THE POLITICAL CARTOON IN AMERICA AND EUROPE

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PREFACE.

The political cartoon has been one of the most interesting developments in the history of journalism and had received less notice perhaps than any other. It is a hybrid offspring of caricature and satire, with the blood of the newspaper and the editorial infused in it. It is mysterious in that there seems never to have been a definite impulse or serious impetus from outside the tiny circle of cartoonists and yet it grew. It is fascinating because of the inexplicable quality of its appeal and its strange yet effective devices used to convey opinion.

The initial impulse and plan of this study was to explore the apparently unexplored field and to endeavor to present some concrete facts in the history and function of the cartoon. At first I was struck with the diffused condition of the subject. It seemingly could not be segregated and its abstract qualities were a hindrance. My primary problem was to determine whether the cartoon was a continuous social force. I had to find then how it could have been an influence when in such an unorganized, feeble condition. It was necessary to try to discover whether it had been a developing institution or merely a sporadic outburst from one period to another and from one
individual to another.

Few actual studies of the cartoon itself have been made. Those books available were written almost entirely from the point of view of the historian rather than that of the cartoonist. Men have endeavored to trace history and politics by means of the cartoon. They have used the cartoon as an essential factor in demonstrating the trends of the times and yet they have had little to say of it as a separate institution. There has been little mention of its place in the social development of the United States. The fact seems to have been overlooked that since the cartoon is used constantly by historians and politicians it must have some influence in its own right.

I approached the subject from the point of view of a curious spectator trying to discover why this accepted feature of our newspapers should receive so little study from the historians and what if any was the purpose in continuing the use of it.

I reached the conclusion that although the cartoon, as an institution, seems to form a whole without organization, its security lies in its human appeal. It has been an influential force from the beginning. It must have been for its reactions still resound in our history books. However, because of its disunited character the influence was not apparently forceful
until it was taken under the guidance of a more responsible institution, first that of Currier and Ives, Lithograph Company, and later the weekly journals and daily newspapers. The increased influence was brought about by the greater and more extensive circulation that the newspaper was able to offer.

I discovered that its powers of prophecy and interpretation was unique in their type of influence and insight. I have found that during times of war and stress the cartoon has shown a marked increase and interest. I have discovered that the American political cartoon was based on the European product but has individual characteristics which have come directly from the spirit and demands of the American people. I have endeavored to present my study and conclusions as lucidly as possible in order to justify the existence of the cartoon. I have merely skimmed the surface, perhaps have touched a vital point here or there, but have not in reality produced a complete study. There remains a vast unexplored field of the position of the political cartoon in the development of our country. I have, nevertheless, approached the subject from a new angle and have attempted by my probing to present an organized study of the cartoon as an individual, as a character, and as a child of many an influence and fantastic idea.
In making a study of the cartoon I found myself in a confusion of closely related types within the general subject. There are the social and political cartoons; there were those which came singly and those executed in series of three or four drawings; there were the comic pages and the comic strips, both plain and colored. There are myriads of smaller groups, which are merely pictorial excuses for the brief homilies below. Since it is obviously impossible to make order out of this confusing mass of material, I have segregated the political cartoon. I have dealt with it exclusively and confined the study to the history and development of the pictorial editorial.

In dealing with the political cartoon it must be remembered that the cartoon, like the editorial, is nothing more than a fleeting interpretation or record of current events. The cartoon cannot be placed in the general classification of art. That is, the actual construction of the cartoon has not for its purpose artistic effect. There are, of course, exceptions to this, such as the work of Louis Raemakers, the Dutch artist of World War fame, whose drawings are primarily artistic. But the ordinary daily grind of cartoons is not what is commonly labelled art.

To be sure, it is an art to interpret ideas simply enough for the average reader to grasp them at a glance.
It is an art to understand human nature sufficiently to put it into a few lines and penmarks as realistically as some cartoonists do. But from the point of view of line, depth, balance, perspective and detail the cartoon does not fall in the general classification of art. It forms a unique class in which the skill is in presenting the idea effectively, rather than in the actual construction of the picture. It is a hybrid, crude art which has taken its place in the minds of the reading public.

Neither, in my opinion, should it be treated merely as an authoritative record of political and social history. Those early American cartoons were not drawn for the purpose of furnishing historical data in years to come. They were created for the moment at hand, when it was necessary to awaken public opinion, to stir it and lead it. Their importance is not in the fact that they picture the exact event that occurred on an exact date, but that they show the reactions of the public and interpret the policies and ideas of the public leaders. It is in this character, as a leader and reflector of public opinion, that the political cartoon is to be seen as an offspring of journalism. The cartoonist and the editorial writer have a common purpose; the former uses pictures as his tools, while the latter uses words.
Both endeavor to compress into the smallest amount of space the greatest amount of interpretation of the news. Both present the news colored by their own opinions and those of public characters, and both are striving to mold public opinion and lead it their own way.

Since the cartoonist forms a part of the huge body of newspaper practice, which is characterized by its speed in some respects its efficiency, his success also depends largely upon his ability to seize on the burning question of the hour and interpret it. He must be able to anticipate the future, and he needs the mind of a seer to delve into the intricacies of politics and the mystery of international intrigues. In addition to interpreting events for the reader, it has also been the cartoonist's self-imposed duty, like that of the editorial writer, to lead opinion and wage war where war is needed.

The best cartoon theoretically, then, is the one which not only reflects public opinion, but also offers it guidance.

My problem in this study has been first, to determine whether the cartoon has functioned as an influential leader of public opinion, second, to undertake a definite conclusion as to whether it has reflected the true spirit of the times, and third, to analyze its
realized and unrealized possibilities. As a foundation of this study a summary outline of the history of the American political cartoon, from the time it came to life through the pen of Benjamin Franklin and William Charles up the present time, is included. In addition and in order to clarify matters, I have added a condensed study of the important trends in the cartoon history of Europe. This is necessary as a basis for the study of the American cartoon. Included in the history is a study of the evolution of the technique.

In characterizing the political cartoon I should say that it is a record of the feelings and emotions of the people, as distinguished from exact historical reference. Its purpose is to sum up the news story, or the political issue in such simple terms that a child can understand by merely glancing at it; to use the art of persuasion and argumentation with the utmost finesse in order to influence public opinion; to choose from all the vast numbers of irrelevant facts laid before the reading public the bare outline and the essential details, and to present them in such clear, precise form that few words are necessary. The cartoon is designed for universal appeal, and can be read and understood by the man in the street quite as well as by the college professor.

We cannot judge the cartoon then with an artist's
eye primarily, but must look at it from the psychologist's and the sociologist's point of view. For it is a human document propounding ideas and shaping opinion. The detail is unimportant and often irrelevant, but the main idea is always staring the reader in the face with no room for doubt as to the meaning.
Chapter I.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
AMERICAN POLITICAL CARTOON.

It is impossible to determine exactly when the characteristic American political cartoon sprang up. Maurice and Cooper, in The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature, give 1832, during the campaign and re-election of Andrew Jackson, as the time of the first appearance of distinctive American characteristics in cartooning; while Joseph B. Bishop, in Our Political Drama, holds it was not until 1850 "that a sufficient advance had been made to justify the assertion that the foundation of a school of American political caricature had been laid". It is safe to say that the first half of the nineteenth century the American cartoon was in an embryonic stage. It was crude and roughly drawn. It exhibited no originality of design and little if any originality of thought, and was poorly executed.

It is necessary first, in any study of it, to go back to the earliest beginnings of the art. The first period let us say, starting with earliest colonial attempts at caricature and extending to about 1840, was purely one of personal art. The caricature was a thing of the

1. P. 143.
JOIN or DIE

A Common Newspaper Heading in 1754; revised by Franklin in May, 1754, at the Beginning of the French War.
moment, circulated by the artist on handbills. Since it was not united with any periodical it was doomed to early death, and today we have few remaining examples of the earliest American attempts at cartooning.

We know that Benjamin Franklin used pictorial satire a great deal in his ridicule of customs and people. It was Franklin who infused the element of burlesque into American journalism. It was said of him that he could not even advertise a stolen prayer book without inserting a joke to give the advertisement wings. In 1791 James Franklin, Benjamin's elder brother, started the Courant in Boston as the "first sensational newspaper in America". Benjamin soon began writing for it and lampooning everything he thought ridiculous. When he was but a boy his keen sense of humor and biting satire were sufficient to bring down upon him the wrath of the townspeople. Franklin had a modern mind and recognized the folly and absurdity of many of the old New England customs.

In 1754, at the beginning of the French War, Franklin drew the famous Join or Die Snake. It was drawn to arouse a feeling of protection among the colonies, against the Indians. In 1776 the same illustration was adopted as an instigator to patriotism during the Revolution. This device of the split serpent has survived and has been

2. Ibid. P. 302.
AN AMERICAN CARTOON OF THE WAR OF 1812.
used at intervals through the nineteenth century.
Franklin commemorated the Boston Massacre by drawing a
row of coffins on which were inscribed the initials of
the four men who were killed.

During these days we also find that Paul Revere,
famous for his midnight ride, drew some caricatures.
William Charles, whose cartoons at the time of the War of
1812 have been partially preserved, drew some during the
latter part of the eighteenth century. But little of the
work of this period remains today.

Washington's inauguration stimulated the artists to
some rather brutal satire, and the removal of the capital
from New York to Philadelphia brought forth one of the
most famous cartoons of the period. Senator Robert Morris,
a wealthy landowner in Philadelphia, was reputed to have
brought about the passage of the act authorizing the change.
In the cartoon, he is shown carrying Federal Hall away on
his shoulders, with the members of both houses hanging out
the windows and commenting upon the method used in remov-
ing the house. On a roof in the distance is shown the
devil beckoning to Morris and shouting "This way, Bobby,"
to him.

Another characteristic example of the cartoons of
this period is one showing the fight between Matthew Lyon
and Roger Griswold on the floor of the House of Represen-
tatives in February, 1798. Griswold, the Federalist, had
made a derogatory remark concerning Lyon, an ardent Republican, whereupon Lyon spat in Griswold's face. The moment depicted by the artist shows Lyon with tongs in his hand and Griswold with a large club, hitting each other over the heads and kicking their feet in the air, while the other members of the House sit around the table, some trying to interfere while others appear to enjoy the spectacle. The work is crudely done and the features of the men are coarsely distorted. This, however, is quite typical of the colonial period in cartooning.

In the Jeffersonian period there was little that was notable in the way of pictorial satire. No shining lights emerged; no one person was outstanding, and those who did draw were so mediocre that their work did not survive them. But in 1811 Gilbert Stuart conceived the Gerrymander, which has lived with the history of the period. He was inspired by the democratic leaders in Massachusetts, who had absurdly redistricted the state in order to secure the election of two senators. Governor Gerry failed to veto the bill, as he was expected to do, and thus his name has been linked with the incident. Stuart saw the map of the district and was immediately impressed with its odd shape. By the use of his imagination and the distortion of a few lines he constructed an animal from the new districts. He named it the Gerrymander, combining the governor's name with that of the salamander,
Bruin became Mediator or Neocration for Peace.

Russia as Mediator between the United States and Great Britain.

From the collection of the New York Public Library.

A William Charles Cartoon of the War of 1812.
which his newly created animal resembled.

During the War of 1812 William Charles produced a few cartoons, which, though wretchedly drawn and uncouth looking, are interesting from the fact that Charles is the first man to make frequent use of symbolism in cartooning.

From 1812 until Andrew Jackson's first campaign in 1828 the use of the cartoon in the United States was practically abandoned. At any rate we have no survivors of this period outstanding enough to be worth mention.

But the opponents of Andrew Jackson found themselves in great need of a strong, new weapon to fight the popular hero. The answer to this was a flood of cartoons, which were crude lithographs printed on sheets of paper and either nailed on walls and fences or passed from hand to hand. This is the first example of the continued use of the cartoon for political purposes, and there is room for doubt as to whether the cartoonist, even at this time, realized the editorial possibilities of his art. He pictured public characters in ludicrous positions and ridiculed them outrageously; but his purpose was primarily self-expression rather than editorial guidance.

The presidential steeplechase was a common form employed in the presidential campaigns. Those running for office were pictured on donkeys, on horses, and on each other's shoulders. There was frequent use of the
device of putting a man's head on the body of an animal, or distorting the figure in other ways. All were running or riding frantically, each apparently trying to reach the goal first. These drawings were cluttered with detail, with many figures, and with loops enclosing the words issuing from each person's mouth.

This type of cartooning was merely a copy of the English cartoonists, James Gillray and John Doyle. There was nothing original about it. Its only virtue lay in the facts that the cartoon was easily understood by those who were unable to read or to buy papers and that it was gradually working toward something new and better, something characteristically American, expressing the American spirit, however, difficult that may be to define, and creating a place for itself in the daily papers which were to come.

