

**Exploring Two Histories of American Political Cartoons.
With a Digression: Late-19th-Century Treatments of the Theme
"Immigrants from Europe's Gutters" as Conveyed Visually, vs. Its
Mocking by Parroting in Immigrant Literature (*Tractate America*)**

Ephraim Nissan

Department of Computing, Goldsmiths' College, University of London, England, U.K.;
School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, The University of Manchester, England, U.K.

Review essay

Donald Dewey, *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007. 251 pages. 238×236 mm. \$34.95 (cloth). ISBN-13: 978-0-8147-1985-5; ISBN-10: 0-8147-1985-6

Stephen Hess and Sandy Northrop, *American Political Cartoons: From 1754 to 2010. With a new chapter by the authors*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2011. 203 pages. 228×178 mm. (paperback). ISBN 978-1-4128-1119-4 [Augmented from Stephen Hess and Sandy Northrop, *Drawn & Quartered: The History of American Political Cartoons*, Elliott & Clark Publishing, 1996, itself a revision of: Stephen Hess and the late Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons*, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1968, 1975.]

Abstract. Both books under review are deservedly classics, and they are complementary to each other. They are valuable both for the textual analysis they provide, and for the visual data (the political cartoons), of which the overlap is rather small: such a small overlap is made possible because Dewey's main source is the Granger Collection in New York (and most cartoons in his book are reproduced full-page). One can see how technical sophistication grew, from the American Revolution period, through the Early Republic, to great sophistication already after the Civil War. Arguably, these books are not only important for cartoon or popular culture specialists. To illustrate the great contribution such material can make across disciplinary boundaries, the present essay shows how contemporary moods in New York City shaped both Frank Beard's anti-immigration cartoon of 1885, "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests", and group self-deprecation and mock-parroting of the canard, namely, of the stereotypes that inspired Beard's cartoon, in the opening of his 1892 satire of immigrant life in New York City, *Tractate America*. The cartoon and the literary text interilluminate each other.

Keywords: Political cartoons; United States; History; Social conditions; Gerson Rosenzweig; Satire.

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1. The Structure of the Two Books

Stephen Hess, who worked on the staff or as an advisor of four American presidents, is an author on journalism and politics. Sandy Northrop is a television producer, and an expert on political cartoons. Donald Dewey is a prolific author of books on American popular culture, ranging from a history of baseball fans, to biographies of actors; he is also a prolific author for magazines, and an expert on late-19th-century American history.

Of the two books considered, Hess and Northrop's first edition of *American Political Cartoons* came first — even the 1996 edition was a revision of a book from 1968 — and an added chapter appears in their 2011 edition under review here. The main title of Dewey's book echoes that of Hess and Kaplan's book of 1968, which is mentioned indeed on the very first page of Dewey's "Introduction".

Dewey's *The Art of Ill Will*, which appeared in 2007, spans the same historical range and thematic spectrum, but he does so in text conceived of and organised differently (thematically rather than by historical period), and by mainly drawing upon The Granger Collection in New York, and ther advantages of his full-page reproduction of most cartoons is ostensibly such an advantage, that is sets new standards. The textual analysis in both books is masterful. "Ill will" on the part of cartoonists is a descriptor ascribed (25) to Jules Feiffer, a cartoonist who from 1956, remained affiliated with the New York weekly *Village Voice* for 41 years (65).

Dewey's book consists of a textual part, entitled "Introduction" (1–73), with sporadic cartoons. It is followed by the second part, which consists of full-page cartoons (hence the rationale for the wide, nearly square page). Thaty second part is subdivided into chapters, each with a short textual preface of two or three pages: "Presidents" (75), "Wards and Foreign Relations" (117), "Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Issues" (165), "Local and Domestic Politics" (193), and "Business and Labor" (225). Endnotes and an index follow.

In contrast, the cartoons in Hess and Northrop's book are insterspersed with the textual discussion. Their *American Political Cartoons* consists of an "Introduction" (8–23), followed by the chapters "The Birth of a National Identity: 1754–1865" (24–51), "The Rise of the American cartoon: 1865–1896" (52–67), "The Cartoon Comes of Age: 1896–1918" (68–87), "The Art of Uncertainty: 1918–1947" (88–103), "The Cartoonist versus the Television: 1947–1974" (104–125), "Coming Full Circle: 1975–1996" (126–148), and "Cartooning at a Crossroads: 1997–2010" (149–187). "Resources" lists archives (189), as well as briefly mentioning the short-lived journals *Target* (1981–1987, edited by the Richard Samuel West, also the editor of the journal *The Puck Papers*) and *Inks, Cartoons, and Comic Art Studies* (Ohio State University, 1994–1997). "Websites devoted to the study of comic art and editorial cartoons have also proliferated" (189), but none is named. The bulk of "Resources" is a bibliography broken down by chapter (189–194). It is followed by credits (195–197) and the index (198–201).

Typos are rare. In Dewey's book, I found "Luisitania" (46, *recte*: Lusitania), and "trial balloon" followed by "trial ballon" (18).

2. The Textual Discussion in Dewey's *The Art of Ill Will*: A Commentary

Dewey's "Introduction: The Story of American Political Cartoons" (1–73) is a learned but readable long essay, not necessarily dedicated to a commentary about individual cartoons. It is itself subdivided into "Politics" (1–6), "Caricatures" (6–10), "Symbols" (10–20), "Words" (20–25), "Stereotypes" (25–33), "Influence" (33–39), "Expansions" (39–45), "Prohibitions" (45–51), "New Deals" (51–55), "Cold Wars" (55–61), "New Societies" (61–67), "Images" (67–73).

Dewey's "Politics" begins (1) with a quick enumeration of "less than reverent" pictorial political statements, repeating from Hess and Kaplan's *The Ungentlemanly Art* the claim that the oldest extant political cartoon targeted Pharaoh Akhenaten. "But there are limits to citing such precedents" (1), as "the contentions about the Akhenaten illustration resemble the enchanted history that has claimed the sands around the pyramids as the first baseball diamond and Babylonians as the first vaudeville comics" (1). Dewey refers approvingly to Isabel Simeral Johnson criticism (1937, p. 37) of the hypothesis of an Akhenaten cartoon, and remarks: "The most malicious of Egyptian caricaturists would have been hard pressed to offer something creepier than the original" (1–2). I am not convinced of that other claim, either. I would like however to signal a quite relevant discussion in Nissan (2008a), a paper developing a mathematical representation for the precis of the anecdote about Tamerlane and the three painters, an anecdote that may be apocryphal (it probably is), but that was based on Tamerlane's quite real (and forensically ascertained) physical handicaps. The third painter managed to avoid execution, by neither failing to flatter Tamerlane (the first painter angered him by eliminating all ungainly features), nor offending him with a warts-and-all portrait (doing which doomed the second painter), but rather portraying Tamerlane shooting an arrow from his bow: Tamerlane was kneeling down, so one would not notice that one leg was shorter; on shooting an arrow, an archer would also hunch his back, so one would not notice that Tamerlane was a hunchback; and finally, in order to aim, Tamerlane shut an eye, so one could not tell out the squint which affected his eyes (because you need to see both of them open, to tell out). A discursive discussion of issues involved in portraying a ruler, and funny situations in eight (textual) vignettes, can be found in Nissan (2008a, pp. 546–555, Sec. 3.6: "Intentions and Effects of Portraying the Ruler").

"In the United States, there is little argument that the earliest example of political cartoon art of any kind involved that most fertile of colonial minds, Benjamin Franklin's" (2). Dewey points out that the contest for primacy is among drawings by Franklin: either his "Join, or Die" (engraved by Paul Revere), a cartoon published on 9 May 1754 (it flatters me that American cartoons were born, then, exactly 201 years before myself), or, in 1746, "The Wagoner and Hercules": the intended moral was: help yourselves. It illustrates an old parable, by Franklin "was trying to whip up Pennsylvanians to protect their land from threatening Indians, even if doing so entailed defending Quakers who declined to protect themselves. He later asserted that the pamphlet and the cartoon were decisive for raising a militia of some ten thousand volunteers" (3). Graphics attacking Franklin for double-dealing — he "publicly condemned the massacre of a peaceful Conestoga village [of Native Americans] by a band of cutthroats" (3), but prevented the crime being punished — "helped cost him his seat in Pennsylvania Assembly elections held shortly afterward, arguably making for the first instance of graphic work influencing local politics" (3).

