Cartoonists learned about battles and offensives as they occurred and could comment on wartime events as they unfolded, so their work could reach readers quickly and had the urgency of the moment. Drawbacks were that cartoonists no longer had time for reflection about an event before drawing, and that the images in their cartoons had to be simplified greatly since it was a matter of hours rather than days to have printing plates made.

Intense competition among newspapers—especially in New York City—made biting cartoons about the war desirable commodities. For example, Charles Nelan's *New York Herald* cartoon "How Will He Feel When the Pipe Gives Out?" depicts Spain as an opium-smoking dreamer, suggesting that the enemy was a depraved dope-fiend.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, Nelan also drew cautionary cartoons such as "Keep Your Head Cool," in which Uncle Sam, surrounded by hornets bearing special war editions of newspapers, is fanned by judgment and cooled by the ice of common sense.<sup>61</sup>

In the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Fred Morgan ridiculed Spain's King Alphonse as a little prince who is nauseated because he smoked the cigars of "Cuervera," "Manila," and "Santiago" (which had been lit with "Spanish Honor Matches").<sup>62</sup> Luther Bradley of the *Chicago Inter Ocean* took a different approach in his call for national unity in order to face foreign enemies. "Memorial Day, 1898" showed two flag-draped, uniformed veterans standing on a pedestal labeled LOYALTY as they looked toward the ocean. One soldier's canteen is labeled U.S.A. '61 and the other, C.S.A '61.<sup>63</sup> The popular satirical weekly *Life* vigorously opposed the war,<sup>64</sup> and its cartoonists drew many anti-war, anti-imperialist cartoons about the conflict. For example, F.G. Atwood's cover cartoon for the 16 June 1898 issue shows a blindfolded Uncle Sam, with a rifle slung over his shoulder and a pistol in hand, running off a cliff. The caption reads, "Hurrah for Imperialism!" (Fig. 4).



(Fig. 4) F.G. Atwood, "Hurrah for Imperialism," *Life*, 16 June 1898, cover.

Events leading up to Woodrow Wilson's declaration of war in 1917 created a new climate for editorial cartooning in the United States. The Dutch cartoonist Louis Raemakers, whose work appeared in *De Telegraaf* of Amsterdam, is described by Hess and Kaplan as "the most significant cartoonist in the American press" during this period,<sup>65</sup> and his influence was felt in this country long before war was declared. Raemakers was deeply disturbed by what he witnessed as the German armies advanced toward Belgium and France, and his drawings of their disregard for the civilian population were widely reprinted. They circulated throughout the United States because of a contract Raemakers had with William Randolph Hearst,



an admirer of his work. His cartoons were collected and colored for republication in lavishly bound limited edition portfolios titled *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment* and issued in 1916. "Why couldn't she submit? She would have been well paid." (Fig. 5) is typical of Raemaker's work. The question is asked by the older of three German businessmen in top hats observing a bound woman symbolizing Belgium with swords through her heart and groin, a dead child beside her.

Raemaker's images were imitated by American cartoonists with some of the more commonly appropriated metaphors being mutilated or dead civilians; German soldiers as torturers, rapists, or Satan; and innocent non-combatants killed at sea by German mines. Indeed one might argue that the visual vocabulary of war cartoons employed by American editorial cartoonists during both world wars is linked to the influence of Raemakers. Notably, Raemakers did not use different symbols for the enemy than his predecessors. He employed traditional archetypal images of the enemy as a brute, Satan, death. What set his work apart was that news reports and photographs verified his version of what the German military machine had done so that readers had no doubt that Raemakers' cartoons were "true." Civilians could confirm the symbolic horror shown in Raemakers' cartoons with photographs on the front page. The patriotic passion of his work with its graphic depictions of war's horrors surpassed linguistic differences and aroused U.S. sympathies for the Low Countries and France and against the Kaiser and his army.