In 1848 Currier and Ives, in New York City, began publishing a series of lithographs which mark a period in the growth of American cartooning. Taken out of the

1. Lithography--The art of producing printed matter from a flat lithographic stone on which a drawing had been made in a soap ink. When the drawing is made with ink and all other parts of the surface are wetted with water, the porous surface absorbs both the moisture and the fatty compound. A roller covered with resinous ink then passed over the stone will ink only those portions containing the design
hands of the artist himself and distributed by a firm such as this, the cartoon gained prestige and influence. But the drawings produced were still the same crude things of the 1820's. The figures were stiff and unnatural; the faces, assumed to be actual likenesses rather than caricatures, had the woodenness of masks. No expression was given to the pictures, and they always contained many quotations and legends in explanation. These, as in the earlier cartoons, were enclosed in huge loops which usually filled the entire picture. The effect was most incongruous. There was nothing dignified or impressive about these prints, but they remained and improved, and it is from the first old lithographs circulated about the country by hand that we trace the lineage of the American political cartoon.

The period dating from 1860 in Abraham Lincoln's first campaign and through the Civil War, is not marked by any change in the technique or design of the lithographs. It is marked, however, by an increase in output. During those frantic days of the antagonism of the Civil War the cartoonists were evidently put to it to fill the demand for their work; this period is not important as an epoch in the technique of cartooning. It added nothing in the way of improvement. And yet it was in this period that the cartoon exercised probably the first great influence in its history.
During Lincoln's campaign in 1860 there was published an anonymous series of seven cartoons which "were the most successful of this kind ever issued in this country". The first was "The Great Match at Baltimore". This represents Douglas as a cock in the pit victorious over the other cock Buchanan, after the Baltimore convention. It has the under caption, "Between the 'Illinois Bantam' and the 'Old Cock of the White House'". This is one of the best cartoons of the time; it is far superior to any preceding it in both style and detail. Two outstanding cartoons worthy of mention because of the excellent portrayal of Lincoln followed this. "An Heir to the Throne Or The Next Republican Candidate" was used by the opponents to satirize the abolitionist candidate. In spirit it is brutal. But in its portrayal of the strong features of Lincoln it is significant.

The artist has placed a negro on a platform, with Horace Greeley of the Tribune at one side shouting to the crowd, "Gentlemen, allow me to introduce to you this illustrious individual in whom you will find combined all the graces and virtues of black republicanism, and whom we propose to run as our next candidate for the presidency". Lincoln on the other side is saying, "How fortunate that this intellectual and noble creature should

1. Bishop, Joseph B. Our Political Drama. P. 126.
have been discovered just at this time, to prove to the world the superiority of the colored over the Anglo Saxon race. He will be a worthy successor to carry out the policy which I shall inaugurate. The cringing colored man in the center of the stage is venturing a question, "What can dey be?"

This, along with two others entitled "The Nigger in the Wood Pile" and "TheRail Candidate", are characteristic of the bitter feeling generally felt against the negro. He is shown in all sorts of ludicrous positions. Ignoring the fact that the whole affair was the white man's doing, he is pictured as a gloating, aspiring man. Few negroes realized the importance of the war or what the issue really was.

We have already noted, however, that in these cartoons Lincoln was given a realistic portrayal. At this time there was little caricaturing combined with the cartoons. The features were drawn as true to life as possible, and those of Lincoln are excellent likenesses. It is supposed that they are copied from a photograph made in 1858. The strength and sincerity of his character stand out; "he is truly portrayed as the "kindly, earnest, brave, fores-seeing man of Lowell's immortal ode".

In the year 1860 two pictures drawn by Louis Maurer

1. Our Political Drama. P. 127.
in the presidential campaign made a record sale. These were "The Impending Crisis" and "The Irresistible Conflict". Their sales exceeded 50,000 copies each, and their influence must have been widespread. They both represent the failure of Seward to secure the presidential nomination, and in each Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune is shown as the chief culprit. In the first, Henry J. Raymond of the Times is pictured accusing Greeley of throwing Seward overboard, while in the second Lincoln is steering a boatload of Republican leaders while Greeley is pushing Seward out of the boat. This series, as well as most of the other cartoons published between 1856 and 1860 were drawn by Louis Maurer.

Harper's Weekly on March 9th, 1861, published a series of four cartoons which show clearly the scornful opinion held of Lincoln in the South. Lincoln himself is practically unrecognizable as to face, and the drawing is extremely crude. The artist of these is unknown.

Frank Beard was an outstanding cartoonist of this first struggling period. He did not turn out great quantities of work, but he holds the record for sales with his cartoon, "Why Don't You Take It?" This lithograph went to all parts of the North and boasted of a sale exceeding 100,000 copies. The picture was circulated not only by lithograph, but on countless numbers of envelopes and many other devices were used to distribute pictures.
As has been said, these cartoons are interesting and unquestionably were influential during this harried period of American history. In the history of the cartoon itself, however, they are not outstanding. They differed very little from the early cartoons in this country, and showed no progress except that perhaps the humor in the situation was being brought out more and there was a gradual falling off of the old bitter mode of attack.

The lithograph period of cartooning continued through the Civil War and for some time thereafter. It was beginning to die out gradually, however, and with the advent of the illustrated weeklies, the lithograph faded from the picture. It was no longer necessary to sell each cartoon separately on a sheet of paper. The illustrated newspapers desired to include political cartoons in their weekly issues; and thus the first period, the infancy period of cartooning comes to an end.

The most outstanding of the weeklies, Harper's, set the vogue for political cartooning in papers and was predecessor to the first purely comic weekly, Puck, founded in 1876 by Joseph Keppler. When one mentions the Harper's Weekly of those days it is impossible to disassociate it from the name of Thomas Nast, the first great cartoonist in the United States. Nast, with Harper's Weekly, and Keppler, with Puck, share highest honors
during the most outstanding epoch of political caricature. This was the period of the illustrated weekly. It just preceded the appearance of the daily cartoon in the newspaper and followed immediately on the heels of the old lithograph.

The name of Thomas Nast overshadows and sums up all endeavors at political caricature in the 19th century. Nast, born in Bavaria in 1840, was brought to America at the age of six; early enough to become thoroughly American, a fact proven by the spirit of his drawings and the intense loyalty which they demonstrate. At fourteen he was an illustrator on Leslie's Weekly, and at twenty he was sent to England to draw the famous Sayer-Heenan fight. He subsequently went as recorder of Garibaldi's campaign in Italy in 1860, but he returned to the United States known only as an illustrator.

The Civil War did not awaken his latent genius until 1864, when he published a cartoon of fierce irony against the political party which opposed Lincoln's re-election and advocated peace measures with the Southern Confederacy. This drawing not only made Nast famous, but may be said "to contain the germ of American cartooning", for all that had gone before was too crude to pass

to pass muster even as good when compared with this.

Throughout the Civil War Nast was employed as illustrator by Harper's Weekly, and all of his work was more or less of a serious matter. It can not be classed as cartooning with the exception of the one mentioned above. Thus it is that during the Civil War the inspired pen of Thomas Nast was practically unknown, and his genius and wit, which might have wielded such a great influence at that critical time in the nation's history, was devoted to serious illustrating in a weekly magazine.

But in 1871, a cause arose which gave Nast his inspiration. The wholesale corruption of Tammany Hall under the leadership of William M. Tweed, the first great municipal boss, furnished a subject worth attacking; and "Siegfried, earnest but light hearted, assailed the monster ensconced in his treasure cave and after a long battle won a brilliant victory".

Nast did not always rely on a mere picture to carry his message; often his cartoon consisted in only a minor figure or two looking at a large placard on which a long and poignantly worded attack was delivered in cold print. At other times the most ingenious pictorial subtlety was used. "This long series sounds the whole gamut of

1. Ibid. P. 335.
Thomas Nast's Famous Caricature of Boss Tweed.
caricature from downright ridicule to the most lofty denunciation."

A very clever device of the Nast cartoons was the representation of Tweed's face as a money bag, with only a dollar mark for features, a device which strangely enough made a curiously faithful likeness of the "boodle loving" despot; and when finally Tweed fled, to escape imprisonment, he was recognized and apprehended in Spain by means of the widely circulated and famous caricature.

The school of weekly periodicals was led by Joseph Keppler. In 1876 he established the weekly illustrated magazine Puck, and surrounded himself with a group of clever and able assistants. He did a great deal of the cartooning himself but also assisted others and taught them his methods. While Nast was notable as an outstanding character in cartooning, Keppler was an outstanding promoter of the cartoon. He built it up and added to the type until, through his weekly magazine, he was able to create an entirely different class of caricature. Nast was purely himself, and was able to create an entirely original specie of pictorial satire; Keppler took the old school and added a vigorous, bitingly satirical quality which put new life into the then static art.

When Keppler first established *Puck* its cartoons were in no way different from the old lithograph. They were crude in design and cluttered up with detail. They were drawn in the same black and white, and in draughtsmanship the first *Puck* cartoons were quite mediocre. Soon, however, Keppler began casting off the old ways and adding new methods of his own.

At first he had merely copied his art from those who had drawn before him. The only difference seems to have been that he did not use the ungainly loops overhead which had been in use until the close of the lithograph period; Keppler's cartoons were drawn carefully enough, and with sufficient skill and wit that no words were necessary.

But in 1878 he started drawing on stone and also began the use of several tints to brighten his drawings. In 1879 he used two colors together and from then on the development proceeded by leaps and bounds. It was during this period, from 1876 until 1900, that the cartoon was at the height of its glory.

The weekly magazine *Puck* and *Judge* represented the Democratic and Republican parties, and were decidedly partisan. They ran double-page colored cartoons depicting opinion about all current events. They attacked public characters cuttingly and mercilessly. They waged war against each other and composed a mighty
weapon in the hands of the politicians. I believe it is just to say that Keppler and Nast share honors in this epochal period of American cartooning. Each served a separate purpose, and neither encroached upon the other's territory.

Nast created for himself and by himself and original method of pictorial satire which was copied from nothing preceding it, and which has never been superceded. Keppler, as has been said, took the old cartoons and by a gradual process of adding to them and cutting from them he conceived a new school of caricature for this country and he saw to it that it was developed to all its potentialities by his associates.

His most important ally and follower was Bernhard Gillam, who worked with him on Puck and was the artist of many of the most outstanding double-page colored cartoons of the period. Later, Gillam drew for Judge. At one time he was drawing horribly sarcastic cartoons of Blaine for Puck, and at the same time suggesting just as horrible caricatures of Cleveland for the opposition, Judge. Other able disciples of Keppler were C. F. Taylor, Frederick Burr Opper, Louis Dalrymple and R. F. Outcault.

Before we leave this period it is necessary to observe the cartoon during the campaign of 1884, when Blaine and Cleveland were the chief political characters. We have shown that the only noticeable change in the cartoons
One of a Series Drawn by Bernhard Gillam Against Blaine
in the Presidential Campaign of 1884.

PHRYNE BEFORE THE CHICAGO TRIBUNAL.
(From "Puck" of June 4, 1884.)
from the old lithographs of 1820 and those of the Civil War was a lessened degree of brutality. It is to be noted that there seemed to be a gradual smoothing down from an out and out method of attacking an enemy, tooth and nail, in the bitterest sort of way, to a more humorous, witty mode. The pictures seemed to be growing less poisonous, more mellow, more humorous, and a bit more subtle perhaps.

During the campaign of 1884, however, the cartoon lived through its most decadent days. Gillam produced a group of drawings for this campaign which reach the heights of brutality in American caricature. They were fiercely outspoken and mercilessly frank. They had vigor and strength. They drove their point direct to the heart. They were unnecessarily brutal and shot the poison arrow of prejudice and partisanship to its ultimate goal. Bishop says of them, "they literally struck terror to the supporters of Mr. Blaine wherever they appeared, and there was no corner in the land to which they did not penetrate". It was certainly an era of disgrace through which the cartoon lived; but it survived and soon lost its venomous spirit, all the while retaining the color, vigor, life and pulsing freedom which the newcomers in the field had been able to add to

1. Our Political Drama. P. 156.
it.

The third period in the history of the cartoon is that through which we are now living. It started when the daily newspaper incorporated in its editorial page a daily cartoon.

It was during the last ten years of the 19th century that the daily newspaper realized the editorial possibilities of the cartoon. Since that time every metropolitan daily has added its own cartoonist to its editorial staff. With the coming of the daily cartoon, the influence of the illustrated weeklies quickly waned until today it is entirely dead. Part of this may be due to the fact that Keppler and the ablest of his assistants with him, died late in the century, but probably the greatest cause of the downfall of the weeklies was the entrance of the omniverous daily into the field of journalism.

For the daily newspaper dealt with each important phase of public interest every day, until at the end of the week the most of the subjects were exhausted. At any rate, they were no longer news, and they had been pictured so much that it would be superfluous to add more. Thus the golden age of the weekly journal slowly waned, and the day of the almighty American daily newspaper was in effect by 1900.

The daily cartoon is different in many respects from
that of the 19th century illustrated weekly. In the first place, the newspaper discarded the use of colors and never has used the cartoon on the enlarged scale inaugurated by Keppler. It relegated the large double-page colored political cartoon to history; and the only color we get in the newspaper caricature now is in the Sunday comic section. The demand for a daily cartoon places the cartoonist under great pressure, and few are successful in having an inspiration every day.