The introduction of lithography into the United States, "largely due to German and French immigrants" (5), eventually served political cartoons well. The first of them printed lithographically "showed a map of the nation, over which Andrew Jackson's winning party in the form of a ravenous alligator in the West and John Quincy Adams's losing party in the guise of a tortoise in the East were engaged in a tail-tied tug-of-war" (5). The alligator and turtle cartoon appears as a full-page image on p. 79 in Dewey's book. Incidentally, I would like to signal another appearance of a turtle in early American cartoons. It, too, has a tug-of-war, but this time, the turtle is not among those pulling. The turtle appears in a small detail (Fig. 1) of a lithographed cartoon by James Akin (an artist not mentioned by Dewey), entitled "Crib of Wolf Meat", on local politics in Philadelphia, and is from 1834–1835. That full cartoon is Fig. 20 on p. 80 in a study by Quimby (1972) devoted to Akin. That cartoon shows a wolf wearing trousers and a coat, standing above a coop inscribed with such labels as "candy" and "waffle bread", while several men pulls a rope in whose noose there is the head of another man. The cartoon is explained as follows (Quimby 1972, pp. 76–77):

Turning to local politics, Akin's lithograph *Crib of Wolf Meat and Court Fodder* [...] comments on the Whig Party's attempt to defeat Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, Democratic Governor George Wolf's candidate in the congressional election of 1834. Following Jackson's bank veto of 1833, the Democratic Party had split into two factions. Pennsylvania's Governor Wolf, who had been a supporter of the Bank, was forced into making an ambiguous statement on the veto that was easily interpreted as a reversal of his earlier stand. The split that ensued — although it did not seriously endanger the Democrats' chances in congressional or state elections — encouraged the Whig Party to contest incumbent Democrats. [... p. 77: ...] Akin's *Crib of Wolf Meat and Court Fodder* pictures a wolf (Governor Wolf) overseeing the electoral tug of war from his perch atop the public crib, which is stuffed with tokens of patronage. Dr. Joel, who feels the power of Jemmy (Gowen) and the Sons of Erin, holds the spoils of office in his hand. The unpleasant half-animal, half-human creatures crawling around Sutherland's feet remind the doctor of their support. The term "wolf-meat" can be interpreted as patronage; it is an obvious and convenient pun on the governor's name.



Fig. 1. A turtle, chicken, and unpleasant animals, at the bottom of James Akin's mid-1830s lithograph "*Crib of Wolf Meat and Court Fodder*", about Philadelphian politics (Quimby 1972).

Not only was technology imported; also the artists had often come from abroad: "British and Central European immigrants [...] dominated American cartoonist ranks in the nineteenth century" (Dewey, 8).¹ "The most accomplished nineteenth-century artists — Keppler and Nast² — embodied the extremes of how to express excitement" (9). Both of them were

¹ On this, too, Quimby had something relevant to say (1972, p. 59): "In the field of field of engraving as in most areas of the arts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, America was a cultural satellite of England. The work of a little-known yet proficient engraver and cartoonist, James Akin, is indicative of this technical and stylistic reliance. [...] Akin's work formed a transitional bridge to the age of lithography. The medium of lithography provided him with an inexpensive means of reproducing his cartoons. Although the first lithograph executed in America was produced in Philadelphia by Bass Otis in 1818, America's first lithographed cartoon was not produced until 1829. Anthony Imbert's *A New Map of the United States*, issued in 1829, has generally been considered the first American lithographed cartoon, but at least one of Akin's lithographs, *Philadelphia Taste Displayed*, was probably also executed as early as 1829, the same year in which Philadelphia's first commercial lithography firm was established by William B. Lucas, formerly a 'gilder'. A few months after launching his business, Lucas was joined by another gilder, David Kennedy. A rival firm, Pendleton, Kearney, and Childes, established itself within the year. Philadelphia Taste Displayed was signed 'Drawn on Stone by James Akin, Printed by Kennedy & Lucas, Lithographic Prints'. In 1833 the firm of Kennedy and Lucas failed, and in May, 1834, their equipment was offered at sale. Perhaps Akin was on hand for the sale, for within the next year he apparently had access to his own lithographic press."

² See St. Hill (1974) on Thomas Nast (it is by his grandson), Keller (1968), Vinson (1957), Burns (1999), and Reaves (1987) again on Thomas Nast (1840–1902), and West (1988) on Joseph Keppler. There exists an Ohio State University website devoted to cartoons by Nast: <http://www.lib.ohio-state.edu/cgaweb/nast> Likewise, there exists a website of cartoons by Keppler: http://www.greatcaricatures.com/keppler/01_keppler.shtml

German-born, and Nast could be very nasty. Unlike Keppler, "Nast, by contrast, seldom saw anything funny in what irritated him, and his satirical imagination was processed by razor blades" (9).

Dewey's section "Caricatures", from which the quotations in the previous paragraph are taken, begins with Ralph Waldo Emerson's attention to this artistic form (6). Portraits could be "meticulous (not to say stiff)" (7). "Throughout the middle years of the [19th] century, the prevailing cartoon motif was that of the successful lithographers Nathaniel Currier and James Merritt Ives; rather than distorting a subject's features, their customary approach to what passed for commentary was to depict realistically rendered public features in some incongruous situation saying absurd things in balloons of dialogue" (7). Caricatures spread after the Civil War, and that was when they became sophisticated (7).

"Symbols", the theme of the third section in Dewey's "Introduction", is of course important, and the history of the donkey and the elephant as standing for respectively the Democrats and the Republicans is given (17–19). So is that of Uncle Sam and Liberty — whose predecessor was Columbia, something like a response to the British symbol Britannia. "Minuis the torch and the book, Columbia herself had been called 'Liberty' long before F. A. Bartholdi's sculpture was dedicated in New York harbor in 1886" (13). "Since the World War I years, the Statue of Liberty has had its male equivalent in Abraham Lincoln" (20), or more precisely, "Chester French's sculpture of the sixteenth president within the Lincoln memorial in Washington's Potomac Park" (20), whose most memorable use "was unquestionably Mauldin's November 22, 1963, illustration for the Chicago *Sun-Times* showing Lincoln grieving over the assassination of John F. Kennedy" (20).

Dewey also delves into a discussion of not as well known symbols, some of them long forgotten, such as Brother Jonathan, Uncle Sam's predecessor, and originally however stood for "the People as against Government" (15), before being turned into a patriotic symbol, "most prominently during the War of 1812" (15). Gendered national symbols in the United States are the subject of Higham (1991), who considered female symbols to signify universal principles, whereas male symbols stand for the nation.

In the section entitled "Words", Dewey deals with verbiage, such as in captions. It "underscored [...] that political cartooning was not the same thing as pure caricature" (21), and that "it was always addressing itself to specific questions — not to Abraham Lincoln, but to Abraham Lincoln suspending habeas corpus; not to William McKinley, but to William McKinley's love affair with the business trusts" (21). "Not all the words in the early years were mere directional arrows; some were the entire *raison d'être* of the cartoon" (21) — wordplay was involved — "This was markedly so where anemic puns were concerned, and such public figures as George Fox, Hamilton Fish, Elihu Root, and Thurlow Weed were given every reason to come to despise their surnames" (21). The name of "Lewis Cass, the 1848 Democratic presidential candidate and secretary of state in the later Buchanan administration" (21), was often made to rhyme with *ass* and *gas* (22). Then came a "deemphasis on words over the second half of the nineteenth century" (22).

Prejudice caused some to claim that immigrants' illiteracy was a factor. Dewey debunks that myth (22–23). In the penny press intended for a poorer audience, however, "[w]here cartoons suited such sensationalist dailies as the *World* or the *Journal* was in providing single dramatic images for the newspaper's general slant on an issue or event" (23).

In Section "Words", Dewey is also concerned with how cartooning enriched American vocabulary: "a print of the Union showed Pennsylvania in the middle, making it the Keystone State from that point on" (24). But that was an epithet. A remarkable addition to the dictionary is *gerrymander*, originally from an illustration prompted by electoral redistricting expedient for the incumbent governor of Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry, and that appeared on 12 March 1812 in the Boston *Gazette*: "Elkanah Tilsdale reconfigures the state map into a giant salamander that his editor dubbed 'The Gerry-mander — a new species of monster'.

The Tilsdale piece is widely regarded as the first American cartoon where wit was equal to the political point being made" (24). A full-page reproduction of that cartoon appears on p. 196. The teddy bear (the thing and the term) is another byproduct of cartooning; it first appeared in a cartoon by Clifford Berryman who had been accompanying President Theodore Roosevelt on a trip in 1902 (25). Also the term *McCarthyism* originated from a cartoon (25). *Politically correct* was disseminated by cartoons by Jeff Shesol (25). "[H]opelessly complex machines that performed idiotically simple tasks in convoluted ways", drawn by Rube Goldberg, are why "[d]ictionaries now define accomplishing something simple in a roundabout way as a Rube Goldberg" (25).

Dewey's next section is "Stereotypes". "[T]he genre's trumpeted golden age in the late nineteenth century was also a period of virulently bigoted illustrations, unmatched in volume and scurrility except during the two world wars and in their immediate aftermath" (25). Dewey begins by rejecting indulgent views of ethnic, racial, religious, or other stereotyping in cartoons. "Nast's moral fervor barely acknowledged humor when it came to religion" (29), and he represented Catholics as crocodiles, and Mormons as an aggressive turtle (29–30).³ "Sexual stereotypes were readily available through the suffragette movement, especially in the 1890s" (30). "Among the derogated ethnic groups, late-century cartoonists seemed to labor most over the Jews, at least over those in the first immigrant waves from the same Central European places as many of the artists themselves" (30).