The war in Europe had widespread support in the American press. Billy Ireland's 3 April 1917 *Columbus Dispatch* cartoon, "When You Find Poison in a Well Quit Drinking the Water" (Fig. 6), exemplifies the condemnation of all things German that was common even before the United States joined the conflict. A man symbolizing the Board of Education is shown ripping the handle labeled "German language in our public schools" off a well of "German poison" as two little children watch nearby. The only cartoonist for a major daily newspaper to oppose U.S. involvement in Europe consistently was Luther Bradley, who died shortly before the declaration of war in April 1917. "The Final Answer," published in the *Chicago Daily News* on 4 January 1917 five days before his death, shows the burly, grotesque figure of War sharpening the saber of "Renewed Effort" as his boots rest on shredded peace proposals.<sup>66</sup>

At the time, a possible war with Mexico was just as worrisome to many Americans as the conflict in Europe. American troops, including much of the Ohio National Guard, had been sent to pursue Mexican forces that raided into New Mexico in March of 1916, bringing the possibility of war much closer to home. Edwina Dumm's *Columbus Monitor* cartoon of 10 January 1917, "Reform Begins at Home," shows President Wilson with children fighting on both sides of a fence. With child versions of Carranza



**"WHY COULDN'T SHE SUBMIT? SHE WOULD  
HAVE BEEN WELL PAID,"**

(Fig. 5) Louis Raemakers, "Why Couldn't She Submit? She Would Have Been Well Paid," 1916, *Raemakers Cartoons* (London and New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 191-?), 20.



(Fig. 6) Billy Ireland, "When You Find Poison in a Well Quit Drinking the Water," *Columbus Dispatch*, 4 April 1917. Milton Caniff Collection, The Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library (MAC P105 19).

and Villa skirmishing behind him in his back yard, Wilson faces little boy versions of Teutons and Allies outside the fence to remark, "Don't You Know It's Wicked to Fight—Let Us Have Peace!" Dumm's visual metaphor of naughty children is less strident than most of the war imagery related to Europe, but it demeans the nations involved nonetheless.

The Socialist magazine *The Masses* is a well-known source of anti-war cartoons related to the war in Europe, despite the fact that its Socialist and Bolshevik sympathies placed it outside the mainstream and its circulation as estimated by its editor Max Eastman was an average of only 14,000 copies.<sup>67</sup> One of the more famous anti-war cartoons from *The Masses* is Robert Minor's depiction of a burly, headless recruit in "Army Medical Examiner: 'At last a perfect soldier.'" in the July 1916 issue. *The Masses* ceased publica-

tion in 1917 after being suppressed by the government for alleged violations of the Espionage Act. Washington was so fearful of opposing viewpoints that it muzzled those who espoused them by preventing the magazine to reach subscribers through the mail. Opposition to the Great War was a minority perspective.

War cartoons produced between 1914 and 1918 are filled with images of good and evil. Mainstream American cartoonists were unanimous in their conviction that justice and right were on the side of the United States, and that Germany had been led by the Kaiser into committing horrible atrocities to gain territory, power, and wealth. In an echo of Raemaker's work, "Indemnity" by Boardman Robinson of the *New York Tribune* depicts the Kaiser removing a ring from the finger of slain woman labeled Belgium.<sup>68</sup> "The Python" by Ding Darling of the *Des Moines Register* shows an enormous snake labeled "German Military Power" devouring the world.<sup>69</sup> Numerous cartoonists showed their version of "the Hun," often wearing a Wagnerian-style horned helmet, as a brutal occupation force that terrorized Europe. "The Breath of the Hun" (Fig. 7), one of W. A. Rogers' cartoons from the *New York World*, uses a different stereotype, that of the portly, mustached German, to represent the "enemy alien menace" lurking above the city. Liberty Loan drives were a major topic of cartoons on the Home Front. For example, Oscar Cesare of the *New York Evening Post* drew Uncle Sam in a battlefield offering handcuffs labeled "Prussia" in one hand and a Liberty Bond in the other. The cartoon is captioned "Bonds—Which?"<sup>70</sup>