The day of personal cartooning, like the day of personal journalism, is gone; it is now merely a matter of the cartoonist's ability to turn out a cartoon daily in accord with the editorial policies of the paper. Often even the editorial policies have little to do with the policy of the cartoon. Particularly is this so with the small town daily which uses syndicated material exclusively.

Of course there have been a few shining lights in the twentieth century. Most of them have shot meteor-like to great popularity, but have proved unable to remain at the peak. There have been characters like John T. McCutcheon, A. B. Frost, Charles Nolan, Jay N. Darling, C. G. Bush, Homer Davenport and Carl Schultze, who have held the national attention for several years and then vanished into obscurity on the staff of metropolitan newspapers.
There have been short periods when the cartoon seemed to be wielding the mighty arm of influence again, such as those of Theodore Roosevelt's campaign and adventurous administration, and of Woodrow Wilson's administration and the World War. But these have been merely of the moment. Never has the cartoon reached the peak of popularity it held during the latter half of the nineteenth century when Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler were giving to it a part of their sparkling, witty, satirical outlook upon life and the times. It took such men as these, who could see through the superficiality of the period, who could delve to the bottom of affairs and who had the courage and the inducement to see a campaign to the finish, who were able to impart humor and pathos mixed with satire and ridicule to a picture which would arouse the whole country to interest. It took this sort of men, who were pioneers in the field and the last of their type, to place political caricature on its rightful plane and in its proper realm of influence.
Chapter II.

THE TECHNICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CARTOON.

We have traced the American political cartoon from the time when it first sprang forth under the nimble pen of Benjamin Franklin, through Thomas Nast's Quixotic additions and down to the present time. Now let us see what are the actual physical changes through which the cartoonist's art has struggled.

During the last half of the eighteenth century, when the art of cartooning was first beginning to make an impression, it was in its most primitive state. The most of the caricatures were drawn by Englishmen in America who copied their work from that done in Great Britain. Today it seems atrocious to us. It is not even funny. Those miserable woodcuts of William Charles during the War of 1812 are horrid, lugubrous affairs. The artists of that time did not seem to realize the value of unity of impression. They perhaps did have a single predominating idea, but in the great mass of detail which they attempted to use the central idea floundered and was lost. The people in these drawings had large bulbous features, not at all life like. The figures were grotesquely shaped and strewn about the pictures in any sort of position.

Even the spirit of the early cartoons was entirely
different from that of today. During the first period, I believe, the artists were chiefly concerned with burlesquing serious situations. They must have thought that by gross exaggeration of the subject they would be able to attract serious thought. Perhaps they were in part successful; but it is difficult to conceive of anyone viewing the exaggerated drawing of that period with anything but disgust.

It is interesting to note that at this same time in Europe the cartoon was changing rapidly and losing its degenerate qualities. It was necessary, however, for America to start from the beginning and while Europe and Great Britain were making long steps in advance the United States was still groping around in a maze of undefined ideas.

The American cartoon was crowded with many figures. It would seem that the more people and the more labels they could manage to get into a picture, the better they liked it. Everything was explained in the picture. The portrayal of this time was not skillful enough to do without explanatory remarks. One of the chief characteristics of this early period cartoon was the lengthy conversation which took place in it. Each character must needs make a long statement to his neighbor, and perhaps ask several questions also. In order to take care of this
evidently necessary conversation the artists attached loops to the mouth of each man and enclosed his words in those loops. It is easy to imagine the muddled appearance this would give to the picture. The entire top half of almost all those cartoons was filled with the words of the men portrayed. Then below the cut were usually added several lines of explanation, and perhaps even an overhead line was used.

It is quite easy to see that these people had no idea of pictorial subtlety. They believed in leaving nothing to the imagination, in their determination to get their point across; and it is quite obvious that without the awkward explanations many of their drawings would have been meaningless.

Before William Charles ceased drawing, he adopted the European method inaugurated by John Doyle, of using actual likeness for the faces instead of caricatures of them. These were probably truthful pictures, but the wooden features and the total lack of facial expression made them seem anything but real.

The spirit of the early cartoons was cruel and brutal. They had no humor and little cleverness. They were coarse, ugly, and some of them even horrifying. I can not see how they could have exerted much influence, except perhaps to arouse great anger.

The first lithograph sheets are what most people in
this day would judge masterpieces of luridness. The faces were probably copied from daguerrotypes, and still showed no signs of life. The figures had departed from the rotundity which seemed so popular during the early quarter of the century and become long and rigid. If a man was to be shown falling or toppling over, he was stretched out in a stiff position and fell straight down like a tree. Few curves and no natural poses were used. The faithful loop was still retained in 1830, because even yet the artists had not reached the point at which they could tell a story pictorially without telling it in words to explain the riddle of the picture.

When Currier and Ives began their publication of lithographs, they initiated numerous improvements. The general style was still similar to that of European cartoons, but the spirit behind them seemed to become more American. The United States had now been divorced from her mother country for a half-century, and she was beginning to have a few sprouting ideas of her own. That sharp cleverness which is so characteristic of America was beginning to show itself by means of the cartoon. They were still using the loop, doubtless, because it was such an easy method of explanation. No one as yet had sufficient originality to drop it. The backgrounds composed of many figures were rapidly disappearing however, and the figures themselves were coming
to life. The faces during this period were carefully drawn; it is possible to go to the cartoons for some of the best likenesses of great men during the middle half of the 19th century.

For example, we have observed that the cartoons of Abraham Lincoln are almost all excellent likenesses of him. Even his awe-inspiring character was beginning to be shown through the cartoons. The artists were learning that it was possible to put much more than a mere likeness into a picture, and although they continued to use the loops and the long explanations, they were working away from them, and many of the pictures could quite easily have dispensed with them. In studying the cartoons of that period which have been reprinted, in fact, it is quite easy to fathom the idea in them even though much of the printing is not legible in the reprints.

Currier and Ives seem to have covered a sort of transition period in the American Cartoon. When they took it over in 1848 it was lifeless, witless and a poor excuse for drawing. When in 1877 the weekly magazines took over the cartoon from Currier and Ives, it was certainly not the dull apathetic thing it once had been. In these years it had cast off its heavy, coarse appearance, and had taken on a fanciful lightness. It had become more adaptable to many situations, and it
seemed good enough to assume a slight degree of dignity. The significant characteristic of the cartoon, its summing up of an entire situation at a glance, was slowly becoming apparent.

Thomas Nast is probably responsible for the most striking progress in the technique of the cartoon. He abandoned the loop completely. He had one idea, and around that idea he grouped his figures with no unnecessary detail to distract attention. He simplified his medium into an effective organ of public opinion. Through him the cartoonist's prestige became a definite thing instead of a transitory quality.

The most important contributions of Nast are his addition of forceful expression to the features, the dignity of feeling he was capable of radiating to his readers by means of his drawings, and the strength and simplicity of his work. Under his satiric pencil people became aware of the great Tammany graft. But Nast brought more than mere craftsmanship to the cartoon. He inserted into it that ironical, light-hearted humor which has become so characteristic of the American satire. Moreover, he possessed a unique, fantastic humor which he was ever capable of imparting to a situation. Nast and the weekly magazines sounded the death knell of the heavy, dolorous, coarse cartoons and a new humor was rapidly coming to the surface.
The definite characteristics of the pictorial editorials by *Puck* and *Judge* were the use of colors, the building up of elaborate backgrounds which did not detract from the effectiveness of the central idea, and the development of the central figures to tell the story, instead of an entire group. Many of their cartoons were double page spreads and were elaborate in design.

Thus we see that the political caricature by a gradual process of sloughing off the early funereal atmosphere and taking on the light, clever air, has developed into the present day cartoon printed daily in the newspapers and often reprinted in the weekly journals of opinion. Cartoons today are line etchings made from line drawings. Some are made from crayon, while others are a combination of line and crayon or line and machine shading. Cartooning is now considered a special branch in the large group of crafts included in commercial art.

Today we have the political cartoon bursting with good humor. It is full of the light-hearted abandon and the total irreverence for so called sacred personages which are characteristics of the American people as a whole. A freedom of humor and a vigor of satire is quite apparent in the works of our modern artists.

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and instead of the former dragging lifeless attempts at satire we have today a frolicsome, boisterous humor. One can almost see the artist's grin as he draws it. Rudyard Kipling gives a typical characterization in An American:

"He is the Jester and the Jest, And he the Text himself applies.

Enslaved, illogical, elate, He greets the embarrassed Gods, nor fears To shake the iron hand of Fate Or match with Destiny for beers."

Most of the outstanding work is cleverly done and extremely witty. It would be futile to try to describe any of these in detail. But in studying the work of such men as Jay N. Darling, Rollin Kirby, Charles Henry Sylkes, Thomas, C. C. Orr, Jesse Taylor Cargill and others is to get a thorough insight into the nature of these American people who laugh so freely even in the face of a depression.

The present day cartoons have effective backgrounds, lifelike figures and faces, although there is a great deal of caricaturing in them, a certain indefinable strength of purpose and dignity which some way mingle with the humor to the detriment of neither. The modern cartoonist has the ability to tell his story with the use of few words. Ordinarily they have a title above,

but other words have been almost dispensed with. There is a great use of shading and some use a great deal of black space. J. H. Darling (Ding) has an effective method of using a group of three cartoons. These are quite simple in detail and do not take up any more space in a newspaper than the cartoon the usual size. In 1924 he was awarded the Pulitzer prize of Columbia University for the best cartoon published in an American newspaper. His prize cartoon actually contained four separate pictures, each quite simple in design, and they bore not a word on them except the under explanations which ran this way:

1. An orphan at 8 is now one of the world's greatest engineers and economists whose ambition is to eliminate the cycle of depression and unemployment.

2. The son of a plasterer is now a great neurologist and his hobby is good health for children.

3. A printer's apprentice is now chief executive of the United States.

4. But they didn't get there by hanging around the corner drug store.

This is undoubtedly a tremendous effective method, but it demands a personality who has enough understanding of human nature, and wit enough, to make the picture appealing and not dogmatic.
Darling has probably been the outstanding cartoonist in the United States during the past ten years. William Allen White says of him: "He brings something unique to American journalism. Something worthy as well as rare. Quite apart from the technique of his art though glowing through the skill of it, J. N. Darling, the cartoonist, has a combination of spiritual qualities that makes his work an unalloyed joy. He has wisdom. The wisdom of the humble. He has courage. The courage of unflinching candor. He has a deep and loving kindliness that tempers all his work. But the thing that gives him genius is that he sees life wisely, frankly, affectionately, through the perspective of a merry eye." And that, I believe, is a good analysis of our famous cartoonist.

Chapter III.

EUROPEAN TRENDS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

It must be remembered that it is not until recent years that we can say there has been a distinctly American school of caricature. In the beginning, the work was done by English-born men. They copied it from that done in Great Britain, and although it was poor enough copy, it must be regarded as the first step in our own history in this field.

There is little material at hand for the Revolutionary period and it is difficult to compare what there is with later work. I have characterized that period in America as outstanding more for its quantity than for its quality.

In the Jeffersonian period there was little progress in the American cartoon. The advent of Napoleon Bonaparte in France held world attention for two decades, and America had little to offer in competition with such a glamorous figure as the Little Corporal. Satire still flourished, but its rudimentary character doomed it to oblivion.

Parton describes one American cartoon of the Jeffersonian period which he thinks worth mentioning. He describes it as "Jefferson kneeling at a pillar labelled 'Altar of Gallic Despotism' upon which are Paine's
'Age of Reason' and the works of Voltaire, Rousseau and Helvetius, with the demon of the French revolution crouching behind it and the American eagle soaring aloft, bearing away the constitution and the independence of the United States. And he adds, "Pictures of that nature, of great size, crowded with objects, emblems and sentences—an elaborate blending of burlesque, allegory and enigma—were so much valued by that generation that some of them were engraved upon copper.

During this stressful time in European history, when Napoleon Bonaparte was showing the world what a little man could do, England was the leader in the fight against his threatened invasion of Europe. It is a strange fact that we have practically nothing of French caricature until after 1830. Great Britain was the breeding place of pictorial satire as we have it today and James Gillray, (1757-1815) the disciple of Hogarth, was the most important figure in that dramatic period.

He was from 1800 to 1814 one of the most puissant influences that were operating in England, and was recognized as powerful all over Europe. Maurice and Cooper say of him, "No history of Napoleon is quite

complete which fails to recognize Gillray as a potent factor in crystallizing public opinion in Great Britain. His long series of cartoons aimed at Little Boney are the culminating work of his life. Their power lay not in their intellectual subtlety or brilliant scintillation of wit, but in the bitterness of their invective, the appeal they make to elemental passions. They spoke a language which the roughest of London mobs could understand—the language of the gutter." And later they say, "There is an element of monstrosity about all his figures, distorted and repellant. Foul, bloated, faces twisted, swollen limbs; unshapely figures whose protuberant flesh suggests a tumified and fungoid growth—such is the brood begotten by Gillray's pencil; like the malignant spawn of some forgotten circle of the lower inferno."  