Dewey points out that in the context of New York City municipal politics (cf. Allen 1993, Thomas 2001, 2004b, the latter with a focus on anti-Catholicism), at a time when there was a Democratic city administration, whose corruption was exposed in detail by the *New York Times* in the summer of 1871;⁴ it had been under attack on other grounds for years (26):

Even without the Irish immigrants whose attachment to Tammany Hall played on his nerves, Nast's campaign against Tweed [see e.g. our Fig. 2, in Dewey's book on p. 201, and Coupe 1969, Pl. 4] was destined to dip into crudity. The periodical he worked for, *Harper's Weekly*, had arrived at its niche in the Republican Establishment only after its owners had banged the drum for years for Know-Nothing nativism and had profited handsomely from distributing xenophobic hate literature [...]

Dewey remarks, on Thomas Nast replacing the middle name of the Democrat politician William Magear Tweed with *Marcy* (after William Marcy, "the Jacksonian Democrat from New York State who, in the early 1830s, had taken the U.S. Senate floor to proclaim 'to the victor belong the spoils'" (27); cf. Fig. 3): "through repetition it was allowed to go on tickling the reader's assumptions about greed and profligacy. So successful was the name alteration ploy that to this day encyclopedias and history texts continue to identify Tweed with the middle name of Marcy" (27). [Johnson did (1937, p. 39).] The physical looks of an individual sometimes singled him out for targetting in the political cartoons (27–28). That was the case of Tweed; Dewey shows how this was not a unique case of a politician being targeted, rather than some other colleague from the same party, mainly because of his looks.

Some other time, the looks of a cartoon characters stands for a type. That is the case of racist cartoons: Irish and Chinese (177), Native American (1978), Jewish (179), Black (180). Whereas anti-Tammany cartoons sometimes singled out the Irish or Catholics (in the case of Nast), on occasion anti-Semitism was mixed in. That is the case of a *Puck* cover (Fig. 4) of 6 February 1884, not in Dewey's book, but which Thomas (2004a, pp. 430–435) analyses in order to show how to use it in a classroom context. Drawn by Frederick Burr Opper (1857–1937), it depicts the Tammany boss John Kelly (who was Catholic) as an Orthodox Jew.

³ Cf. Bunker and Bitton's (1983) *The Mormon Graphic Image*, as well as Nissan (2008b) on Nast's crocodiles.

⁴ On p. 56 in Hess and Northrop's book under review, there is a full-page cartoon by Thomas Nast, published in *Harper's Weekly* on 25 November 1871, after the electoral defeat of the Tweed Ring. Tammany Hall is in ruins, its members crushed. Only Mayor Hall, on whose office no vote had been taken, is shown clinging to the remains of the building. "The fight with Tweed tripled the magazine's readership" (Hess and Northrop, p. 57).



Fig. 2. Nast's cartoon "A Group of Vultures Waiting for the Storm to 'Blow Over' — 'Let us prey'", from *Harper's Weekly*, 23 Sept. 1871. Tweed is the fat character at the centre. Coupe (1969, Pl. 4) gives its date, unlike Dewey (201), whose reproduction is of a better quality however. The vulture as a symbol is instead an associate of death (rather than greed), perched on the back of Richard Nixon's chair, in a cartoon about the war in Vietnam by Charles Johnson (see Little 1996, p. 581, Fig. 1).



Fig. 3. In this cartoon by Thomas Nast, portraying Tweed, Nast is quoting William Marcy, "the Jacksonian Democrat from New York State who, in the early 1830s, had taken the U.S. Senate floor to proclaim 'to the victor belong the spoils'" (Dewey, 27). This cartoon, which Dewey reproduces on p. 26, appeared in James Grant Wilson's (1892) *The Memorial History of the City of New York* (cf. Harris 1983, p. 10, his Fig. 3). Humour scholars may be interested in Vogelback's (1955) discussion of Mark Twain's satirical article "The Revised Catechism", published by the *New York Tribune* on 27 September 1871. "Obviously drawing on his Sunday School memories of the Westminster Catechism for the form of the contribution, Clemens [i.e., Mark Twain] makes use also of the Bible (a work thoroughly learned in his boyhood and never forgotten) for striking satirical effect. 'The Revised Catechism' is a scathing denunciation of Boss Tweed and his associates" (Vogelback 1955, p. 69). Vogelback reproduces and comments Mark Twain's text. "A large part of the humor between 1830 and the end of the century [in the U.S.] dealt with political themes" (Blair 1931, p. 177).

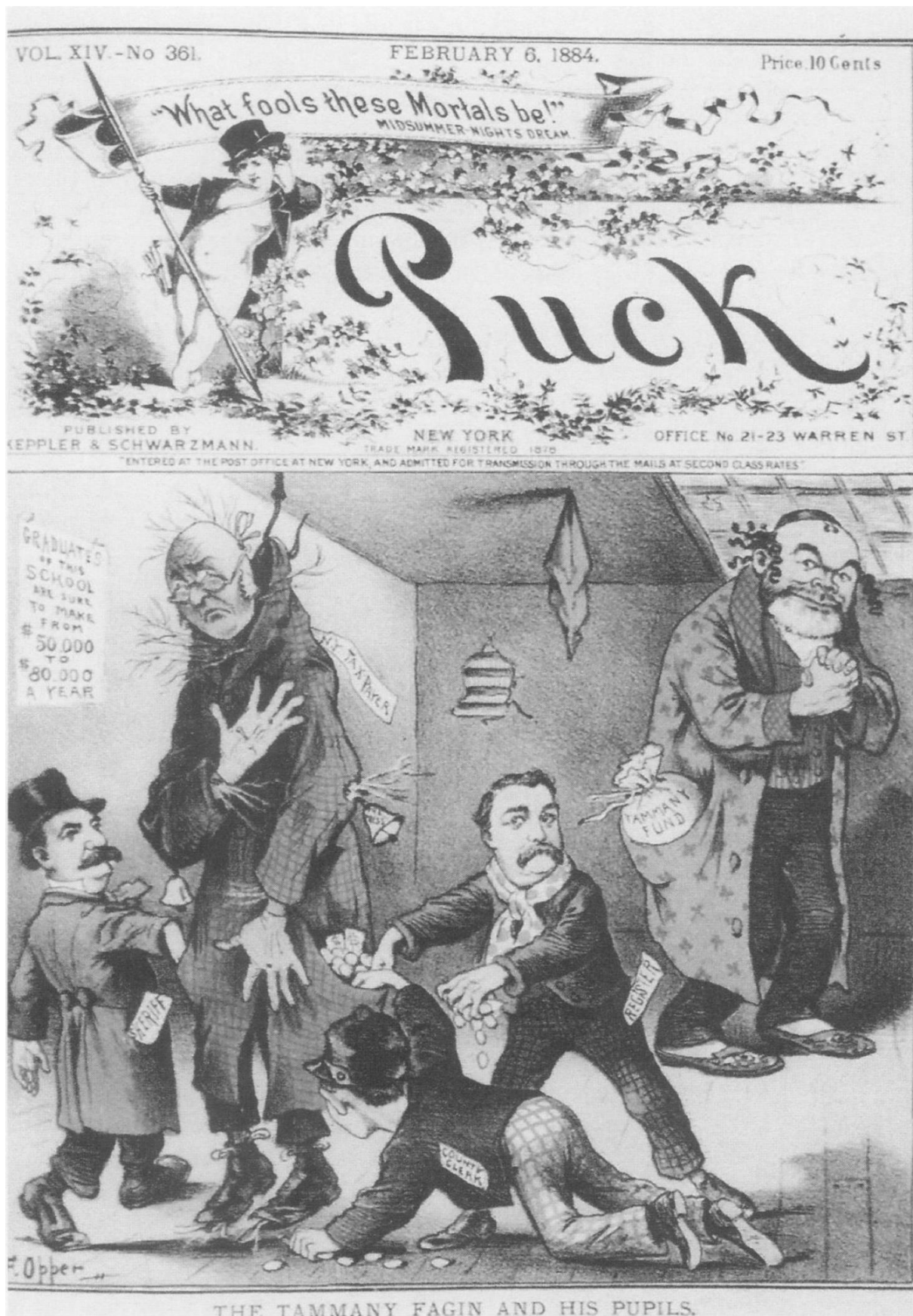


Fig. 4. Oppen's cover of *Puck* against New York City Democrat administrators, inspired by a scene in *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens which in England inspired a notorious cartoon against Disraeli instead. The latter cartoon appears in Cowen and Cowen (1998); cf. Wohl (1995). Cf. Fig. 5.



Fig. 5. "The state of the pine tree; or, a nice Christmas tree." This is a cartoon by Thomas Nast, a Republican, about electoral fraud. Like in Fig. 4, hanging is a theme in this figure, which is from Summers (2001, p. 430). "Republicans had a field day with the Democrats' attempt to 'steal' control of the legislature of Maine, the Pine Tree State. (*Dirigo*, I lead, was the state's motto.) But cartoonist Thomas Nast's outrage certainly was greater than his shock: the 1870s were full of like occurrences — as often as not, done by Republicans. Reprinted from Harper's Weekly, Jan. 10, 1880."