Although some cartoonists supported isolationism during the thirties, that ended shortly after Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war by the United States. The patriotic fervor of World War I continued in editorial cartoons drawn during World War II. Germany was once again understood by Americans as the aggressor, but the imagery changed. Instead of generalizations against German soldiers as "the Hun" as was done in the First World War, many American cartoonists targeted Hitler and his leadership circle, using both derision and vilification in their work. Daniel Fitzpatrick drew a demonic, pitchfork-wielding Hitler, seated on a ghostly throne in Hades with Mussolini at his feet as treaties cover the ground in, "Europe Is Also Paved with Good Intentions" (Fig. 8). In yet another echo of Raemakers, Edmund Duffy showed a dead flower-seller on a street lined with burning buildings in "Paris in the Spring" (Fig. 9). With a reference to his previous occupation, Hitler is ridiculed as a clumsy tradesman whose efforts to hang swastika-covered wallpaper is thwarted by U.S. bombers in "Paper Hanger's Jitters" (Fig. 10) by the *Chicago Tribune's* Carey Orr.

The brunt of the cartoonists' racial stereotypes during World War II was directed toward the Japanese, confirming John Dower's analysis that the Pacific Theater was the site of a race war. Cartoons such as Elmer Messner's ape labeled "Japanese Barbarism" in "The Things We Face" is



The breath of the Hun

(Fig. 7) W.A. Roger, "The Breath of the Hun," *Cartoons Magazine* 14(1) (July 1918): 40.



**EUROPE IS ALSO PAVED WITH GOOD INTENTIONS**

(Fig. 8) Daniel Fitzpatrick, "Europe is Also Paved with Good Intentions," 9 October 1938, Cartoons by Fitzpatrick (St. Louis: St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1947), 78. Reprinted with permission of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 2003.



(Fig. 9) Edmond Duffy, "Paris in the Spring," Baltimore Sun, 9 June 1940. The Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library clipping file "Duffy, Edmond." © 1940 The Baltimore Sun. Used with permission.

typical.<sup>71</sup> Reg Manning of the *Arizona Republic* created a series of editorial cartoons featuring Itchy Itchy and his assistant, Twitchy, buck-toothed Japanese soldiers who carried hari-kiri swords and encouraged various Japanese leaders to use them. Manning's Itchy and Twitchy cartoons were so popular that they were collected and reprinted as a book.<sup>72</sup>

Once again during World War II, glorification of the American cause was a common theme, as exemplified by "The Man and the Hour Meet" by Joseph Parrish of the *Chicago Tribune*, which shows General Douglas MacArthur saluting with the ghosts of George Washington, Robert E. Lee, and Ulysses Grant in the background.<sup>73</sup> More than eighty years after the Civil War, this echo of the need for national unity is an interesting insight into the country's collective memory of the war that threatened its existence.

A different approach to war cartoons earned Bill Mauldin the wrath of General George Patton for undermining the morale of the army.<sup>74</sup> Willie and Joe, Mauldin's dogface soldiers, were ordinary G.I.s who editorialized about their experiences. Readers worldwide were touched by Mauldin's depiction of the bleak reality of wartime and the humanity with which Willie and Joe faced war. Mauldin won the 1945 Pulitzer Prize for his ironic cartoon "Fresh, spirited American troops, flushed with victory, are bringing in

PAPER HANGER'S JITTERS



(Fig. 10) Carey Orr, "Paper Hanger's Jitters," 6 July 1942, War Cartoons by McCutcheon, Orr, Parrish [and] Somdal. Reprinted from the Chicago Tribune, December 8, 1941-September 28, 1942 (Chicago: Chicago Tribune, 1942), 128. Reprinted with permission Tribune Media Services.



thousands of hungry, ragged, battle-weary prisoners. (News Item),” which showed Willie—exhausted, dirty, and wet—slogging with prisoners through a village.<sup>75</sup> The fact that Mauldin’s work was published in *Stars and Stripes*, a military publication (as well as being reprinted in civilian papers) makes it even more remarkable as a turning point in the content of mainstream American war cartoons. Mauldin editorializes about ordinary soldiers as they do their duty. His patriotism is unquestionable, but his cartoons do not glorify war or dehumanize the enemy. Far from stirring up wrath or hatred, the gentle, ironic humor of these cartoons humanized battle and personalized the experience of war, and they ultimately had the effect of building support for the war, despite Patton’s fears.