Gillray's works demonstrate the lengths to which an obsessed mind will go. His cartoons are vicious creations, distorted and out of proportion. After he oversteps the bounds of decency and goes over to the lewd. Of course, he worked under the impression that in order to draw any attention to his work he must strike at the most intimate places. Some say his work was that of a diseased brain, maddened to the limits

1. Ibid. P. 22.
of an obsession and it is true he did lose his mind before his death. In looking back on his work, however, the fact is inescapable that Gillray did have something to say to the English people and he drove his point home in the most effective manner he knew. His cartoons influenced public feeling and arouses all of England, including the lowest classes, to an outrageous hate of the most feared and taunted Bonaparte.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Gillray's work is his inconsistency when dealing with Bonaparte. In the pictures, Gillray always portrays him as a deformed, large headed, impertinent little man who dares to snap his fingers at all powerful governments. He makes him out as a fiend dressed in human attire. He gives him any sort of unutterably disproportionate figure always with the large cocked hat as if that were a symbol of his power.

But in spirit it is quite apparent that Gillray is going anything but snapping his fingers at Napoleon. In spite of his ridicule there is always a feeling of power about Napoleon, notwithstanding the diminutive figure and the loathsome face given him in caricature. It is in the inconsistency between the cartoons themselves and their actual meaning that we find the key to Gillray's impassioned attack. Gillray realized that it was perfectly possible for Great Britain to fall before the
Little Monarch. He was trying to instill into the British people by means of his satire enough fear and hatred that such a calamity could be forestalled.

In a characteristic cartoon called *Armed Heroes*, Napoleon on his side of the channel is standing in a threatening, dauntless position, while on the British side the Englishman is saying, "Who's afraid, damme?" "Who's afraid damme?" and then "O, dear, what will become of Roast Beef?" While from his pockets protrude Stimulating Draft and Composing Draft.

This inconsistency between ridiculousness of figure, and yet inconceivable power for evil is probably shown best in what are considered Gillray's two masterpieces.

In the first is shown King George III contemptuously examining a Lilliputian Napoleon whom he holds in the palm of his hand. In the other hand he holds an opera glass. This undoubtedly is out-and-out ridicule of the impertinence of such a ferocious little man in thinking he could even perturb Great Britain.

In the second, the Lilliputian Napoleon is in different character. This is called, "Tiddy-doll, the great French gingerbread baker, drawing out a new batch of Kings." Napoleon is shown taking the newly baked Bavaria and Wirtenburg out of the oven while the nations of Turkey, Poland, Hanover and the three Corsican Kinglings await baking on the political kneading trough.
In these we get the two conflicting ideas which Gillray was trying to convey to his public. He was afraid of Napoleon Bonaparte's strength and he did all in his power to incense the Britains against him.

Gillray drew during the most depraved social period in history. Such of his cartoons as are available now have been mercilessly censored. He is said, in fact, to have drawn a remarkable series which, because of their obscenity and lewdness, have never been reproduced. His drawings are all heinous interpretations of a demoralized period. And yet they are remarkable in that they leave an indelible impression on the memory. They are so utterly striking and foul that they can not be forgotten. In this lies their force.

Gillray started caricaturing Napoleon in 1800. His ire increased in each cartoon, and as the threatening forces of "Little Boney" came closer, Gillray's invective grew more and more bitter. In 1803 he reached the heighth of his wrathful indignation and published an amazingly diabolical cartoon, captioned "The Handwriting on the Wall." In the foreground Napoleon and Josephine are pictured gorging food at a banquet table on which are placed such delicacies as the palace of St. James, the Bank of England, the head of George III entitled "Oh, de Roast Beef of Old England", and the Tower of London. Close behind the two central characters stand preposterously satirized figures of guards.
and ladies. In the background are the heavily armed forces of France. Overhead, the figure of justice is concealed behind the clouds, but her hand is visible holding the crown and the chained red cap of liberty much overbalanced. With the other hand she points to the handwriting on the wall which says: "Despotism misnamed Liberty". This cartoon is said to have caused a great deal of anxiety in the French court and brought much uneasiness to Bonaparte.

In 1808 Napoleon's disastrous occupation of Spain and Portugal inspired the English cartoonists to still greater heights of libel and gross coarseness.

Thomas Rowlandson, (1756-1827) a notable contemporary of Gillray, began his public career at the time when Gillray's power was waning, about 1808. He was more artistically talented than Gillray, and is said by capable judges to have had the makings of a serious artist if his perversity had not turned him to satire and political cartooning. Joseph Grego, in his work on Rowlandson, says:

"It is certain that the caricaturist's travesties of the little Emperor, his burlesques of his great actions and grandiose declarations, his figurative displays of the mean origin of the imperial family, with the cowardice and depravity of its members, won popular applause.... And when disasters began to cloud the career
of Napoleon, as army after army melted away...the artist bent his skill to interpret the delight of the public. The city competed with the West End in buying every caricature, in loyal contest to prove their national enmity for Bonaparte. In too many cases, the incentive was to gratify the hatred of the Corsican rather than any remarkable merit that could be discovered in the caricatures. Very few of these mock heroic sallies imprint themselves upon the recollection by sheer force of their own brilliancy, as was the case will Gillray and frequently with John Tenniel, Rowlandson and Cruikshank are risible but not inspired. 1

German cartoons during this period were not outstanding, but already had the stodgy, staid humor which are earmarks of present German caricature. They are very simple in detail and never outstandingly witty. One is reproduced by Maurice and Cooper. It pictures Napoleon in an extremely lifelike position. In the background is a torn battlefield. Napoleon is garbed in a sheep skin, with the melancholy face of the animal in direct contrast to the Emporer's alert, fiery expression. No labels or explanations accompany this.

Another cartoon typical of these early German attempts is entitled; "The Double Faced Napoleon". It

1. Ibid. P. 49.
shows the head of Napoleon with a face on each side, mounted on a pillar of human skulls and prostrate figures. One face is perturbed and the hair is practically standing on end, while the other face is suave and composed. This cartoon also shows the simplicity of the German methods and the dependence they placed on the pictorial side alone.

The most famous German cartoon of this period was one by Voltaire, a portrait of Napoleon commemorating German success in 1814. It shows the great Bonaparte's face composed of writhing, tortuous bodies, his breast a map, which has entangled in it the many countries of Europe in which he had tried to get his claws. The map is covered with an immense cobweb reaching out to all parts with his heart as the center. Reading over his shoulder a bejeweled hand is clasped as if signifying a hidden power. His hat is a black bird of prey with its wings raised as if poised for flight. Here again we find a strange simplicity which is overwhelming in its impressiveness and meaning.

We read little of the German school of caricature at this time. The German nation as a whole has never had the outright audacity toward its government which England possesses. Judging from the few fine examples available, however, it is easy to see that the Teutons were even at this time a group of malevolently clever
people. They hardly figured in the cartoon attacks upon Napoleon led by Great Britain, and yet even in their obscurity their work stands out as great. They did so little cartooning, yet what they produced compares favorably with the best of other countries. Of course there were no German Gillrays or Rowlandsons. And the quantity is sparse. It is undoubtedly only the exceptional drawings which we are able to study today. There were the two men, Voly and Schadow. Schadow lived in France and openly signed himself the Parisian Gillray. Otherwise, the Germans were unresponsive during this period of outrage to nations. Nevertheless, the noxious, envenomed attacks made by these two men proved that they might easily have been a source of strong displeasure to Bonaparte had the German nation been less oppressive in its censorship of the press.

It was not until after the Fliegende Blatter and the Berlin Kladderadatch a short time later in 1848, that a distinct and influential school of German political caricature arose.

During the Napoleonic period the French press was strangely dispassionate. We wonder at this, and yet, considering the power held by the government, it would have been a problem for any paper or individual to publish anything against the Emperor and remain to reap the glory.
The out-and-out licentiousness of Gillray especially, and in a less degree of Rowlandson, could only come from a source outside of France. As is pointed out in the History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature, the English would never have attacked their own government in the libelous way in which they assaulted Bonaparte.

In characterizing this period in which the cartoon wielded its first important political influence, it is possible to say that in spite of its vulgarity and coarseness, it left lasting traces on political cartooning in Germany, France, England and the United States.

Maurice and Cooper say: "Gillray's effective assemblage of many figures, the crowded significance of minor details, the dramatic unity of the whole conception which he inherited from Hogarth, have been passed on down the line and still continue to influence the leading cartoonists of today".

The cartoon as a political influence became latent in Europe after this period and did not resume its power until adopted by the weekly journals, La Caricature in France in 1830, the London Punch in 1841, the Fliegende Blatter, 1844 and the Berlin Kladderadatch in 1848.

1. Ibid., P. 61
Chapter IV.

INTERACTIONS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY:

THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE.

French caricature up to 1830 was insignificant and crude compared with the excellent work being done in England at the same time. Probably the most striking characteristic of the early French cartoons is their impersonality. They purposely avoided all personal mention. Freedom of the press was unheard of during those days, and the French newspaper particularly had been oppressed.

Thackeray, in an essay entitled Caricatures and Lithography, describes the condition thus: "As for poor caricature and freedom of the press, they like the rightful princess in a fairy tale, with the merry fantastic dwarf, her attendant, were entirely in the power of the giant who rules the land. The Princess, the press, was so closely watched and guarded (with some show, nevertheless, of respect for her rank) that she dared not utter a word of her own thoughts, and as for poor caricature, he was gagged and put out of the way altogether".

In 1830 on August 4th, that "merry fantastic dwarf" of Thackeray's broke the gag from his long silenced lips and began pursuing his profession in an altogether energetic fashion. On this date Charles Philipon (1802-1862) published the first issue of Le Caricature, a weekly comic magazine.

This is the first appearance in Europe of those comic magazines which were bound for the highest honors in political satire. In France after, La Caricature, there came Charivari and Journal pour Rire. The Charivari was a daily and was at first composed almost wholly of political cartoons.

Philipon had as his followers, in this tirade against Louis Philippe and the royal family, such men as Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), Sulpice Paul Chevalier, better known as Gavarni (1801-1866) and Charles Joseph Traveis de Villers. Each of these men later became famous as an outstanding cartoonist in France. During this period, however, they continued to wage war on the Emperor. As Thackeray says, "It was a losing fight between a half a dozen poor artists on one side and His Majesty, Louis Philippe, his august family, and the numberless placemen and supporters of the monarchy on the other".

These men were arrested many times and each time permitted trial by jury.

The most famous series of cartoons of this era in France were those conceived and circulated by Philipon. He used one of most striking and effective working tools of the cartoonist. He took an ordinary luscious, juicy pear and drew into its shape the bloated features of Louis Philippe. This picture of His Highness became famous all over Paris, and he was nicknamed "La Poire".

Philipon's English contemporary, John Doyle (1798-1868) used the same trick to make men's faces so closely resemble eggs that the likeness is striking even to a casual observer. This tendency can be traced through the development of political cartoons everywhere. In America we see Thomas Nast using the shape of a money bag to enclose the features of Boss Tweed, and then, later, Oppen's use of the huge stone pillar as the figure of the "Trusts". In this developing tendency I am trying to demonstrate the fact that as long as men have been caricaturing public figures they have used basically the same ideas, and the cartoon as we have it today is simply an outgrowth and incorporation of all the old tendencies.

Philipon was immediately arrested and thrown into jail for his impudence in portraying His Majesty in such a ridiculous shape. He proceeded thereupon to
demonstrate to the jury just how Louis Philippe's face resembled a pear. Although his proof is convincing he was of course, convicted. He continued harassing the government with "La Foire" until at last his fines became too heavy and he was forced to for-
sale his object.

Philipon and his group ceased using the pear for Louis Philippe, but continued using other means of taunting the government until they drove it to des-
peration. Louis Philippe had gained his crown by his professed democratic tendencies. He had sanctioned freedom of the press as one of his important principles. When he was the subject of the cartoonist's attack, however, he did not care to champion the rebellious organ any longer. He was finally driven by the con-
stant ridicule of La Caricature to approve the famous September laws of 1832, which again put the press under government censorship.

It would be unfair to omit some mention of Honore Daumier in this necessary summary of the first important period of French political caricature. Daumier and J. I. I. Gerard or Grandville (1803-1847) as he was known, were the most important artists drawing for La Caricature. Both were undoubtedly good, but of the two Daumier is ordinarily ranked first. He was cham-
pioned and assisted by Balzac, who thought him an un-
usual artist. Daumier had the artist's touch and a
lively wit to accompany it. His work is distinguished from that of Grandville in that it has none of Grandville's bitterness, and yet is as effective as the other's work. Grandville has been called the French Gillray. His drawings were barbarously brutal. He pictured such things as throwing the government officials into pits at the bottom of which roared hideous, mis-shapen animals. He drew distorted figures and features and bizarre combinations of forms, and adopted all the tricks of the trade fostered by Gillray.