"With or without a short story incorporated into the panel, the running theme of the anti-Semitic cartoons was money — making it, saving it, committing arson and fraud to get more" (Dewey, 30). For that matter, we may add, insurers notoriously declined to accept as customers applicants with an East European family name. Dewey continues (30–31):

This was nothing new to the 1880s and 1890s. In 1861, Nast pursued the theme to the extent of misrepresenting his hero Lincoln as an anti-Semite. In the August 19 edition of the *Illustrated News*, in "John Bull and the American Loan", he has Lincoln explicitly addressing a big-nosed moneylender as Shylock and parroting the bigoted canard about Jews running England. (Actually, Lincoln was the first president to crack down on anti-Semitism in the army.) Toward the end of the century, the money theme was gradually transferred to the second-wave immigrants from eastern parts of Europe, but on a lower social scale. The German Jew thought about nothing but money from within his store or medical studio; the Russian Jew exhibited the same single-mindedness while peddling cheap goods on the street.

It so happened that Nast was an antisemite, and of his heroes, the likewise Republican Abraham Lincoln was not.⁵ As far as Jews are concerned, Lincoln's defining moment was when he countermanded an order given by Ulysses Grant. During the Civil War, as commander-in-chief of the Union army, in 1862 General Grant decreed the expulsion of all Jews "within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order" (Korn 1951, pp. 122–123) from the territory of Tennessee, and the decree was revoked by President Lincoln. "Grant's order was the severest attempted official violation — civil or military, federal, state or local — of the rights to Jews in the history of this nation" (Jaher 1994, p. 199). In the Union's army, many Jews were fighting, and of course Grant's step was an insult, even though it concerned the presence of civilians. When Grant in turn became president, some action he took has been interpreted as though it was his attempt to display benevolence towards a Jew, to compensate for his unsavoury war record, as far as Jews were concerned.⁶

Incidentally, in one of the cartoons which appear in Dewey's book, Grant was represented (by Joseph Keppler) as the Wandering Jew (Fig. 6).⁷ "Both Lincoln and Grant explicitly acknowledged the support they received from Nast's work in Harper's weekly, the first mass weekly largely sold through subscription on a national level" (33).

After discussing antisemitic cartoons, Dewey devotes his attention to cartoons whose target was Black people. For example, he mentions the persistence of the watermelon theme in such cartoons (31). Dewey then turns to the forms of anti-Irish cartoons (31–32). Cf. Soper (2005), Eid (1976), Curtis (1971), Byrne (2004) — the latter in relation to whiteface: "The

⁵ For that matter, we may add, neither was another of Nast's heroes, Giuseppe Garibaldi. A novel by Garibaldi does contain a stereotype, as shown by Fasano (2008). Garibaldi admired Lincoln (Boritt et al. 1986, p. 169).

⁶ Ulysses Grant's relation to the Jews was a complex one, and whereas he was and still is perceived to have been stereotyping and collectively persecuting Jews during the Civil War, once he became president he sought to be perceived as pro-Jewish, in particular when he decreed that a particular young Jewish man be accepted as a cadet at a military academia, and in so doing apparently violated regulations. The young man went on to become a physicist whose output was important enough to eventually win public praise as a forerunner from Albert Einstein.

⁷ Ulysses Grant, a Republican, was president in 1869–1877. Nast sought to protect Grant when the latter had come under attack for his seeking a third term in office. A cartoon by Nast dismissed the rumour (Dewey, 19); it is the cartoon in which the Republican elephant first appeared. Another prominent American cartoonist, Joseph Keppler represented, in *Puck* in 1880 (Dewey, 91, in greyscale; see here Fig. 6 in colour), former president Ulysses Grant as "The Modern Wandering Jew". The accompanying verse claimed: "A fated wanderer, his way he wends, / Driven here and there by many selfish friends; / Where'er he goes, sign of a people's wrath, / The Curse of the Third Term still haunts his path." This was because Grant sought to be elected for a third term in office. The signs in the upper part of the cartoon read: "California", "Mexico", "Cuba", "To Washington", and behind them: "Germany", "France", "India", "England" "Japan" on mountain tops. The gravestones read: "Jackson only 2 terms", "Monroe only 2 terms", "Jefferson only 2 terms", "Madison only 2 terms", "Lincoln" (with nothing more visible on that stone: Lincoln was murdered), and on the obelisk: "George Washington only 2 terms". Also note the faces of previous presidents in the clouds.



Fig. 6. Ulysses Grant seeking a third term as president, depicted by Joseph Keppler in 1880 as "The Modern Wandering Jew", in Vol. 7 of *Puck* (Dewey, 91, reproduces this image in greyscale, and the textual labels inside this image are more readable in his book).⁸

⁸ <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA96/PUCK/167.jpg>

whiteface minstrel show was, like the parallel but better-recorded blackface tradition, an adaptation of the vaudeville tradition where a character was easily recognizable as a type of his race" (Byrne 2004, p. 134).

William Linneman published (1974) a study of immigrant stereotypes in the U.S. in the last two decades of the 19th century. Byrne points out (*ibid.*, pp. 139–140, his brackets; double brackets are my own):

From the mid-1800s, dailies, weeklies, and journals were littered with simian and bestial depictions of the Irish immigrants. Linneman [(1974)] gives an apt description of "the comic Irishman" of this period: "He was caricatured as a hirsute, muscular labourer, with cheek whiskers, a broad lip, a button nose, and prognathous jaws. Sometimes the features were distorted to give a simian aspect" (29). The famine immigrants' communal nature led them to congregate in large industrial areas where community based settlements, such as Kerrytown, already existed. This produced large ghettos of an impoverished lower class in certain major cities, which, in turn, provoked the most severe representation of the Irish immigrants in the literary organs of these cities. *Harper's Weekly*, *Puck*, and *Judge*, which employed some of the leading cartoonists of the period — Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler, James Albert Wales, and Frederick B. Opper, among others — contributed some of the most virulently racist and anti-Irish representations. As Perry Curtis, Jr., tells us [(1971)]:

New York's leading cartoonists of the 1870s and 1880s certainly did not refrain from simianizing Irish-American Paddies who epitomized the tens of thousands of working-class immigrants and their children caught up in urban poverty and slum conditions after their flight from rural poverty and famine in Ireland. (59)

The Irish were depicted under such titles as: "The Ignorant Vote — Honors Are Easy" (*Harper's Weekly*, December 9, 1876), a drawing of "a grinning Negro of the South" and a brutish, simianized Irish man balancing each other equally on a scales, implying by association the ignorance of both, and alluding to the ease with which these two inferior races might corrupt US democracy; "Paddy Aping Uncle Sam" (*Puck*, March 22, 1882), an almost literal depiction of an ape, as an anarchist, in an "Uncle Sam" outfit; and "The King of A-Shantee" (*Puck*, February 15, 1882), a drawing of Paddy and his wife in their native habitat, which, through its title, reinforces the ties between the Irish and African Blacks; with Paddy's simian features obviously suggesting the 'missing link' in the evolutionary chain between ape and man. All this came about because, as Curtis [(1971)] tells us, "the politicized Irish Celt [was regarded] as a menace to the good society which [the Americans] wished respectively to preserve and achieve" ([Curtis,] 64–65).

"The vilest treatment, however, was reserved for Native Americans, where publications like *Puck* and *Judge* considered even genocide a funny topic" (Dewey, 32). On occasion, Nast defended Asian immigrants (32). Asians were "the more relentlessly infantilized of all immigrant groups in the period" (32), the late 19th century. Cf. e.g. Hajimu (2009).⁹ Dewey then returns to his refuting the apologists for the stereotypes (32–33).

⁹ A cartoon, "The 'Yellow Peril'", was published in the *New York World* of February 8, 1907, and is reproduced in Hajimu (2009, p. 13). It shows white and Asian pupils in a classroom; "scholars" in the sign at the feet of the two Japanese boys stands for 'pupils'. The cartoon reflected criticism voiced in East Coast newspapers, of the move to segregate pupils, taken in San Francisco: "On October 11, 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education issued a small piece of paper, ordering that Japanese and Korean students would be segregated from all public schools" (Hajimu, *ibid.*, p. 11). According to the cartoon in the *New York World*, it was the Japanese pupils' intellectual superiority that had motivated their being segregated.

That cartoon in the East Coast newspaper was claiming explicitly that the real "Yellow Peril" was one of superiority of the Japanese pupils. Hajimu also reproduced (*ibid.*, p. 15) a cartoon from San Francisco, which appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* of 17 February 1907, and in which the pupils also stand under a *mappa mundi* in front of a desk, but the white children are smaller, angelic and naïve, whereas two Far Eastern much older males (who could be teenagers, or even adults: both of them sport a moustache!) look ugly and probably also stolid, but at any rate ones whose contiguity was posing a danger to the naïve, vulnerable white children. This was a San Franciscan cartoonist responding to a cartoonist on the East Coast. San Francisco had abolished

On p. 57 in Hess and Northrop's book, there is a cartoon by Thomas Nast, from *Harper's Weekly* of 18 February 1871. It shows Columbia (a symbol for America) standing, her hand protectively over the bald head of a Chinese man sitting on the ground and covering his face. Insulting text appears on posters on the wall behind them, e.g., over the man's head: "John Chinaman is an idolater heathen". And over that: "Degraded labor", and again over that: "They are dishonest and false, vicious, immoral, heathenish". Armed men stand on the right side, and Columbia tells them (in the caption): "Hands off gentlemen! America means fair play for all men". In their own caption, Hess and Northrop comment: "Perhaps because the Chinese 'problem' was in California, 3,000 miles away, Nast usually supported better treatment of the Chinese in his cartoons". Over one hundred cartoons about Chinese immigrants to the United States were analysed in Choy et al. (1994). Race and ethnicity feature prominently in the discussion of American cartoons in Fischer (1996).