African American newspapers mounted the Double V campaign during World War II in which they called for a double victory at home and abroad: overseas the victory would be over fascist enemies and at home, it would be triumph over racial discrimination. Black cartoonists joined the Double V effort. In “Joining the Pack” published in the 4 July 1942 *Chicago Defender*, Jay Jackson drew Uncle Sam defending himself against a pack of wolves labeled “Nazis,” “Fascists,” and “Japan” while a bloodhound named “Georgia” bites his leg. A placard behind the bloodhound reads, “Georgia schools closed to Negro war class workers.”

Cartoons published from the late summer of 1914 to the surrender of Japan in 1945 support Eric Hobsbawm’s thesis that the period was a “Thirty-One Years’ War,”<sup>76</sup> not two separate conflicts. During the latter half of the twentieth century, patriotic support of war by American cartoonists became more complex as the protocol of formally declaring war was discarded and “the enemy” became more difficult to isolate and characterize. The end of the Thirty-One Years War and the beginning of the Cold War changed public understanding of what being at war meant. The rules of military engagement were abandoned. It became much more difficult to identify and characterize who the enemy was, and the public became less unified in support of American military actions. During the 1960s the use of the word “war” took on new meaning. President Johnson declared War on Poverty; and the War on Drugs and the War on Terrorism followed. Panama and Grenada were invaded by U.S. soldiers, but the United States were never “at war” with them. Cartoonists were as divided in their support or opposition to these military operations as the general population was. But those who did support the military continued to use the same imagery that their predecessors had in the first half of the twentieth century.

Jack Knox’s cartoon “Steady!” typifies the confusion in public opinion as the Korean Conflict heated up.<sup>77</sup> A muscular Uncle Sam wants to settle the fight and is restrained only by the strong arm of President Eisenhower’s reasoned approach. Later in the 1950s, events in Indochina made things

more confusing, as Fred Q. Seibel of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* shows in "Another Hole in the Dyke." Uncle Sam plugs the hole of Korea just as Communist aggression leaks through another hole labeled "Indochina."<sup>78</sup>

Editorial cartoons about the Cold War predictably included many metaphors of snow and ice. Herblock took a different approach and created a series of cartoons about the threat of atomic war in which he used an enormous, skuzzy-looking bomb character with a five o'clock shadow and a Roman helmet, which always, of course, symbolized Mars, the god of war. His 3 September 1954 *Washington Post* cartoon features a small Uncle Sam standing on the globe under a tiny "Civil Defense" umbrella as The Bomb waves and facetiously says, "It Looks Darling."

Ray Osrin's 24 December 1964 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* cartoon "Losing Face" (Fig. 11) is a succinct summary of American concern about the nation's involvement in Vietnam. This was not a heroic war that the United States was winning. Uncle Sam has shamefully lost half of his face to Vietnam. Cartoonists, like all Americans, were affected by societal changes and no longer demonstrated the patriotic unity that Americans shared during the two world wars. As Vietnam wore on, the fact that editorial cartoonists both influenced and reflected public opinion in their work is apparent. Although many cartoonists such as Osrin supported the war, a growing number began to question it. Hugh Haynie's 5 September 1964 cartoon in the *Louisville Courier Journal* showed Lyndon Johnson talking on the phone as he looked at the map of Southeast Asia and said, "May I speak to our staunch, loyal ally, the head of the South Vietnamese government— whoever it is today."<sup>79</sup> David Levine translated Johnson's hospital display of his incision from gall bladder surgery to a metaphor for the Vietnamese war by drawing the scar shaped as Vietnam.<sup>80</sup> Tony Auth depicted two G.I.s in foxhole with artillery fire above their helmets with the caption "I've gotta stop smoking grass. It makes me paranoid."<sup>81</sup> Following Mauldin's lead, the increased use of humor and irony in wartime cartoons is interesting to note.<sup>82</sup> Editorial cartoonists no longer supported the military campaigns in the virtually unanimous fashion of the Thirty-One Years War, and neither did the American public.