Daumier, on the other hand, drew some of the most famous cartoons of France with total lack of the savage fierceness so apparent in Grandville. Daumier's most famous cartoon is that drawn after the death of La Fayette, the idolized statesman of France who irked the government so greatly. M. Arsine Alexandre, in his work on Daumier, offers this description of "Louis Philippe at the funeral of La Fayette": "Under a grey sky, against the somber and broken background of a cemetery, rises on a little hillock the fat and black figure of an undertaker's man. Below him on a winding road is proceeding a funeral procession. It is the crowd that has thronged to the obsequies of the illustrious patriot. Through the leafage of the weeping willows may be seen the white tombstones. The whole
scene bears the mark of a profound sadness, in which the principal figure seems to join, if one is to judge by his sorrowful attitude and his clasped hands. But look closer. If this undertaker's man, with the features of Louis Philippe, is clasping his hands it is simply to rub them together with joy; and through his fingers, half hiding his countenance, one may detect a sly grin.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, when the cartoon was beginning to emerge as an influential expression of opinion in France, it was utterly neglected in Great Britain. Daumier, Grandville and Travies were busy fighting for freedom of the press in France and adopting English methods of caricature, while in England all was quiet. It is surprising that Louis Philippe got his throne through his supposed championship of the press, and yet in two years he suppressed it entirely.

Many cartoons were drawn concerning the subject of free press, but since political subjects were at last totally forbidden, some new method had to be conceived. Travies invented with his skillful pen an imaginary creature whom he named Mayeux, and Daumier fathered two grotesque figures called Macaire and Bertrand.

Travies' Mayeux became famous all over France as "virulent, salacious, corrupt, a sort of French Mr. Hyde—the shadow of secret weaknesses and vices, lurking behind the Dr. Jekyll of smug bourgeois respectability; and the French public recognized him as a true picture of their baser selves".

Elusive M. "Mayeux" took the guise of any official or workman whom Travies could satirize. He poked fun at Louis Philippe and even went so far as mentioning the banned "Poire". In one cartoon the dwarfed hunchback figure is shown with outstretched arms holding an apple in one hand and a pear in the other. He is saying: "Adam destroyed us by the apple; La Fayette by the pear".

Then we have Macaire and Bertrand, the two men created jointly by Philipon and Daumier, who became symbols to the French reading public. Thackeray says of them: "M. Robert Macaire is a compound of Fielding's 'Blueskin' and Goldsmith's 'Beau Tibbs'. He has the dirt and dandyism of the one, with the ferocity of the other; sometimes he is made to swindle, but where he can get a shilling more, M. Macaire will murder without scruple; he performs one and the other act (or any in the scale between them) with a similar bland imperturbability, and accompanies his actions with such philosophical remarks

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as may be expected from a person of his talents, his
ingeries, his amiable life and character. Bertrand
is the simple recipient of Macaire's jokes, and makes
vicarious atonement for his crimes, acting, in fact,
the part which Pantaloon performs in pantomime, who
is entirely under the fatal influence of clown. He is
quite as much a rogue as that gentleman, but he has
not his genius and courage. . . . Thus, Robert Macaire
and his companion Bertrand are made to go through the
world, both swindlers, but the one more accomplished
than the other. Both robbing all the world, and Robert
robbins his friend, and, in the event of danger, leave-
ing him faithfully in the lurch. There is in the two
characters some grotesque good for the spectators—a
kind of 'Beggars' Opera' moral. And with these two
types of clever and stupid knavery, M. Philipon and
his companion Daumier have created a world of pleasant
satire upon all the prevailing abuses of the day."

Thus by veiling their ideas behind these two ludic-
crous rascals, Daumier and Philipon eluded the law
that politics should be banished from journalism. They
exposed everything they could lay their hands on by
means of the two puppets of their pens. Even today

these drawings have meaning, although the incidents are trivial to us.

The French political caricature continued in this vein until the coup d'etat in 1850, when Louis Napoleon came to the throne. He realized the great harm done the government by the cartoonists in particular, and the press in general. Therefore, shortly after taking the reins of government he passed such strict press laws that the press was simply crushed. It was made dependent upon "imperial caprice", and this condition of servitude lasted for fifteen years. It was by the law of 1851 that those infringing the press law and arrests for contempt were denied trial by jury.

Thus, we see French pictorial satire, after its first few decades of glorious diatribe and its valiant fight for freedom, again suppressed and shut into the background.

In contrasting the French cartoons of the first half-decade with those of England, we must first go back to where we left the artists of Great Britain.

After Gillray and Rowlandson there was a period of dullness and strange quietude in England. There was no outstanding figure, although George Cruikshank (1792-1878) did publish a few rather unimportant cartoons. One of his that is often mentioned is the one just following the downfall of Napoleon in 1815. Cruikshank
was a young man at this time, but his work is remarkable in its prophetic tone. This particular cartoon concerned the laws restricting importation of grain into the Islands. It was called "The Blessings of Peace; or, the Curse of the Corn Bill". It shows a ship loaded with grain trying to land on British soil while on the shore the English are saying, "We won't have it at any price. We are determined to keep up our own to eighty shillings, and if the poor can't buy it at that price, why, they must starve". In the background the bulging doors of a granary are overflowing with wheat while a starving family stands watching the unwanted grain cast into the sea. The man says, "No, no, masters, I'll not starve, but quit my native land, where the poor are crushed by those they labor to support, and retire to one more hospitable, and where the arts of the rich do not interpose to defeat the providence of God". Parton comments on this cartoon as being an excellent example of the tone of prophecy necessary in a good cartoon. Even in 1815, when Cruikshank was but a boy, he was capable of discerning the fact which British statesman did not learn for years.

It was not until 1841 when Punch, the "London Charivari" and first British comic weekly, was started, that political caricature again became an influential
function in England. The name "cartoon" is said to have been originated by Punch.

One history of the name, given by Mr. M. N. Spielman, in the History of Punch, says that in the reign of Charles I the title given to such things was "a mad design", in the time of George I it was called a "hieroglyphic", and throughout the period reigned over by Gillray political satire was known as "caricature", a general term for the art of applying the grotesque to the purposes of satire, and for pictorial and plastic ridicule and burlesque. But it was July, 1843, before Punch thought of calling these amazing things "cartoons".

With the publishing of Punch under the leadership of such men as John Leech (1817-1864), Richard Doyle (1824-1883) and John Doyle, the political cartoon was completely rejuvenated in England. Gladstone said of it, "In early days, when an artist was engaged to produce political satires he nearly always descended to gross personal caricature and sometimes to indecency. Today the humorous press shows a total absence of vulgarity and a fairer treatment, which made this department of warfare always pleasing".

3. Ibid.
With the advent of Punch there came an entirely new type of cartoon in England. It became milder, dropped its coarse, vulgar attire and became an English gentleman. The indecency so common, before the comic weekly, was gone and in its place was the tolerant, rather indifferent onlooker. The personal attacks and personal rancor were gone. Instead, Punch adopted an international outlook. John Doyle, father of the famous Richard Doyle, drew several interesting cartoons of Uncle Sam, typifying that upstart nation across the sea. At the same time Richard Doyle published a satire against Louis Phillipe which was banned from Paris for some time. Punch drew the attention of the British Isles to world politics, and although it did not publish more than one or two purely political cartoons weekly, they were usually the genial, hail-fellow-well-met English cartoons which have lasted down to the present.

Of course, there were exceptions to this, as there are exceptions to all such sweeping statements. We have several cartoons drawn by Leech which are anything but gentle. The most outstanding of these is undoubtedly the one drawn during the Crimean War just after the death of Nicholas I from pneumonia. The Szar had said that it made no difference what forces England and France might be able to gather, Russia
"GENERAL FEVRIER" TURNED TRAITOR.

"Beware the Two Generals in whom we can count—General Juiver and Feuvre."—Speech of the late Emperor of France.

Drawn by Leech in Punch, March 10, 1855
could always rely on "General Janvier" (January and "General Fevrier" (February) for protection. His meaning of course was the harsh Russian winter would drive out all foes; but he himself died of influenza before the winter was over. In his cartoon entitled "General Fevrier Turned Traitor", Leech pictures death dressed in the uniform of a Russian general. He is laying his skeleton hand on the breast of the dead Emperor. Snow is cast over all; bleak coldness prevades the picture.

The cruelty of this cartoon harks back to Gillray. It is enough to stir shudders even after these many years have passed.

Ruskin said of this cartoon, "The thought was a grand one; the memory of the word spoken and of its answer could hardly in any more impressive way have been recorded for the people; and I believe that to all persons accustomed to the earnest forms of art it contained a profound and touching lesson. The notable thing was that it offended persons not in earnest, and was loudly cried out against by the polite journalism of society".

Leech, like all other outstanding cartoonists, had

1. Ibid. P. 132.
the element of prophecy in his work. Maurice and Cooper say, "It was during this same year, 1859, at the close of the war which humbled Austria, and forced her to surrender Venetia to Sardinia, that Leech voiced the suspicion that Louis was casting longing eyes upon Italian territory, in a cartoon entitled, "A scene from the New Pantomime". Napoleon III here figures as a clown, a revolver in his hand, a goose labeled Italy protruding from his capacious pocket. He is earnestly assuring Britania, represented as a stout, elderly woman, eyeing him suspiciously, that his intentions are strictly honorable".

This is one of the many instances in which he foresaw circumstances long before government officials even suspected anything.

Leech's team mate on Punch was Sir John Tenniel, who took Richard Doyle's place on the staff early in the second half of the century.

Tenniel, like Leech, possessed the wit and foresight to enable him to delve to the seat of the trouble. But Tenniel even more than Leech was casting off the old influences. His drawings were of excellent artistic merit, and his technique has been judged extremely good. His cartoons bring with them a sense of simplicity and dignity. He eradicated practically all unnecessary

1. Ibid. P. 142.
background and made use of many devices extremely simple but difficult to use. One of these was to draw the figures of all the important personages as just so many little school boys; or stable boys or waiters. Then again, he used the device of elevating these butts of his satire to sublime heights and conceiving them as gods to be ridiculed by the public. These devices seem ridiculously simple, but the use of them demands a subtle pen with a guiding hand able to see and understand human foibles.

His art was not limited to his technique, but included his ability to convey to the public his meaning, with the least possible use of words. These drawings hold a latent power and hidden allusion which grows as one examines them. His dignity is immediately and profoundly felt. His cartoons seem to emanate from his own zealous attempts to portray to others the need for reform or action, and the fervency and sincerity of them contribute a lasting quality. In my estimation Tenniel drew three cartoons which belong to the ages, not only as heights of satire but as works of art.

The first of these appeared August 22, 1857, in Punch, just after England had sent troops to India to annihilate the Sepoy rebels. The vicious atrocities
A COMMON SORROW.
of the rebels toward women and children had sent a great wave of revenge sweeping over England. Tenniel's drawing was labeled "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger". It pictures a leaping maddened lion jumping on an equally angry tiger who holds within his forepaws the prostrate figures of a woman and child. The animals are excellently drawn, true to life, and the entire picture conveys a deep and dreadful meaning.

In my opinion his next best is that drawn just after Lincoln's assassination. It is entitled, "The Nation Mourning at Lincoln's Bier". At the bedside are three figures: Columbia is prostrated with grief; a negro, his chains lying unloosed on the floor, is weeping with bowed head and taut arms full of anguish; and Britannia is shown in the center in an attitude of respect and sorrow, laying a wreath on the bier. The picture is devoid of any unnecessary detail.

The last of this group was drawn at the death of Garfield, when Tenniel drew another cartoon symbolizing the sympathy of the sorrowing mother country for the broken hearted nation. It simply pictures the goddess-like figure of Britannia holding in her arms a mourning Columbia.

To me these cartoons convey the idea that the nation as a whole, with Great Britain as a leader,
were gradually growing away from the viciousness of
the first cartoons and adopting a much more human
attitude.

While these two men, Kenniel and Teech were lust-
ily wielding their pencils in England for the cause of
France, there still existed a small school of suppress-
ed French cartoonists. It was not until after the fall
of the Empire in 1870 that the rigid bans governing
the press were lifted. When they were raised, of course
cartoons flooded the press. M. Armand Dayot, writing
of this epoch in Les Maîtres de la Caricature Francaise
en XIX Siècle, says, "It has been said with infinite
justice that when art is absent from caricature nothing
remains but vulgarity". The only men whose work is
acceptable during this period were Daumier, Gill and
Cham. Andre Gill was a witty fellow with a facile pen,
but had not the penetration of a Daumier. Cham was
the illustrious Comte Amadee de Noé. But the leader
in this second French period was again Daumier, who
came back in his old age with all his youthful enthus-
iasm and ardor to enter the battle of wits for the
sake of society. It was by means of the magazine Char-
iveri that the group let by Daumier this time wielded
the power of the pen.

Thus it may be seen that although caricature itself

1. Ibid. P. 66.
was a powerful instrument for the guidance of public opinion, when put into the hands of a group and presented through the medium of the weekly magazine its power doubled. For the first fifty years of the 19th century caricature was in the hands of individuals. It is quite true that many others were drawing comic pictures in those years, but because of the lack of a proper medium their product has not been preserved to us; we get none of the mediocre work of that period. Only those have been preserved who startled the world and alarmed all who observed them.

In that period we have Gillray and Rowlandson in England, who rode on the crest of the tide and then sank when their cause was removed. Then we see Philipon and his gallant crew of workers shoot to meteor-like fame for fifteen years in France, only to be suppressed by a rigid press law. With the foundation of Punch in 1841 in England such masters as Leech, Doyle and Tenniel brought the cartoon back to leadership. In 1870 we find the French released from their sentences of silence, and once again the celebrated Daumier leads his disciples in caricature, this time by means of the Charivari instead of La Caricature.