The sixth section in Dewey's introduction is "Influence". It begins as follows (33):

The idea of a television news anchor influencing national attitudes about a foreign war or a sitcom ridiculing a doltish politician back to private life seems quaint in the twenty-first century. But President Lyndon Johnson believed it about Walter Cronkite during the Vietnam hostilities and Vice-President Dan Quayle believed it about the CBS show "Murphy Brown" in the early 1990s. In the nineteenth century, there were plenty of political leaders who credited or blamed cartoonists for their political ups and downs.

Dewey then explains in detail how, in turn, Lincoln and Grant credited Nast for their successes, and the former, for the recruitment efforts during the Civil War, and the rejection of compromise with the South: "The Republicans reproduced the scornful cartoon by the millions as part of their campaign literature, and it was credited with helping to get Lincoln reelected" (33).¹⁰ Ulysses Grant was helped by "Nast's steadfast refusal to acknowledge the numerous corruption scandals during the general's White House tenure" (33). Nast played with death themes (showing Greeley's corpse on a stretcher), in his ferocious campaign against Grant's challenger in 1872, Horace Greeley, even when Greeley was ill and his wife had recently died (34). Greeley died shortly afterwards. One example later, Dewey points out: "That was about as witty as things got" (34).¹¹

integration and introduced segregation, and San Franciscans felt free to blast the supposed inferiority of the despised minority.

¹⁰ I would like to point out that the South responded to Nast's cartoons with those by Adalbert Volck (Voss 1988). Of him, Dewey just says: "Adalbert Volck, the most gifted of the small handful of cartoonists who plumped for the South during the Civil War, had made his living as a dentist" (8), whereas the famous cartoonist Joseph Keppler had been an actor (8). The index, s.v. "Volck", only points to p. 8, but Dewey reproduces on p. 125 an especially repulsive cartoon by Volck, "Negro Worship", for which the date is given as 1862 (Dewey's source for this image was The Granger Collection in New York), whereas Voss (1988, p.73), who analyses that cartoon and identifies the characters portrayed there, gives the year as 1863; Voss's source for the image was the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, and indeed his article appeared in the journal *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, which is published by the University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Voss explains that the image is an etching, $7\frac{9}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

¹¹ General histories of American cartoons per force simplify. A Thomas Nast specialist, Vinson (1957, pp. 343–344) rectifies the record concerning Nast's Republican allegiance. Vinson offers a more nuanced picture. Having remarked about Nast not being entirely comfortable with new typographical techniques, remarks: "A further difficulty for Nast was the evolution of the Republican party. He became critical of Hayes and found his policies too distasteful to support. In the election of 1880, he could not support Garfield with enthusiasm, for he had attacked him some years before as a party to the Credit Mobilier Scandal. The Democratic candidate, Winfield Scott Hancock, was a personal friend of the cartoonist. Nast worked his way out of his dilemma by attacking the Greenback party and leaving Garfield out of his cartoons entirely. He did aid the Republican cause in a few cartoons. One of these shows Hancock on the speaker's platform inquiring: 'Who is Tariff and why is he for revenue only?' When Blaine was nominated in 1884, Nast could no longer support the Republican party. He depicted the Republican elephant in his cartoon as too weak to carry the burden of Blaine. [p. 344:] Nast in



Fig. 7. Detail from a portrait of Horace Greeley, made by Thomas Nast and published by Vanity Fair in London on 20 July 1872.

At times, Nast portrayed Greeley quite skillfully, as Reaves (1987) has shown (see Fig. 7 above). Reaves (1987, p. 66) explains the following concerning Greeley becoming a presidential candidate:

From the beginning it was an unusual contest. Although Grant, the incumbent, was still the beloved hero of Appomattox, the slight accomplishments of his first term and the first rumblings of scandal caused by his unfortunate appointments were disappointing to many. Liberals and reformers within the Republican Party were so dissatisfied that a large contingent of them convened in Cincinnati to nominate their own presidential candidate. Their choice was Horace Greeley, the brilliant founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*, whose open-mindedness, articulate voice, and crusading energy for various reforms had brought his paper, and himself, national prominence and popularity. But in retrospect it seems that Greeley was an extraordinarily poor choice for a presidential nomination. His rash judgments, affinity for exotic causes and fads, frequent changes of mind, and persistent defeats at the polls were serious political liabilities. Furthermore, his personal eccentricities — high, squeaky voice, baby face framed with neck whiskers, white coat and hat, and absent-minded shuffle — while endearing in the editor became ridiculous in the presidential candidate. When the Democratic Party, which Greeley had spent his lifetime excoriating in the most intemperate terms, found itself forced to nominate the liberal Republicans' candidate as their own, the absurdity of the situation was stunning.

Apparently, the 1884 presidential election was one in which cartoonists could be perceived as being (but not necessarily were) even more influential (34–36). Cartoons about the 1884 presidential campaign appear on pp. 92–94 in Dewey's book. A notorious cartoon (92) against the Republican candidate James Blaine (James Gillespie Blaine, 1830–1893) was

taking this step followed his conscience, but his long and highly partisan association with the party made his defection distasteful to him. Republicans regarded it as rank treason. The Blaine papers attacked him with poetry as punishing in meter as in thought."

inspired by an anecdote about the Athenian Phryne, who had been the model for a sculpture representing Aphrodite; this was considered sacrilege, but a court was appeased when she was displayed to it naked. Bernhard Gillam's 1884 cartoon "Phryne before the Chicago Tribunal" showed characters wearing garments from antiquity: all those men, except Blaine, who upon having had a veil taken off him by the man standing behind him, covers his face with his forearm, and stands barefoot and naked, except his wearing striped drawers and, under his chin, a "magnetic towel" (it is so inscribed), under the lecherous glances of the adjudicating assembly. Blaine's body is inscribed with a multitude of names intended to be evocative of scandals in which he was involved. A vase in front of him has this inscription: "Presented to J. G. Blaine by the King of the Lorry". Dewey explains (34–35):

The first big attack came from Keppler's *Puck* on June 4, 1884, with Bernhard Gillam portraying the Republican candidate as the Tattooed Man in "Phryne before the Chicago Tribunal". The color illustration was a takeoff on a French painting by Jean-L[é]on Ger[ô]me that had caused a stir in Paris some years earlier. Its subject was the way the Greek orator Hyperides, defending the prostitute Phryne against charges of profanity for posing for a statue of Aphrodite, got her acquitted by throwing off her robe and daring her judges to dispute her naked loveliness. In the role of Phryne, a decidedly unaesthetic-looking Blaine, his body covered with tattooed references to the various scandals of his past, has to hide [p. 35] his face in shame before his judges. A contemporary observer cited by Hess and Kaplan said the illustration made him "feel a certain irresistible thrill of loathing". The candidate had to be talked out of suing *Puck* for libel and obscenity when the Gillam cartoon proved as much of a sensation in the United States as the Gerome original had been in France. Keppler didn't have to be talked out of — or into — anything. His penchant for tagging politicians with a fixed image, particularly during election contexts, led him to depict Blaine relentlessly as the Tattooed Man for the rest of the campaign.



Fig. 8. Keppler's anti-Blaine cartoon "He Cant'st Beat His Own Record" (1884).

The Tattooed Man caricatures in relation to that campaign are the subject of Thomas (1987). Fig. 8 (from *Puck*, reproduced by Johnson 1937, p. 40, but not in Dewey's book) shows one of Keppler's follow-up Tattooed Man caricatures.

Isabel Simeral Johnson explained (1937, pp. 42–43):

Puck reached the peak of its influence in the Presidential campaign of 1884, when James G. Blaine ran against Grover Cleveland. Keppler produced a series of cartoons against Blaine so devastating that they struck actual terror to the hearts of the candidate and his supporters, and not even the loyal allegiance of such papers as the *New York Tribune* under Whitelaw Reid could offset the impact of this gruelling attack. The artists — sometimes Keppler himself, sometimes one [p. 43:] of the [two] Gillams — pictured the Republican candidate as the "Tattooed Man", his body covered with the tattooed evidence of his record in connection with the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad bonds, the Mulligan Letters and other irregular transactions of which he was accused. These cartoons form an indelible part of a campaign which for bitter vituperation has never been surpassed.

Yet another cartoon, by Walt McDougall, published in new York and representing Blaine as King Belshazzar at a "royal feast" with the "money king" as a family of beggars walks in front, was massively reproduced by the Democrats, and Blaine lost New York state by a narrow margin. The latter cartoon apparently convinced the daily newspapers not to leave cartoons to the weekly magazines (Dewey, 35).