The rising number of terrorist acts in the early 1970s that took war outside the battlefield prompted Pat Oliphant to draw the United Nations as "Pussycats" frightened of a very large terrorist rat.<sup>83</sup> With the Iran hostages and Ayatollah Kohmeini in the early 1980s, a number of cartoonists used animal or demonic images in their work such as Eugene Payne's 14 March 1984 *Charlotte Observer* cartoon "The Religious Leader" that showed horns growing on the Ayatollah's turban.

Traditional wartime imagery where the enemy was derided and U.S. leaders glorified was used by some cartoonists during Operation Desert Storm, but there were also cartoonists who raised concerns about this war.



(Fig. 11) Ray Osrin, "Losing Face," 24 December 1964. Ray Osrin Collection, The Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library (AC L1 1). Reprinted with permission of Stephanie Osrin.

Steve Greenberg pictured George Bush standing beside an open grave, holding a wheel with choices such as “jobs,” “oil,” and “ending the Bush wimp image,” as he tries to decide how to fill in a blank in the tombstone’s inscription “Died For \_\_\_\_\_.” A cemetery behind the President contains grave-stones from previous wars with more heroic motivations (Fig. 12). Chuck Ayers criticized commercialism related to Operation Desert Storm in “War is \$ell!” where a shopkeeper is shown profiting from the sale of yellow ribbons, bumper stickers, and other patriotic trinkets.<sup>84</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of the sudden tragedy of 11 September 2001, it is not surprising that cartoonists used traditional symbols such as the Statue of Liberty and the American eagle to express their patriotism, especially since the identity of the perpetrators was murky. It is also not surprising that archetypal war imagery of demonizing the attackers and glorifying American leaders soon appeared in their work. For example, numerous cartoons were drawn that commented graphically on the increase in George W. Bush’s stature as he led the nation after 9/11. As events unfolded during the invasion of Afghanistan and Operation Enduring Freedom, cartoonists who supported these military actions again used traditional images of the enemy—this time personified by Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein—as madmen, rats, death, and other visual metaphors that made it clear that they were evil and not like us. Anti-war cartoons may also contain these archetypes, but they will be adapted in such a way that U.S. policy is criticized instead of supported. The opponent is always bad, and our side is always good, regardless of whether a cartoonist is pro- or anti-war. Cartoonists continue to use historical archetypes in war cartoons because these devices effectively communicate complex ideas to readers.

## Conclusion

For more than two centuries, American editorial cartoonists have used three core approaches to express their opinions about the wars their country has fought: archetypes of the other that demean the enemy (such as death, non- or sub-human creatures, and criminals); those that ridicule and deride the enemy (such as clowns and children); and those that glorify the nation’s leadership and military. Patriotism was (and is) a powerful motivation for American editorial cartoonists, and they tapped into historical archetypes to express it in their cartoons supporting war. Those opposed to U.S. involvement in a conflict or those who urged restraint have used similar visual metaphors, but for a different purpose.

Editorial cartoons are not intended to tell why an event happened. As historical evidence, the editorial cartoons produced during a particular war



(Fig. 12) Steve Greenberg, "Died for \_\_\_\_\_," Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1992), 47. Reprinted with permission of Steve Greenberg, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 1990.

tell what the individual cartoonist and the community in which he or she worked were thinking, what they cared about.

All nations go to war believing that theirs is the just cause. This makes the study of wartime cartoons particularly revealing since, as Gombrich commented, "One of the things the study of cartoons may reveal with greater clarity is the role and power of the mythological imagination in our political thought and decisions."<sup>85</sup> Wartime editorial cartoons document a nation's underlying assumptions about the truth of the cause that justifies war and sustains them during the fighting—and, in the United States, they also reflect the doubts and concerns of the opponents of war.

## Endnotes

1 The author is indebted to Ed Stein for the invitation to speak on this subject at the 2002 meeting of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists, which prompted her long interest in the topic to be focused into research.

2 As is noted elsewhere in this paper, the United States has conducted several non-military wars such as the War on Poverty and the War on Drugs. Similar visual metaphors may be found in editorial cartoons on these subjects where slumlords and drug dealers are depicted as monsters, rodents, or other non-or sub-human forms.