In Germany during these years there were two important magazines, Fliegende Blatter, 1844 and Kladderadatcch founded in 1848. In Germany there was little
political satire until the World War. The work done by a few outstanding men before the 20th century, as a general rule, concerned foreign nations. Parton says, "Rarely indeed does a German caricaturist presume to meddle with politics, and still more rarely does he do it with impunity. The Germans, with all their excellencies, seem wanting in that spirit that has given us our turbulent, ill-organized freedom".

19th century German art in caricature had none of the ill-tuned indecencies of the French, nor the subtle allusions of the English. It is simple and convincing. It has a certain dynamic quality in the fact of its striking severity and restraint. Parton compares the German cartoons with the American as lager beer to the goading cocktail. It is nevertheless, an outstanding fact that America's first two great cartoonists, Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler, were of German origin, and they were imbued with the essential German principles of political satire. Thomas Nast's work embodies characteristics of all three of the important European nations, but above all he clings to the German theory of simplicity in design. Joseph Keppler also demonstrates many German traits and notions in his work,

especially notable are his excellent detail and his use of the artistic unities.

It was during this epochal 19th century when nations were determining their destinies that the proponents of political satire discovered their power. We see it in the influential attack on Napoleon by Gillray across the channel, and again in the propaganda of Philipon in the La Caricature against Louise Philippe. We see French and German rulers realizing the power of pictorial editorials and suppressing them with an iron hand.

The French cartoon developed in this hundred years from a degenerate nondescript social caricature to a fierce, yet light hearted influence on the public. Its dominant characteristics were mirth and animation combined with an underlying seriousness. Look at a French cartoon and you are immediately impressed with its hilarity and humor. As you study it, however, you soon begin to realize that the artist meant something more than a joke. He has drawn into his work a lurking insinuation which strikes the reader unawares. The French cartoon is intensified innuendo. It is crammed full of inferences and insinuations.

The stolid English caricature stands in contrast. The English satire could be more easily compared to invective or ridicule than to innuendo; but more often
than either, it is simply explanatory and interpretive. Of course, Englishmen such as Leech were inspired to an intensity of grandeur and to Herculean efforts at satire. The English cartoon of the Punch and Judy type, however, is a good-natured, hail-fellow-well-met, inoffensive raillery.

While all these undercurrents of influence were growing in Europe, American caricature was gradually improving and beginning to emerge as a characteristic type. It is a strange phenomenon that while men of such magnitude as Daumier, Leech and Tenniel were harassing the governments of Europe, the American artists were still drawing crude pictures, totally lacking in dignity and design. While these men were drawing masterpieces and using devices which have never been condemned as useless, the American cartoon was incipient and rudimentary. The Americans learned nothing from European experience. Here in this land of freedom, the cartoonist did not take his place at the head of the line, while in oppressed Europe pictorial satire, fighting constantly against extreme odds to make itself felt.

After England, France, and Germany had harbored weekly comic magazines for four decades, the United States decided to try the experiment. Not until then did the American cartoonist do anything worth while
in the way of pictorial satire.

It is striking that in such a thriving, fledgling, upstart country there would be no cartoonists comparable to Gillray or Daumier and to Leech or Tenniel. Thomas Nast who heads our list of illustrious cartoonists, did not become known until after the Civil War. Nast, Keppler and Gillam had the insight to look to other nations for background. They took the biting innuendo from the French cartoon, the silent accusations and the superb technique from the Germans, and the dignity and perfection of line from the English. They discarded all old American devices such as the loop, the elaborate explanations, the metaphor of the steeplechase; and they gave life to their figures. They retained the symbols (such as Miss Democracy, John Public, The Donkey and the Eagle), that had developed in American art, and added many more. Into this composite picture they blended the indomitable, tenacious Yankee spirit, and the grim, inflexible determination of the pioneer. They could not eliminate the high hearted pluck and nerve of the Americans. Neither could they exclude the whimsicality and facetiousness so characteristic of our people. These elements combined to make, without a doubt, the most influential political satire in existence.
In spite of our slow start this nation has made astounding progress since 1876, when *Puck*, and soon later *Judge*, came to life. *Nast* came first, and, after he retired from the center of things, Joseph Keppler and Bernard Gillam. Then Homer Davenport and Frederick Burr Opper warred on the trust monopolies in the last decade of the 19th century. With the 20th century came new men, with John T. McCutcheon leading the field for many years. Then Jay N. Darling (*Ding*) forged to the head of the line on the Des Moines Register. "Ding" has held the spot light since 1910. Now he is sharing it with such men as Rollin Kirby on the *New York World Telegram*, Charles H. Sykes on the *Evening Public Ledger of Philadelphia*, C. C. Orr on the *Chicago Tribune*, Thomas on the *Detroit News*, Fitzpatrick on the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, Page on the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Warren on the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and S. J. Kay on the *Kansas City Star*.

As a summary of this endeavor at comparison and characterisation, I quote *The Nation* of August 11, 1910, in an article entitled *Political Cartoons*:

"Punch cartoons are much more direct, massive and serious than American products. Where we sketch and scrawl, the British cartoonist paints. He puts in fore-
ground and background, blocks out his figures, attends to his light and shades, and having left no chance for anyone to miss the point, repeats it in good sized print at the bottom of his picture. This justificatory legend at the bottom—we find in Carruthers Gould as we find it in Partridge and Raven Hill and their colleagues—is as characteristic of the English cartoon as the explanatory legend at the top of the page is characteristic of the English bit of light verse, ....

There is little of that light hearted abandon and stenographic style with which we on this side of the ocean picture the passing of presidents and the triumph or defeat of large issues and the pressure of serious economic problems. The average Englishman would refuse to put up with the hilarious illuminations which our comic artists today are shedding upon the question of the increased cost of living. He would resent our newspaper artists merry war with the trusts.....

"The question of relative merit does not enter here. If we take up the essential nature and purpose of the cartoon it may very well be that our superior agality, our great readiness in whimsicality and the illusive, fade before the straight forward give and take of the English cartoon. Directness of address is the prime quality where the object is to appeal to multitudes
and at once. Our own best cartoons have been simple. Thomas Nast did not hunt after cleverness. Davenport's widely disseminated "He is Good Enough for Me" is extremely simple. Mr. Oppen's family of trust giants leaves little to the imagination. Yes, these are the exceptions on our side of the water, just as Mr. Bernard Partridge in his lighter moods supplies the exception to the other."
Chapter V.

NATIONAL AND SECTIONAL SYMBOLISM.

Symbolism is one of the fundamental principles of the cartoon. Its use is as old as the use of the pen and the paint brush. It has always been a vehicle by which man has been able to express his emotions and make them vivid to others. It is a method of driving the point home which will succeed when nothing else will even make an impression. Is it not much more striking and impressive to have the figure of Columbia weeping in the arms of the regal Britannia than it would be to have an American of any description bemoaning his losses upon the shoulder of a stolid Englishman?

There have gradually come into being in this country and all over the world a group of symbols which are universal. These have grown by a slow process of elimination and addition. They have come, some by myth and some by accident, to mean one thing in the minds of everyone. This symbolism is a strange thing. Take such figures as the Russian bear, the British tiger, the Democratic donkey and the Republican elephant; put any one of these in a cartoon and to all the world it will mean but one thing, and that, the
A Typical Example of Characters Used to Symbolize Various Nations.
group it is assumed to represent. But the same figures taken out of a cartoon mean nothing more than a donkey, a bear or a lion. It is a strange phenomenon that the hold which a symbol may have upon minds all over the world should be so great.

Symbols used in cartooning may be divided into two classes: the conventional and the typical. The conventional symbols are those used in every form of art and interpretation. In this class I should include personifications such as those of war, peace, famine, death, disease, Father time, the old and the new year, and many others. The typical group, with which we are mainly concerned here, includes first, the personifications of nations, and second, those figures typical of different localities within our country. Among the most important of national figures are John Bull, The Russian Bear, Uncle Sam, Britannia, Columbia, the British Lion, the American Eagle and numerous minor ones such as the French figure of liberty, the bengal tiger and German beer drinker.

All nations have and still use typical symbols in their cartoons, but it is quite noticeable that the American cartoonist has at hand twice as many symbolical figures as the artists of other lands. He depends almost exclusively upon types for his representations.
These have grown up through the years, from the time when Uncle Sam was first used and the American Eagle did not have the conquering look that he wears today. The American cartoonist has at hand a type of man for every section of the country. He knows that if he draws a stately tall man with Van Dyke beard and mustaches, places a broad brimmed hat on his head and makes his hair slightly long on the neck, no one will mistake him for any other than a Southern Democratic Colonel. He can be sure that by drawing a tall lean man in a "five-gallon hat" and high-heeled boots and spurs he is sure to present a Westerner to the mind of America. And he is never wrong in drawing an insignificant little man in a derby hat and ill-fitting clothes as Mr. Plain Citizen or John Public. Then there is the Yankee Farmer, who is not so well known today, but who several decades ago could never be mistaken for anything but what he was.

In addition to these sectional types in use in this country, there are many other symbols used every day which are seldom realized as symbols. There are the elephant and the donkey, representative of the two political parties. Then we have the Labor Cap and the Full Dinner Pail made famous by Thomas Nast, which are symbolical of the labor party wherever they are seen. We have Columbia, taken from the statue of Liberty,
and the Eagle. But most important among the personifications of the United States is Uncle Sam.

The character of Uncle Sam as we have him now in his chin whiskers, striped trousers, starred vest, high hat and swallow-tailed coat flying in the wind, is a composite of many developments. Going back to the first example of the personification of the United States, we find that in 1843 the figure of Benjamin Franklin was in vogue. He was called Uncle Jonathan. Again we have one cartoon preserved by reproduction in Bishop's *Our Political Drama*. It is entitled, "Boston Notion of the World's Fair". This cartoon is also important as being one of the earliest having to do with the slave question. In this the figure is that of Benjamin Franklin holding up his hands in horror at a negro mammy feeding something out of a bowl to an infant in a cradle on top of which is perched the bald eagle. The negress is saying, "Look here Uncle Sam, dis is de stuff what is good for true liberty", while Uncle Sam says, "Is this the prize for which I toiled, slaved and fought and bled? This misbegotten bastard rocked by abolition and treason. I'm sick of it".

This picture was drawn by Clay in 1843, and is the first mention of the name Uncle Sam in the political cartoons of this country. Soon after this, in 1844 and 1845, the Englishmen, John Leech and Richard Doyle
began picturing Uncle Sam in an entirely different manner. The first drawing by Leech, about 1845, has two characters. They are a huge, red faced, contented looking individual, Mr. John Bull, looking down with apparent amusement at a small fiery little man in tight fitting trousers, swallow-tailed coat, and large hat, a little man with a jutting chin. John Bull is grinning at the gesticulating little man and saying, "What! You young Yankee Doodle, strike your own father!"

The next cartoon of any importance in this cycle is that drawn by Doyle in 1847. In this he incorporates the long lanky figure of Yankee Doodle in about the same dress with the name of Uncle Sam. This picture is entitled "The Land of Liberty". "In it," says Maurice and Cooper, "A lean and lanky, but still beardless Uncle Sam tilts lazily back in his rocking chair, a six shooter in his hand, a huge cigar between his teeth, one foot rests carelessly upon the bust of Washington which he has overturned. The other is thrown over the back of another chair in sprawling insolence. In the ascending clouds of smoke appear the Stars and Stripes, surrounded by a panorama of outrages, duels, barroom brawls, and over them all the contending armies of the Mexican War over whom a gigantic devil hovers, his hands extended over them as holding them under his power."

In 1856 there were five important cartoons circulated by Currier and Ives relating to the presidential campaign. Among these are two which portray the figure of Uncle Sam still further changed. In these he wears his high hat, striped trousers, boot straps, vest and swallow-tailed coat, but is still clean shaven. Since 1843, however, he has shown much change and is beginning to resemble the present day Uncle Sam.

In 1860 there is another cartoon in the Currier and Ives collection, "The Irrespressible Conflict", in which we again get the old type figure. By this time he seems to be taking on character and definite form, but he still lacks the whiskers and the "vim and vitality" which we now associate with him.

It is entirely possible that during the Civil War days the cartoonists associated the figure of Uncle Sam with that of Abraham Lincoln, and incorporated into the national symbolical character certain features of the national hero. At any rate it was soon after the War, in 1869, that a cartoon appeared portraying Uncle Sam with slight chin whiskers and a mustache. This was entitled "Uncle Sam's Taylorifics".

In 1872 Thomas Nast drew an Uncle Sam with Whiskers. He had an extremely long nose and was dressed in the usual striped trousers and swallow tailed coat,
but still he came far from resembling the popular conception of today.

In 1880, Keppler, then drawing for Puck, conceived a campaign cartoon which became one of the most widely discussed caricatures in years. Today it would probably never reach the copy desk. It was named "Forbidding the Banns". It shows a political wedding party at the altar, with Uncle Sam as the hesitant groom and General Garfield as the eager bride. The figure of the ballot box is the officiating clergyman. The ceremony is well under way when into the room rushes W.H. Barnum, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, shouting "I forbid the banns", and waving the figure of a baby in the air, marked "Credit Mobilier". The faces of all the bridal party show surprise and chagrin, while the bride quite naively says, "But it was such a little one".