As to Gillam, he was "a life-long Republican who didn't sleep too well after helping to push Blaine off the ledge with the Tattooed Man", and a left Keppler's *Puck* for a competing magazine (35), the Republican-oriented *Judge*. Dewey provides a discussion of the effects of the "ramifications within the media world" of the anti-Blaine cartoons (36). Cuff (1945, pp. 90–91) did not elaborate as much:

In the eighties, the New York World became famous for its cartoons. It was during the presidential campaign of 1884 that the publication of graphic satires in the daily newspapers produced a really powerful effect. A drawing by Walt McDougall, "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings", made a tremendous impression when published in the New York World, October 30, 1884. This drawing, based upon Blaine's attendance at a dinner, which had been arranged by the plutocrat Levi P. Morton and which was attended by a group of plutocrats, emphasized the conflict between poverty and wealth. The effect [p. 91:] was immediate and electric. During the closing decade of the century, it became common practice for daily newspapers to publish cartoons. This practice has continued to the present day.

"The next signal event in political cartooning also said more about the craft's ability to startle, nag, and amuse than about its power to alter thinking in the voting booth" (Dewey, 36). This was in 1896, when William Randolph Hearst and his cartoonist Homer Davenport, as they could do little against the "scandal-free record" of the Republican candidate William McKinley, "decided to concentrate their attack on McKinley's chief strategist, Mark Hanna" (36), portrayed as being greedy. One such cartoon was entitled "A Man of Mark".

In 1897–1903, there were attempts to stifle cartoonists by legislating against them. Dewey concludes his section "Influence", by pointing out how ineffective cartoonists were in their attacks against monopolists.

Section 7, "Expansions", is concerned with the emergence of the comic strips¹² in newspapers. Increasing reliance on advertising income was eventually "enough to play down, if not eliminate completely, the practice of sticking political cartoons on the front page" (42). "But there was one topic no circulation-hungry publisher of the era would have ever agreed to take off the front page — Spanish control over Cuba. Legends to the contrary, the so-called Ten-Week War of 1898 was not the personal concoction of Hearst and Pulitzer" (42). They certainly did contribute to the war fever.

The cartoon on the cover of Dewey's book (our Fig. 9) is discussed by him on pp. 43–44:

As much as cartoonists had to say about Cuba [in the late 19th century], they had relatively little to say about the slaughters that engulfed the Philippines a year after the Spanish were driven

¹² The history of comic strips (with a focus on the United States) is the subject of Kunzle (1990), Marschall (1989), Inge (1990), and O'Sullivan (1990); these were reviewed by Zurier (1991).

from Manila. [...] The [anti-independence] aggression drew resistance from the Anti-Imperialist League of Bryan, Mark Twain, Jane Addams, and other notables, but the estimated deaths of some six hundred thousand Filipinos on the island of Luzon alone during hostilities and related reprisals among the natives produced only small pockets of opposition in major American newspapers. One of the few fervent dissenters was William A. Walker of *Life*, whose drawings portrayed Uncle Sam as being bent on the same imperialist course as John Bull in Sudan and India. Otherwise, there was at best a glib admission that the Filipinos hadn't been looking for all that salvation McKinley had brought them. An April 9, 1899, cartoon in Utica's *Saturday Globe* by William Carson, for example, has Uncle Sam wrestling with guerrilla leader Emilio Aguinaldo in a swamp. The caption reads "A Bigger Job Than He Thought For" and cites Sam saying, "Behave [Y]ou [F]ool! Durn Me[,] If I Ain't Most Sorry I Undertook to Rescue You". [See Fig. 9.]

The same condescension plus some timely racism permeated the main graphic theme to emerge from the Philippines brutality — the question of what the United States would do with all the territories it had grabbed from the Spanish and the local populations. Thus, the *Minneapolis Tribune* printed one cartoon showing McKinley with his hand around the neck of a black child at the edge of precipice and being watched by a humanized globe; the caption was "The Eyes of the World Are upon Him". The implication was that to give the child — depicted as a cowering black savage — back to the Spanish would have been the same as tossing him off the cliff. Another symptomatic motif was Uncle Sam in the role of a teacher having to deal with unruly blacks, Latins, and Hawaiians in the back of the classroom while whites sit obediently at their desks.

Next, Dewey turns to President Theodore Roosevelt (44), and then to the cartoonist Robert Minor, who drew with a grease crayon on textured paper, a technique that "would gradually come to dominate cartooning for more than fifty years" (45). Even though Dewey's sections in his introduction each have a thematic focus, they slowly progress chronologically. He writes delightfully.



Fig. 9. The cover image of Dewey's book, *The Art of Ill Will*: a 1899 cartoon by Carson. Reproduced here by kind permission of the Granger Collection in New York.

Section 8, "Prohibitions", is devoted to attempts to suppress political cartoons, and to when, during the First World War, "cartoonists had a private warden of their own with the establishment of the Bureau of Cartoons within a federal propaganda department" (45), to pro-war and to anti-war cartoonists.

"The end of the war didn't mean the end of timidity for cartoonists employed by the big circulation dailies" (49). "If there was near unanimity among cartoonists in opposing the Eighteenth Amendment's ban on liquor, there was an equal amount of skittishness among them about the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote" (50). There only were "few white cartoonists from a major daily who seemed put out by KKK beatings and lynchings of blacks" (50).¹³

Amiable cartoons were produced by John McCutcheon and Herbert Johnson, who according to Dewey were "Closer to the spirit of the times" than anti-KKK ones. McCutcheon conceived of his cartoons as "a sort of pictorial breakfast food" (51, quoted from McCutcheon 1950, p. 199). McCutcheon refused to convey in his cartoons his boss's editorial bile against Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the *Chicago Tribune* (53).

Section 9, "New Deals", states in the beginning: "The cartoonist working between World War I and World War II was anything but the last word in political satire" (51). Mass media with stronger mass pull had been introduced: national radio networks, and talking movies, so "polemical humor had more popular wells than the written word and the illustrated figure" (51–52). "The heightened expectation of entertainment, if not bedazzlement, hadly promoted deep thinking or profound passions in the representation of gnarled political issues" (52). There was dumbing down, and serious matters were relegated, in the newspapers, to "special economic and political affairs sections for adepts" (52).

Like his distant cousin Teddy, FDR possessed outsized physical characteristics that made all the presidents between them a drab interruption to inspiration. His granite-square forehead, aggressive horse teeth, and cigarette holder were delectable illustration fodder. (On the other hand, his wheelchair was seldom portrayed.)

¹³ In a more recent period, Charles Johnson, a Black American "who began his artistic life as a cartoonist" — "Between 1965 and 1972 he published more than a thousand cartoons" (Little 1996, p. 579) before becoming a teacher, critic, and writer — has sometimes included references to the Ku Klux Klan in his cartoons.

While discussing Charles Johnson's cartoons, Little explains (1996, pp. 585–596):

Images of the Klan intersect with the developing plot lines of the featured characters. For instance, the nar-rative of the interracial couple contains the Klan. One cartoon shows the African American husband returning home from work, briefcase in hand [...]. He is met at the door by his wife, who says, "Brace yourself, mother is visiting again", while an older woman sits in their living room dressed in the familiar Klan hood. Another places the Klan in the context of suburbia — with the interracial couple in their backyard. The wife asks, "Have you met the new neighbors yet?" The husband looks on in surprise as he sees a Klan outfit hanging from the clothesline. In a perverse twist on the interracial plot, another cartoon features the black revolutionary returning home to his African American wife, whom he suspects has been sleeping with another man. Gun in hand, he opens the closet door to find a Klansman hiding in the closet. This cartoon reverses expectations and, in its highly unlikely climax, uses humor to dramatize the double-dose fear of racial and sexual betrayal that plagues intra- as well as interracial couples. Johnson, however, does not always picture the Klan in the position of haunting power. In a two-part cartoon [p. 596:] he asserts authorial control over the Klan's haunting image [...]. This pivotal cartoon shows a white-hooded Klansman praying before going to sleep. [...]

In the second panel, the prayer of the Klansman, kneeling on the side of his bed, "Give me the strength to eliminate the inferior people ruining my nation." (Little 1996, p. 595), is answered from High Above, "in stereotypically Southern African American expression with, 'Sho' nuff, boss!' as the Klansman's eyes open wide in surprise and shock. Here, [Charles] Johnson deconstructs and deflates the Klanish world view of white superiority and its claims of divine sanction" (Little 1996, p. 596).

Major newspaper publishers loathed Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal policies, and it was their cartoonists' task to convey that loathing (52). "There were dissenters to the anti-Roosevelt onslaught" (53). "Some of the strongest defenses of the president were by indirection" (53). That was also when cartoonists in the Black press were emerging (53). Dewey concludes "New Deal" with the turn from isolationism to nationalism, and to cartooning during the Second World War. In particular (54):

For cartoonists, the rule of thumb even years after the Nazis and Fascists had carried out bloody purges and mass confinements within their countries was to treat the dictators as buffoons rather than menaces. This often amounted to discretion over valor since, behind the guise of isolationism, significant sectors of the business community, including those in the media, were not only not too bothered by what was going on in Germany and Italy throughout the 1930s but, in some cases, were profiting from it. The pie-in-the-face approach to Hitler and Mussolini raised the issue — later if not immediately — of the difference between lampoonery and cynical evasiveness disguised as humor.