3 Michael A. DeSousa, "Symbolic Action and Pretended Insight: The Ayatollah Kohmeini in U.S. Editorial Cartoons," in *The Rhetoric of Graphic Arts: A Critical Casebook* (Dubuque IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1984, 1991), 239.

4 Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 1.

5 *Ibid.*, 143.

6 Elsa Mohn and Maxwell McCombs, "Who Reads Us and Why," *The Masthead* (Winter 1981), 27.

7 William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933), 1:10. The engraving is reprinted on page 9.

8 Thomas Leonard, *The Power of the Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 99.

9 Frank Weitenkampf, *Political Caricature in the United States in Separately Published Cartoons: An Annotated List* (New York: New York Public Library, 1953).

10 Joseph Campbell, *Yellow Journalism: Puncturing the Myths, Defining the Legacies* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2001), 10.

11 Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as Historical Source," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4:1 (Summer 1973), 81.

12 *Ibid.*, 86.

13 James D. Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Eulenberg Affair," *Studies in Visual Communication* 9:2 (Spring 1983), 23.

14 Michael A. Desousa and Martin J. Medhurst, "Political Cartoons and American Culture: Significant Symbols of Campaign 1980," *Studies in Visual Communication* 8:1 (Winter 1982), 85.

15 Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, *A Century of Political Cartoons: Caricature in the United States from 1800 to 1900* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 9-10.

16 E-mail to the author, 16 September 2003.

17 Victor Alba, "The Mexican Cartoon and the Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9:2 (January 1967), 121-136.

18 W.A. Coupe, "The German Cartoon and the Revolution of 1848," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9:2 (January 1967), 137-167.

19 Virginia M. Bouvier, "Imaging a Nation: U.S. Political Cartoons and the War of 1898" in *Whose War: the War of 1898 and the Battles to Define the Nation* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2001), 91.

20 Jane E. Elliott, "Many a Truth Is Spoken in Jest," in *Some Did It for Civilisation, Some Did It for Their Country: A Revised View of the Boxer War* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002), 284-379.

21 *Ibid.*, 360.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Lawrence A. Streicher, "On a Theory of Political Caricature," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9:4 (July 1967) 431.

24 Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (East Brunswick NJ: Associated University Presses, 1981), 177.

25 Streicher, 438.

26 Reprinted in Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art* (New York: MacMillan, 1968), 155.

27 Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy*, (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), 16-88.

28 *Ibid.*, 10-14.

29 A discussion of this history is beyond the scope of this article.

30 John Dower, *War Without Mercy* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 10.

31 Martin J. Medhurst and Michael A. Desousa, "Political Cartoons as Rhetorical Form: A Taxonomy of Graphic Discourse," *Communication Monographs* 48:3 (September 1981), 197-236.

32 Somers studied a sample of World War II cartoons to determine which symbols and metaphors were commonly used and found that the cartoons were "hackneyed and clichéd" propaganda, a conclusion this author disagrees with. See Paul P. Somers, Jr., "'Right in the Fuhrer's Face': American Editorial Cartoons of the World War II Period," *American Journalism* 13:3 (Summer 1996), 333-353.

33 John J. Appel, "Ethnicity in Cartoon Art" in *Cartoons and Ethnicity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Libraries, 1992), 27.

34 E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 344.

35 Medhurst and Desousa, "Political Cartoons," 202.

36 Draper Hill, "Stereotyping the Irish" in *Pat-Riots to Patriots: American Irish in Caricature and Comic Art* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1990), 6.

37 Much remains to be done to document and understand the role of editorial cartoons as opinion makers. As previously mentioned, Mohn and McCombs found that they were the most frequently read component of editorial pages. Buell and Maus [in "Is the Pen Mightier Than the Word? Editorial Cartoons and the 1988 Presidential Nominating Politics," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 21:4 (Fall 1988), 847-858.] note that cartoonists are free to be much more critical than their writer counterparts on the editorial page, but Brinkman [in "Do Editorial Cartoons and Editorials Change Opinions?" *Journalism Quarterly* 45:4 (Winter 1968, 724-726.)] found that editorial cartoons were most effective when paired with a text editorial that made the same point. Asher and Sargent noted "significant shifts of attitude" by their subjects [in "Shifts in Attitude Caused by Cartoon Caricatures," *Journal of General Psychology* 24 (1941), 452.], but in a later study Carl [in "Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers," *Journalism Quarterly* 45:3 (Autumn 1968), 533-535.] found that some readers did not find editorial cartoons important or relevant.