In this cartoon Uncle Sam is pictured as nearly like the figure of today as any up to this time. He has scraggy white hair and chin whiskers, and a long lined face, with large nose and droll looking mouth.

In this picture he wears the starred vest and the striped trousers, the boots, the stiff collar and the flying coat tails. To the best of my knowledge and belief this is the first actual conception of Uncle
Sam as we have him today. To be sure, later Thomas Nast developed him into a wily, grinning, self-satisfied creature, and Davenport gave him a ludicrous appearance during the Alaskan gold rush of 1889. He is distorted into all sorts of clothes and makeups, but always he can be recognized, perhaps by the glitter in the eye, the length of figure, the long lanky legs or the flying whiskers. At any rate we have him today in all his glory.

I have given this, the most important of our national symbols, to show how and by what devious means the symbolical figure may develop. It is not known exactly how the term "Uncle Sam" ever originated. The most logical story has come down as a legend in a family named Wilson. It is said that there was a Samuel Wilson who in the War of 1812 was employed in a headquarters for supplies. As superintendent, Wilson was obliged to mark all boxes and packages which came through his office. He was called Uncle Sam by his friends, and in signing the goods he examined, he signed the initials U. S. One day a longshoreman asked the significance of the initials and was told that they meant "Uncle Sam". He observed that they also meant "United States" and in some freakish way he connected the two in his mind. He started the joking reference to the
United States as Uncle Sam, and it was picked up by the soldiers who hung around and soon adopted by the newspapers. By 1817 the name is supposed to have been firmly established in the minds of Americans. It is interesting to note that the descendants of this man are now trying to establish a memorial to him.

There are many other types of symbolism in the United States, but since this is the most used I have dwelt on it longer than on any other. There have been periods when certain types of symbolical usage were the vogue, only to fade in a few years. I have mentioned the Gerrymander of Gilbert Stuart. All during the history of political cartooning this device of picturing a country has been often used. In 1888 there appeared a notable cartoon of this type in Judge. It is merely the map of the entire United States drawn so as to represent the figure of Grover Cleveland bowing over to Great Britain and singing, "My Country, Tis of Me, Of Me I Sing".

Then there was the famous steeplechase idea which was so often used during the 19th century. Hardly a presidential campaign passed without being portrayed in some aspect of the steeplechase. One of the remnants of this and an interesting variation appeared in 1882, during the campaign of Cleveland and Harrison.
In this, each candidate is shown as a chariot driver racing for the goal. Their horses are labeled Economy, Tariff Reform, High Protection and Force Bill. The steeplechases were cluttered drawings, showing every man in the field driving some manner of vehicle toward the goal.

The tattooed man was a favorite symbol during the weekly illustrated period of cartooning. In 1876 Joseph Keppler published in Puck the picture of a tattooed Columbia. This was the precursor of Gillam's efforts in the same idea. Columbia is shown nude and in horrible distress. Over her body are tattooed such words as "Whisky Ring", "Black Friday", "Secession", "Tammany", "Election Frauds", and "Taxes".

Bernard Gillam, then drawing for Puck, conceived the idea of representing Blaine, running for president in 1884, as a tattooed man. In the first tattooed man cartoon he has many ludicrous figures grouped around the walls as if in a side show. Among them was the nude figure of Blaine, almost completely covered with tattooed figures. "Mulligan Letters" and "Bribery" stand out most prominently upon his shoulders. Later in the same year Gillam enlarged upon this idea, and published a series of hideous cartoons which are probably the most viperous that have ever been drawn in
the United States. This has been mentioned previously as the decadent period in American cartooning. These cartoons almost drove Mr. Blaine into a frenzy, and they truly were unutterably cruel.

There is certainly no country in the world which has a greater supply of traditional types upon which to draw for expression than America has. Our artists should be able to produce effects and combinations quite beyond those of other countries. For with all the wealth of symbolic material and with the American public always ready to welcome a symbolic figure with open arms and guffaws of laughter, the artist should be in his chosen realm here.
Chapter VI:
THE CHARACTER AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF THE CARTOON TODAY.

The exact influence of the political cartoon is difficult to trace. That it is a real social force is apparent; at a few distinct periods in its history its influence has been demonstrated and proven. The first example we find of this is the vitriolic attack of the Englishman Gillray upon Napoleon Bonaparte, which has been discussed in detail in an earlier chapter. Gillray is said to have exercised probably one of the greatest influences of propaganda against Napoleon in England by means of his cartoons. He was able to bring the problematical question of Napoleon's possible invasion of Great Britain to the attention of the illiterate and the poor; to the masses of Englishmen who otherwise would have been unaware of such a condition. It is in this group of people that the cartoon is the most useful, because of its direct, pictorial appeal.

Later in the century, in France, there was Philipon's caricaturing of Louis Phillippe, which set him up for public ridicule and aroused so much anxiety in court circles that the Emperor suppressed all political discussions in the newspapers. This act is in itself an
indication of the power of the cartoon. Its influence can be measured only by the reactions manifested in answer to it. When rulers start worrying and officials wondering over its activities, then we know that somewhere it is having effect.

In America, the influence was felt to some extent in the presidential elections beginning with that of the stormy Andrew Jackson. During the Civil War it may have had an unconscious power. In this period there were two outstanding cartoons which have been cited before as those drawn by Frank Beard in the early years of the war and by John Cameron somewhat later.

The first, "Why don't You Take It?[?], pictured "General United States" as a bulldog and Jefferson Davis as a little black nondescript hound with his tail tucked between his legs. The bone of contention was Washington, and the bulldog has put the hound to flight merely by his ferocious, undaunted appearance. It has been said that the appearance of this cartoon in shop windows brought such crowds that the streets of Washington were made impassable, and it was likewise circulated in all parts of the North.

The drawing by Cameron pictured Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis excitedly pulling in two a map of the United States. Lincoln says, "No peace without Abolition"; Davis insists, "No peace without separation";
while General McClellan, as peacemaker, is saying with a hand on the shoulder of each man, "The Union must be preserved at all hazards". The cartoon entitled is, "The True Issue, or That's What the Matter".

The effect produced by such drawings must have been one of stimulation and reassurance to a puzzled nation. The pictorial qualities of these cartoons impressed upon the non-reading public, as well as the literate group, the solidarity of the union. They interpreted quite plainly "the real issue" of the War of the Secession. Undoubtedly they served as propaganda for the Union itself. The virtue of these two cartoons in particular is that they both, and especially the second, are for the Southerner as well as the Northerner. They are for the Union as a unit instead of divided. Such drawings would undoubtedly arouse a wave of comment through the northern states; they impressed upon the statesmen and politicians the fact that the people realized the true issue in the case and impelled action on the part of the government.

The circulation of these two cartoons exceeded 100,000; a circulation so enormous for its time must undoubtably have meant much discussion and opinion. It is unimaginable that a drawing could by its own value and character reach a hundred thousand people during the Civil War days without exercising an influence.
But America lacked initiative and genius in the art of satire. Our great cartoonist, Thomas Nast, of course, marks the turning point in the influence of the American cartoon as well as the technique of it. As has been mentioned before it was he who made Boss Tweed beg for mercy from the cartoon attacks. There are but a few outstanding examples of definite influence but we know that many of the cartoons previously mentioned have swayed history. We know that this weapon of satire would never have developed to its present excellence had there not been a demand for it and a reaction to it by the people.

American artists had to learn that in order to influence an American public they must first attract it. To do this they appealed primarily to the inherent American sense of humor. Thus the most of our cartoons today are tinged with humor, and many of them are imbued with it. But there are a few, a very few, which have no humor: the stark, tragic cartoons which hold such a dramatic appeal to all who see them.

As a present day example, at the death of Thomas A. Edison, on October 18, 1931, there appeared a cartoon in the Kansas City Star, drawn by S. J. Ray. It pictures the figure of Edison dignified in age, taking slow steps toward a great dazzling light, the source of which we do not see. With his hands outstretched
before him the great inventor does not hesitate, but marvelling he takes steady steps onward. The picture is entitled "The Greatest Mystery of All". It is not the best technique, nor is there anything striking in the draughtsmanship, but the startling, dauntless quality of the inventor's spirit is there, and the picture is impressive in its dignity and reserve.

Again, during the recent Lindbergh tragedy, Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch drew an amazingly effective cartoon with no vestige of humor. This drawing simply pictures a threatening venomous hand-poised taut over a small community as if ready to snatch its prey at any moment. The hand is labeled "Kidnapping", and the drawing bears the Title "A Nation's Peril". There is no humor here. It is nothing but staring tragedy and horror. It is enough to strike terror to all who see it.

In spite of the many references to the American irreverence and triviality in the face of sorrow and disaster, we find that our best, most conscientious artists do possess a feeling for the fitness of humor and sobriety. They are good judges of when to abandon the evercontagious spark of satire and wit, and when to be thoughtful and serious. We may say that humor is the basis of the American political cartoon, but such
a statement must be qualified by adding that the cartoonists do not hesitate to depart from such a basis when occasion demands.

The question still lies before us: Does the cartoon influence the public? Does it have any effect upon newspaper readers? Does it cause any reaction beyond drawing a laugh? Are its pictorial qualities outstanding enough that they hold public interest? And does it reflect the spirit of the people?

The newspaper is rare in the United States today which does not include at least one political cartoon in its editorial page. Cartoons are difficult to avoid because of their frequency, and their numbers continue to increase. The journals of opinion such as the Literary Digest, The Review of Reviews, The Survey Graphic, Time, The World Tomorrow and Current History, devote pages to reproductions of current cartoons. They collect them from all over the country and group them according to subject; and they have a liberal sprinkling of reproduced cartoons all through their pages. They use them to illustrate the timely problems and actions of the great American political machine, and they devote pages to showing conflicting opinions from all parts of the country and demonstrating cartoonists' varying interpretations.
No sensible editor will force anything upon his readers which he does not think they will like or which will not make them think. No sane editor will fill his pages with humorous pencil drawings if he did not know to a certainty that they would have results. He would not make such steady use of them were he not sure they would add to the influence and prestige of his magazine.

This then is the apparent clue to the problem. The final answer lies in observable effect and the laws of probability. The cartoon has two potential values: as an index to public opinion and social spirit and as an influence upon them.

I believe that at the present time its power as a reflector of public feeling is more important than its influence. The cartoon in our daily newspapers reflects in varied forms the trend of public thought and the direction of feeling. It handles all phases of national and world problems, and interprets to an observant reader the way in which the people are responding to government measures.

After all, the great cartoonist is the voice of the people. He teaches but he is not dogmatic, nor does he talk over the heads of the lowest. He speaks on a level to which all are able to rise or to stoop. His is a common medium which appeals to all class of society
The powerful cartoonist does not confine his drawings to self expression. He puts into them the feelings of the classes and humanity as a group; he listens with his ear to the ground for rumblings of discontent and mutiny, and then through his inspired pencil he puts these currents of feeling before us for all to see and realize.

The cartoon in my estimation is a weapon of and for democracy. Its power of interpretation and as an index of public thought is great enough to cause senators and even presidents to look and hesitate before acting. I believe its greatest power lies not in its leadership, although undoubtedly it does carry weight in influencing thought, but in its power to crystallize and formulate half-thoughts and half-feelings which need to be brought before the people and the government. It takes these half-realizations, makes them whole and then flashes them before our eyes. We instantly respond, and with a feeling of having thought that way ourselves for a long time; but without this medium such latent thoughts would never be revealed.

The political caricature, then, in my opinion is distinctly a weapon of the people, which in all its potential strength would be a threat to any government. It is inspired by the masses, and the cartoonist
and the cartoonist is merely the mouthpiece by which it speaks.

The influence of the cartoon upon public opinion and behavior is the less important of its values. Except as it influences statesman and government officials, I believe that leadership is its secondary purpose, today. The greater part of the issues attacked by the cartoonists are out of the hands of the people at large and in the hands of the few. The problem facing the cartoonist is to bring the questions before this great group of people dynamically enough that they will respond, in order that when the time comes for them to voice an opinion, it may be heard and heeded by those in power.

I believe that it is the double duty of the cartoonist to keep the government and the people informed as to the opinions and ideas of others; and to formulate for the public its opinions and shape them in the most simplified terms. It is the purpose of the cartoonist primarily to reflect thought and propaganda and secondarily to lead it.

Finally, I have come to the conclusion that the important cartoonists today are successfully carrying out the first mentioned purpose, I believe they are reflecting through their work and in the most effective manner possible the thoughts of the people and the
social spirit. As to whether the cartoon is forging ahead as a leader and crusader, I am not so sure. I father doubt whether its actual influence is very great, aside from the influence it unquestionably exerts upon the men at the head of the nation. I am, however, firm in my belief that the American political cartoon today is truly the American spirit speaking.
A COLLECTION OF CARTOONS ILLUSTRATING
THE TREND OF MODERN THOUGHT CONCERNING DISARMAMENT, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
AND THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR.
The Great Failure of the Ages

Survey Graphic; February, 1932
The Review of Reviews, April, 1932

STEEL SNOWBALLS THREATEN THE KELLOGG PACT

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Three Years Old

Survey Graphic, February, 1932
A RARE MANCHURIAN PRINT
Japan and China are supervised by the War God.