Note however already in the mid-1930s some cartoonist was direct and blunt: Isabel Simeral Johnson (1937, p. 41) reproduced a recent cartoon by Edmund Duffy published by the *Baltimore Sun*, "Civilization Comes to Africa" (protesting Italy's use of gas during the conquest of independent Ethiopia, for which, an authoritative account can be found in Del Boca 1976–1987). In Duffy's cartoon, Mussolini, crowned with laurel, holds a gas mask in his left hand on his chest, under his jutting jaw (his "mascella volitiva" ["jaw outthrust", literally "assertive jaw"] played a role in Fascist propaganda indeed), and is looking upwards, while lifting in his right hand a rifle, on whose top a bleeding Black person, wearing a tunic labelled "Ethiopia", is bayoneted, raised supine in the cartoon top. The backdrop shows spires of smoke, apparently the toxic gas Mussolini's troops used.

As for the depiction of work and workers, whereas for the late 19th century, Lloyd Goodrich noted (1951, pp. 291–292):

Of the vast industrialization that was transforming America there was hardly a reflection in the painting of the time. John F. Weir's [p. 292:] "Forging the Shaft" and "The Gun Foundry", painted in the 1860's, were isolated phenomena. The epic of railroad building was celebrated by printmakers and illustrators but by few painters. The industrial laborer himself was seldom pictured: Thomas Anshutz's "Steel Workers: Noontime", painted about 1890, and J. G. Brown's "Longshoremen's Noon" were among the earliest essays of their kind. Except for the cartoonists, there was no satire on the current social order. As one critic said, Eastman Johnson's pictures of workers "preached no ugly doctrine of discontent".

— in contrast, Erika Doss claimed in her study (1997) "Toward an Iconography of American Labor" (whose time span is 1930–1945) that there was indeed an irony in the American reverence for work combined with not depicting it, but that the Great Depression brought change in that respect (Doss 1997, p. 53):

In America, a certain reverence for work together with an abiding faith in the work ethic have played a significant role in shaping self and civic identity from the Republican era of the early nineteenth century to the present day. Indeed, it is a commonplace assumption that what we "do" as Americans is often the most outstanding indicator of who we "are". Moreover, the meaning of work as a crucial, moral link between individuals and public life is so strong that it might almost be considered a "calling" that ties individual Americans to the larger, national, community that is the United States. It is ironic, then, that the history of American art reveals a paucity of both public memorials and private objects focused on labor and laborers. Even during periods when issues of "labor and capital, work and wages" were central to the nation's political and social life, such as in the late nineteenth century, art which focused on work and workers was relatively sparse.

An exception is found in the 1930s, when American artists ranging in stylistic diversity from regionalist painter Thomas Hart Benton to social realist cartoonist William Gropper, responded to

the crisis of the Great Depression with an extensive iconography celebrating work and workers. In both their private paintings and their public commissions, these modern artists generally depicted American wage laborers as heroic figures of action and autonomy, and thus as exemplars of the work ethic. In such New Deal agencies as the Works Progress Administration / Federal Art Project, and the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture, an iconography of labor was courted by American arts administrators, who recognized the powerful social and political import of upbeat images of rugged, dynamic workers during the severe unemployment and cultural malaise of the Great Depression.

Section 10 in Dewey's introduction, "Cold Wars", begins with quotations from past generations concerning "the tepid quality of political cartoons over the first half of the twentieth century" (55). Cartoonists from the half century that preceded that were romanticised, but, Dewey remarks, many of them "had never been shy about admitting they could be hired by anybody for any opinion at all" (56), an attitude (from outright pen-for-hire, down to more nuanced degrees) that did not die out later on.¹⁴ "But particularly in the

¹⁴ Then based at the University of Reading in England, the famous cartoon scholar Coupe (1969, p. 82) remarked:

The cartoonists themselves are almost as cursed as the work they produce, and I am equally uncertain whether one will ever be able to draw more than very general conclusions about them. Notwithstanding some of the later work of Sir John Tenniel [(1820–1914)], the cartoon of approbation naturally tends to a rather humourless insipidity or at best to a false pathos, and by and large cartoonists—who for the most part are graphic satirists—tend to avoid it for reasons of temperament or professional convenience. Within this limitation, however, their motives are as complicated and varied as other men's. If Thomas Nast (1840–1902) and Sir David Low (1891–1963) can be cited as men of strong principles whose cartoons were weapons with which they sought to fight the good fight, other cartoonists of no less repute—notably George Cruikshank [(1792–1878), see on him Wardroper (1977)]—were ready to put their services at the command of the highest bidder, and even [James] Gillray [b. 1757, d. 1815, and whose most productive decades were 1790–1810 (see on him Draper Hill 1965)] is not above suspicion in this respect, so that his caricatures may often be more an expression of venality than of anger or hate. If Gillray was, however, keenly interested in politics, Tenniel certainly was not. In rare cases (e.g. Nast in *Harper's Weekly*) cartoonists have played an important role in deciding editorial policy, occasionally they have enjoyed a sort of 'fool's freedom'—one thinks of Low with his anti-Establishment outlook on the conservative Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard*. More commonly, however, they have probably gravitated to newspapers which roughly corresponded to their own outlook and there more or less toed the editorial line, or like the unfortunate Will Dyson of the *Daily Herald*, paid dearly for their freedom: few editors can afford to lose favour or circulation in the interests of a cartoonist's freedom of expression.

Citing Butterfield (1947, p. 206), Coupe claims (1969, p. 82) that "the 'Tweed Ring', the corrupt New York administration which Nast attacked with such ferocity and success in 1871, was apparently prepared to buy the cartoonist's silence at the price of half a million dollars." But (Coupe 1969, p. 84, fn. 3): "Thus in spite of Boss Tweed's unsolicited testimonial to the power of Nast's pictures, the 'Ring' offered the *New York Times* five million dollars in return for its silence compared to the half a million offered to Nast (Butterfield, *loc. cit.*)."

Reviewing Roger Fischer's (1996) *Them Damned Pictures*, James Giglio pointed out (1997, p. 910):

Fischer first analyzes the major work of Thomas Nast of *Harper's Weekly* and the cartoonists of *Puck* and *Judge* magazines, who set the standard for Gilded Age political cartooning. Their work was bit-ing, powerful, and imaginative. It bordered on the unethical in viciously attacking political corruption, Roman Catholicism, and rural radicalism, which gave credence to the assertion that "cartoonists would be hired assassins if they couldn't draw" (p. xiii). The influential Nast manufactured villainous images of Boss William Tweed of Tammany Hall, who soon personified political urban corruption in the late nineteenth century. Nast in turn probably became the only political cartoonist savaged by peers, who caricatured him as an organ grinder's monkey seeking artistic expression from spittoons.

years after World War II, many of the profession's internal antagonisms — between the cartoonist's images and the image of the cartoonist, between the priorities of daily newspapers to sell copies and to lure readers through a distinguishable voice, between the political acuity of the cartoonist and his entertainment function — exploded into the open" (57). The average age of employed cartoonist was high. "The arrival of television [...] set off an earthquake of masthead collapses from one end of the country to the other" (57), and the job market for cartoonists dwindled, thus making cartoonists holding a job more cautious.

Syndicates gave cartoonists national visibility, but "they simultaneously imposed constraints on what should be visible" (57), also because different local audiences would react to a cartoonist's slant differently (57). Bill Mauldin experienced problems with syndication (58), to the extent that he quit cartooning for many years. A discussion of Herblock (whose penname is missing from the index of both Dewey, and Hess and Northrop: you need to look up that cartoonist under "Block, Herbert") and Daniel Fitzpatrick leads Dewey to discussing Herblock as being Richard Nixon's nemesis (59–60), and to Nixon in the political cartoons (60), even ones about later presidents (60).

An important article by Stephen Whitfield entitled "Richard Nixon as a Comic Figure"¹⁵ — it appeared in a special issue on humour of the *American Quarterly* — claims (114):

It is doubtful whether any postwar American politician, or even any chief executive in our history, ever evoked so much mirth — much of it angry — as he. Perhaps no other figure in our two centuries of experimentation in self-government tickled so extensively and so intensely the funny bones of the electorate. To be sure, he has enjoyed at least one advantage denied to presidents prior to the era of technically sophisticated mass entertainment. Humor is now a larger industry than it was in the nineteenth century, which is a statement of quantity, not quality. Radio, television, movies, photographs, and records have vastly extended the outlets through which comedy could flourish. Moreover, beginning in the 1960s, satire could become more direct, more savage, and more explicitly cruel, without fear of censorship, stigma, or punishment. Such openness also enlarged the possibilities for humor directed specifically against public servants. Yet these factors do not in themselves account for Nixon's special place in the history of political humor.¹⁶

Concerning Cruikshank, Isabel Simeral Johnson (1937, p. 24) was more charitable and edifying than Coupe as quoted above:

George Cruikshank (1792–1878) drew political cartoons, but only during his youth. His social satire soon turned to illustrations and the correction of abuses such as Dickens dramatized in his novels. The most familiar and perhaps the most influential of his drawings was a series called "The Bottle", which was reproduced in many countries and at many times, serving as a temperance tract.