38 Robert Justin Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth Century France* (Kent OH: Kent State University Press, 189), 258.

39 U.S. Committee on Public Information, *The Creel Report* (1920; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 1.

40 Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 140.

41 *Creel Report*, 75-76.

42 Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.: 1927), 9.

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Creel Report*, 1.

45 *Ibid.*, 78.

46 George Joseph Hecht, *The War in Cartoons* (New York: Dutton, 1919), 2, 6.

47 Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 140.

48 Frederick Voss, *Reporting the War: The Journalistic Coverage of World War II* (Washington DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1994), 20.

49 George H. Roeder, Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience During World War II* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 104.

50 The discussion of selected editorial cartoons that follows is not exhaustive or comprehensive. Instead it is an attempt to provide selected examples of editorial cartoons that are typical for a given war.

- 51 Reprinted in Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 54.
- 52 Captain Thomas Preston was the commanding officer of the British garrison.
- 53 Reprinted in Bernard F. Reilly, Jr., *American Political Prints 1766-1876* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1991), 13.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 55 Nevins and Weitenkamp, *A Century of Political Cartoons*, 64.
- 56 Currier & Ives work has been reprinted widely. See, for example, *Currier & Ives Chronicles of America* compiled by John Lowell Pratt (New York: Promontory Press, 1981, c. 1968).
- 57 George McCullough Anderson, *The Work of Adalbert Johann Volck* (Baltimore: George M. Anderson, 1970), ix.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 46-47.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 54-55.
- 60 Reprinted in *Cartoons of the War with Spain* (Chicago: Belford, Middlebrook & Co: 1898), not paged.
- 61 *Ibid.*
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 John Flautz, *Life: The Gentle Satirist* (Bowling Green OH: Popular Press, 1972), 12.
- 65 Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 137. This positive view of Raemaker's work and influence is not shared universally. Ross, for example, describes it as "obscene." See *Propaganda for War*, 42-44.
- 66 Reprinted in Luther Bradley, *Cartoons by Bradley* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1917), 104.
- 67 Frederick John Hoffman, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 29.
- 68 Reprinted in Boardman Robinson, *Cartoons on the War* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1915), 25.
- 69 Reprinted in Jay N. Darling, *Aces and Kings: Cartoons from the Des Moines Register* (Des Moines IA: Register & Tribune, 1918), not paged.
- 70 Reprinted in Hecht, *War in Cartoons*, 151.
- 71 Reprinted in Elmer R. Messner, *War in Cartoons* (Rochester NY: Rochester Times-Union, 1946), not paged.
- 72 Reg Manning, *Little Itchy Itchy, and Other Cartoons* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944).
- 73 Reprinted in *War Cartoons*, 42.
- 74 Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 22.
- 75 Reprinted in Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 22.
- 76 E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 52.
- 77 Jack Knox Collection, The Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library. AC S1 351
- 78 Reprinted in Nancy King, *A Cartoon History of United States Foreign Policy from 1945 to the Present* (New York: Pharos Books, 1991), 72.
- 79 Reprinted in Hugh Haynie, *Hugh Haynie: Perspective* (Louisville KY: Courier-Journal, 1974), 101.
- 80 Reprinted in Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, 166.
- 81 Reprinted in *The Gang of Eight* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985), 5.
- 82 In the early 1980s, William A. Henry, III lamented the development of joke-driven editorial cartoons in "The Sit-Down Comics" and decried the generation of "MacNelly clones"



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whose work lacked a sense of "moral duty." See *Washington Journalism Review* 3:8 (October 1981), 22-28.

83 Reprinted in Pat Oliphant, *Four More Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 91.

84 Reprinted in *Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year: 1992* (Gretna LA: Pelican, 1992), 53.

85 E.H. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, 1985), 129.

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