The Review of Reviews, January, 1932

THE HUNGRY WAR GOD
Mars asks 200 pounds a minute from British tax-payers—who acclaim the coming Disarmament Conference!

The Review of Reviews, February, 1932
From the Evening Times (Glasgow, Scotland)

PEACE PLAYS PRECARIOUS CRICKET

The Review of Reviews, April, 1932

National Council for Prevention of War

Machine Massacre

Survey Graphic, February, 1932
"Dove, Did You Say?  I Can't See Any Dove!"
—The "Bulletin" (Glasgow).

Literary Digest, April 23, 1932

Now to Get Rid of Some of This Stuff

Survey Graphic, February, 1932
FRANCE at the Disarmament Conference.

The Review of Reviews, April, 1932

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

By Warren in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

BAYING AT THE MOON

The Review of Reviews, March, 1932
DEFIANCE AT GENEVA
Can the League Typewriter stop the Japanese?
Review of Reviews, January, 1932

MR. PUBLIC DISCOVERS COUNTER ATTRACTIONS
Review of Reviews, April, 1932
By Ireland, in the Columbus Dispatch
Most of China Doesn't Know There's a War

The Review of Reviews, May, 1932
THE LEAGUE CENSURES
The League of Nations indignantly halted the pacific Austro-German customs union last Spring.

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

THE LEAGUE IGNORES
But the League hesitates timidly when confronted by the Chino-Japanese strife in bloody Manchuria.

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

The Review of Reviews, January, 1932

JAPAN CARRIES ON IN MANCHURIA
Her Army arrives, and conquers. The League of Nations protests. Japan triumphantly remains.

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

The Review of Reviews, February, 1932
TO SHOOT OR NOT TO SHOOT?

If the neutrals try to rescue Peace by firing at the Japanese abductor, they may destroy her, alas, in the process.

From De Groene Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)

IN OLD SHANGHAI—1932

"It seems that peace is near."
"Yes, almost within gunshot."

From Il Travaso (Rome)

The Review of Reviews, April, 1932
AMERICAN CARTOONISTS PORTRAY THE PRESENT FINANCIAL SITUATION IN VARIED STYLES AND BOTH SERIOUS AND AMUSING.
AND THEY ASK 2 BILLIONS MORE.

From the New York World-Telegram.

VETERANS' RELIEF ACCOUNTED FOR 76% OF THE 976 MILLION DEFICIT.

IT GOT 41% OF THE INCOME TAX IN 1931. IN 1953 IT WILL GET ALL OF THE INCOME TAX & MORE.

AT PRESENT RATE IT WILL, BY 1955, SWALLOW THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENTAL INCOME.

1,300,000 PERSONS GETTING BOUNTY AT THE TAXPAYER'S EXPENSE.
"Boys Will Be Boys"
—Cowan in the Boston "Transcript."

The Gathering Storm
—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis "Post-Dispatch."

Literary Digest, April 23, 1932

Literary Digest, April 15, 1932
No One Else Could Do It
—Thomas in the Detroit "News."

Literary Digest, April 15, 1932

"Who's Out of Step?"
—Page in the Louisville "Courier-Journal."

Literary Digest, April 23, 1932
MR. HOOVER'S National Credit Corporation supplies a necessary element.

GEN. DAWES HEADS FOR THE NORTH POLE
By Fitzpatrick, in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Review of Reviews, January, 1932
CAN WE BELIEVE OUR EYES?

By Warren, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

The Review of Reviews, March, 1932

The Siege of Washington
By Warren, in the Philadelphia Public Ledger

The Review of Reviews, Feb., 1932
TRYING OUT FOR HIS PILOT'S LICENSE
Has the Democratic party made good in its control over the House of Representatives?

WHY LEAVE HOME TO HUNT BEARS?

The Review of Reviews, May, 1932
By Darling, in the Des Moines Register
YOU SEE HOW IT IS, DON'T YOU?

The Review of Reviews, January, 1932

PUZZLE: FIND THE MAN WHO PAYS FOR THE CAR.

They Don't Even Slow Down
—Darling in the New York "Herald Tribune."

Literary Digest, April 15, 1932
Kirby Gives Here a Vivid Picture of His Opinion on Employment Insurance.
Just Where Does This One Fit?
A GROUP OF COLLECTED CARTOONS REPRESENTING CURRENT OPINIONS ON PROHIBITION AND THE COMING ELECTION.
WHY NOT USE THE OTHER COAL BIN?

By Talburt, in the New York World Telegram

THE REPUBLICAN LEANING TOWER

The Review of Reviews, March, 1932

The Review of Reviews, May, 1932
The Review of Reviews, May, 1932
I ACCEPT THE NOMINATION

By Darling, in the New York Herald Tribune

The Review of Reviews, March, 1932

ALL SHINED UP

By Kuhn, in the Indianapolis News

The Review of Reviews, February, 1932
TEXAS SMILES AT A FAVORITE SON

LEAP YEAR FOR MISS DEMOCRACY

HARD RIDERS FROM THE SOUTHWEST

The Review of Reviews, May, 1932.

The Review of Reviews, April, 1932

The Review of Reviews, February, 1932
THE FOLLOWING COLLECTION OF CARTOONS IS INCLUDED BECAUSE OF THEIR VALUE AS INTERPRETATIONS OF WORLD AFFAIRS. CHIEF AMONG THESE ARE THOSE CONCERNING THE GOLD STANDARD, REPARATIONS, TARIFF, INTERNATIONAL TRADE, AND SOME INTERESTING FOREIGN CONCEPTIONS OF ADOLPH HITLER, THE GERMAN NAZI LEADER.
We Would Be Glad of the Chance
—Thomas in the Detroit "News."

We Would Be Glad of the Chance
—Thomas in the Detroit "News."

Any time you are worried about my dollar, I'll take back all you borrowed.

Literary Digest, April 23, 1932

By Sykes, in the New York Evening Post
"HEMINENTLY SUITABLE!"

The Review of Reviews, March, 1932
BOOSTING THE HOME PRODUCTS (Above)

The recent British general election is ushering in tariff protection to supplant the historic free trade. Cartoonist Strube depicts Mr. Citizen in the act of promoting his native manufactures. "Buy British!"

The Review of Reviews, January 1932

ANOTHER NAPOLEON

France under M. Laval occupies an even stronger position than did the Napoleonic Empire of 1810.

From the Daily News Chronicle (London)

PASSING THE BUCK

Premier MacDonald passes the knotty problem of tariffs to Chancellor Chamberlain of the Exchequer.

From the Daily News Chronicle (London)
PULL, DOGS, PULL!
England, Germany, and Reparations in action.
From the Record (Glasgow, Scotland)

The Review of Reviews, February 1932
FRANCO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP (Right)
Premier Laval to Uncle Sam: "Let us preserve the gold standard—at your expense." The reference is to Premier Laval's visit to Washington.
From Izvestia (Moscow, Russia)

Review of Reviews, Jan. 1932

French versus German Finance
"The Old Guard never surrenders—a sou," says Will Dyson, Britain's Labor cartoonist, who takes the German view of war reparations.

From the Daily Herald (London)
OLD PAUL AND THE HITLER FLY
From the Glasgow Evening Times

The Review of Reviews, May 1932

Germany's Rock of Safety
—De Groene Amsterdammer.
HITLER SALUTES
(Left)
A play on his
swastika cross em-
blem.
From Der Goetz
(Vienna)

The Review of Reviews, February 1932

HITLER SPREADEAGLES GERMANY

The black swastika cross, emblem of Adolf Hitler's nationalist move-
ment, is depicted by the Dutch cartoonist as threatening all points
of the Reich. Local elections are everywhere going Hitlerite, but
in the last analysis "Handsome Adolf" believes in the fascist
doctrine of brute force. His militant followers already control the
German federal states of Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and Hesse; with
prospects of a decisive victory in the Prussian state elections of
the Spring. The bomb-and-dagger motif of this anti-Hitler sketch
is, of course, patently exaggerated.

The Review of Reviews, January 1932
From Moustique (Charleroi, Belgium)

THE POILU WATCHES HITLER'S FLIGHT

The Review of Reviews, April 1932

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

IF GERMANY ATTACKS FRANCE
The disarmed Reich can use her 117,000 tax collectors to
Copy of a letter received from Jay N. Darling, nationally known cartoonist.

My dear Miss Bowers:

I am writing in reply to your request for an opinion regarding the position in which the cartoon is now held by the journalistic world. There are several questions which you have asked in your letter which I will attempt to answer first.

In my opinion the cartoon, at present, influences probably more public opinion than it ever did, but largely because of the great number of editorial cartoons which are set before the public, and since the cartoons are of all shades of opinion, just as editorials in the various papers are reflections of the thought of the various editors, it turns out that while the cartoons do probably wield a larger influence and come before the notice of a greater number of people than ever, the result is by no means a unified effort to direct public sentiment in one direction.

For instance, when there was only one cartoonist in the country - and his name was Thomas Nast - all of the cartoon influence in America was in the direction of his opinions. I doubt if there is any one cartoonist today who wields as much influence as Thomas Nast did in his day.

I have over a hundred papers in the United States which almost daily print my cartoons, but in every town where these cartoons appear there is another cartoonist who perhaps may be of an opposite opinion and while I reach more readers than Thomas Nast did, by several million, I am sure that the influence is not as great as in his day.

The cartoon of today is by no means universally a subsidiary of the editorial page. There are papers which still insist that the editorial opinion and the cartoon reflect each other, but that number is rapidly diminishing. With my string of papers I never even consider the editorial policy of the paper in making my daily cartoon. Of course I presume there are occasions when one of my subscribers
takes violent opposition to the opinion I express and either withholds the cartoon from publication or writes an editorial disputing its doctrines. This happens occasionally. But I never have requests from any of these papers to alter my editorial policy to conform with their editorials. That perhaps is the best indication of the broadening state of mind in the newspaper world.

You ask it the cartoon is for entertainment or is it a weapon of influence. That brings up the whole question that is often debated in editorial sanctums: whether a comic is a cartoon at all and whether or not the title "cartoon" should be reserved for the original conception, which was a cartoon reflecting political, social or economic opinion.

The comic strip artists call themselves cartoonists but I doubt if they belong in that category.

Then you have the human interest cartoonist, who plays upon the foibles and weaknesses of humans. Such men are Briggs, Webster, Guyas Williams, etc. They approach the editorial cartoon but are made largely for entertainment.

Finally you come down to the old-fashioned editorial cartoon, and it is strictly a "weapon of influence", but I doubt if its influence would be great if there were not a sugar coating of entertainment in the picture. If you can make your administration of editorial medicine pleasant to take unquestionably the influence will be wider. Therefore my prescription for a good cartoon is that it must always have an element of fun and entertainment in it, no matter how serious the topic. There are occasions, such as the Lindbergh kidnapping, when the intrusion of humor would be offensive, but in most cases, both politically and economically a cartoon to be of wide influence must have the spirit of fun attached to it.

The most important development in the cartoon field since the War is a difficult problem. Just at a glance I should say there has been no great change in the cartooning profession in that time, except a gradual growth of liberal ideas and a tendency on the part of the editors to make the cart-
oonists master of their own trade. That is there has been a very rapid extension of the privilege of opinion, to reliable cartoonists.

The American political cartoon in its present state is distinctly an American invention. It has been used more widely in America than in any place in the world. England has only adopted the cartoon habit since the War. France has never ventured much in that field, outside the illustrated magazines but has in its place a long history of caricature. However, the spirit of the cartoon has existed in the art of the world since the days of the Egyptians, and how much longer I am unable to state.

The purpose which the cartoon is serving now is, in my own judgment, a very worthy one. The leaders of the profession I think are very sincere in the efforts to express American ideas which will be helpful and beneficial to the public generally, both political and social. The old bitter attacks of brutal criticism have been largely discarded because it was found that they made more enemies than friends for the cause for which they were produced.

McCutcheon, Ireland, Shoemaker, Gale, Herb Johnson and Rollin Kirby are all men of very high character who are trying their best to stimulate American ideals and promote fairness and honesty in all government and public relations. I think they accomplish much.

There are, on the other hand, editors who are only interested in the commercial success and where you find that influence powerful you will find them misusing the cartoon profession, hiring cartoonists who have no pride in their convictions, and they warp the public mind for insidious purposes. I am proud to say, however, that the influence of that group is, I believe, much less than the influence of the group which I have mentioned above.
What the American public may think of the activities of the cartoonist I cannot say altho you may well guess I have tried diligently to find out. My personal opinion is that I have been roundly cursed by those who disagreed with me and lavishly praised by those who found theo own convictions expressed in my cartoons.

I do not think the cartoonist could ever save the world from destruction or make it into an El Dorado by their pictures, but I do think they form a very efficient sounding board for the passing emotions and doctrines of the day.

Yours very truly,

J. N. Darling.
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