¹⁵ Cf. Grofman (1989), an article that has a "focus on one central illustration, the assertion that 'Richard Nixon is Pinocchio' — contained in a 1970s monologue by the political satirist David Frye" (*ibid.*, p. 165); namely, in "an excerpt drawn from a comic monologue by David Frye from his early-1970s routine called 'Richard Nixon Superstar' — which portrays Nixon's childhood and adolescence. 'Hello, Betty? This is Dick Nixon. Uh, Dick Nixon from school. I've been sitting behind you for five years. That's right. Pinocchio'" (*ibid.*, p. 169). "For contrast, we then consider two other allusions to Richard Nixon: as Richard II and as Santa Claus" (*ibid.*, p. 166). Pinocchio here stands for a liar, because of that character's feature that when he told a lie, his nose became longer. Politicians as a class are often perceived to be liars, but in Democrat propaganda, Nixon throughout his career was characterised as being a liar.

¹⁶ Not everybody is accepting of such humour. I must say that, living in Milan and aged 19 in 1974 during the Watergate, no matter what my opinion was of Richard Nixon's behaviour, I refused to connive with the worldwide (not just American) media campaign which destroyed him, just as many years later I remained utterly uninterested in the prurient media campaign against Bill Clinton, and, in 1978, was disgusted by the reviling campaign against Italy's president Giovanni Leone, which led to his resignation in Nixon fashion in 1978. In Leone's case, it was in relation to the worldwide Lockheed scandal, and we now know that he was not the mystery man "Antelope Cobbler [sic]" with whom he was identified. What is more, the press campaign against Leone overtly targeted him with anti-Neapolitan stereotypes.

Some instances of anti-Nixon satire, not only as late as Watergate, are horrifying. For example (Whitfield, 129):

How could Nixon have animated such fantasies of humiliation, have stimulated such dark and degraded humor? How could a leader who could inspire such virulence also be the demiurge of so much material classified as comedy? For Freud of course the correlation between hostility and humor was no coincidence. Much of the satire that Nixon generated was too base to have been transmuted into liberating laughter, and was about as subtle as short-sheeting, but it does serve as an illustration of Freud's theory of jokes. The defeated gubernatorial candidate himself inadvertently suggested as much in his "last press conference", November 8, 1962: "And I say as I leave the press, all I can say is this: For sixteen years, ever since the Hiss case, you've had a lot of — a lot of fun — that you've had an opportunity to attack me." A study of the aggravated assault inflicted on Nixon would indeed appear to be just what the doctor ordered in *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*.

Yet it is doubtful that the extent of Nixon's lying, or the drabness and dourness of his personality, could add up to such intensity of antagonism, however. Watergate proved to be more than a third-rate burglary, but it was less than subversion of the structure of the republic. Its impact was astonishing. It came to outweigh the dramatic successes the administration claimed in foreign affairs. It discredited the office of the presidency so much that, in Louis Auchincloss's novel, *The House of the Prophet* (1980), the character loosely based on Walter Lippmann is taken to be sliding into senility because he has written a pro-Nixon column. (In a minor but representative incident reported in *Time* magazine, the prize for most frightening costume at a 1973 Halloween party in New York was awarded to a child wearing a Nixon mask.)

Or then (Whitfield, 122):

The darkness of the lower face, the thickness of the eyebrows over the piercing, threatening eyes seemed to become heightened with Watergate. Levine portrayed him as the protagonist in *The Exorcist* (1973), tied to his bed, foully screaming as a figure is expelled from his mouth; the figure is a spooky mini-Nixon. He gloatingly plunges a bomb into the breast of a female figure symbolizing the republic, the sharkish grin still on his face

Initially Dewey's Section 11, "New Societies", remarks how "[b]y the end of the twentieth century, any satirical thrust from the customary single-panel political cartoon faced fast blunting" (61). "The finer the point made by the cartoonist, the more it sounded like a firecracker amid a howitzer barrage" (61). Section 11 is concerned with the rise of comic strips.¹⁷ Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury", "[t]he first cartoon strip to win a Pulitzer prize (in 1975)" (64), gets special attention (64–65). "Falling midway between the one-shot editorial panel and the comic strip has been Jules Feiffer" (65).

The section concludes with Ted Rall, whose six-panel strip 2002 "Terror Widows" (extremely cynical about the supposed greed of widows and widowers of victims of the Twin Towers attacks) is, I cannot help it, utterly and unredeemably repulsive.

"For some time now, the political cartoonist has had the aura of the newspaper industry's noble savage" (67), begins Section 12, "Images", of Dewey's introduction. Dewey decries the rhetoric of self-patting on the back within the profession. "Still more basically, historians Stephen Hess and Sandy Northrop see the political cartoon as 'the embodiment of the American form of government'" (67, quoting from p.152 in the 1975 edition, *The Ungentlemanly Art*, of their book also under review here).

¹⁷ Rebecca Zurier remarks (1991, p. 98): "Most accounts trace the invention of the modern comic strip to the Sunday humor sections, which were developed as ammunition in the circulation wars waged in the 1890s by the American newspaper tycoons Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Entertaining characters, reappearing each Sunday, ensured that loyal readers would buy the paper week after week, providing a steady audience for advertisers."

Section 12 delves into a discussion of the cartooning fraternity, debunking some commonplaces, and nuancing some valid views. "As a reactive journalistic profession, cartooning has never been expected to be ahead of the curve artistically, to pioneer an aesthetic vision. The more unfamiliar the graphic approach, the less the public is likely to grasp the polemical point within the few seconds normally spent on a newspaper drawing" (70). Nevertheless, personal style does matter (70). "Has the recent applause for cartoonists grown in inverse proportion to the spontaneous laughs they have elicited" (71), like with late-night TV comedians "who provoke clapping rather than giggling for their quips because approval for the predictable has taken precedence over openness to effective insight?" (71).

Websites have provided some relief to "many cartoonists caught up in newsroom conflicts" (72), but "how different is website cartooning (not to mention the recent passion for blog cartooning) from the broadsides that were once posted in very local colonial taverns?" (73).

If the introduction is insightful, the cartoons appearing in the rest of the book make it delightful. I would take a more nuanced view than Kristine Ronan's claim (2008, p. 86) that

the remaining 170 pages contain full-color cartoons. While the first half of the introduction moves through topical sections, such as politics, caricatures, symbols, and stereotypes, the second half progresses along an historical timeline, discussing the corresponding cartoon changes that accompany U.S. twentieth-century historical periods (the Gilded Age,¹⁸ World War I, the New Deal, and so on). This second half is essentially a telling of the decline of the political cartoon, through both changes in journalistic and editorial attitudes, as well as shifts in media and technologies.

¹⁸ "In United States history, the GAPE or Gilded Age and Progressive Era, roughly the last third of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth centuries, constitutes one of the most formative and complex of periods, a time that historians designate as the birth of the modern United States" (Thomas 2004, p. 425). History texts include e.g. Cherney (1997) for the Gilded Age (1868–1900), and Gould (2001) for the Progressive Era (1900–1914). Thomas (2004) is concerned with teaching history by resorting to political cartoons. Thomas claimed (2004, pp. 427–428):

By focusing on cartoons as one important category of documentary evidence, students can facilitate the development of many of the same kinds of critical thinking skills that the study of other types of primary source materials makes possible. Most students quickly realize that analyzing a cartoon only begins with a hunch, and that they must apply the same kind of sustained analysis to them that they would bring to other historical sources such as newspapers, speeches, diaries, letters, legislative acts or court decisions. Whether students are analyzing one cartoon or a series of cartoons on a specific topic such as an election campaign, a reform movement, a Supreme Court decision, or legislative battles, they must do the following: 1) identify the thesis and supporting arguments of each portrayal; 2) understand the author's frame of reference and biases; 3) know something of the event or events that precipitated the cartoon; 4) compare its message, that is, its thesis, with that of other contemporary sources; and 5) evaluate the cartoon's intent, reliability, accuracy, and usefulness as an historical insight.

One of the many bonuses of employing cartoons in this manner is hearing students express the pleasure they derive from learning about the nature and nuances of satire and parody, and from understanding how symbolic imagery, stories from ages past, folklore, and allusions to contemporary popular culture can enrich a cartoon, bolster its message, and help sustain public interest. This is especially true of cartoons from the GAPE when the Bible, the classical worlds of Greece and Rome, the Renaissance, and folktales were much more familiar to people than they are today. Few of the later twentieth century's cartoonists still draw [p. 428:] upon the classical or western heritage. They tend much more to utilize sports or other popular culture imagery. The very best of them offer students the opportunity to better appreciate the complexity of history and the importance of context. [...]

Thomas (2004, p. 441) signals *Landmark Supreme Court Cases* <http://www.landmarkcases.org/cartoon.html> as being "[A]n excellent site that features political cartoons as a way to teach important Supreme Court decisions." Many other websites are listed on that same page from Thomas (2004).

It is not a "telling of the decline", and it is still thematically organised (although the themes in the rubric introducing clusters of full-page cartoons are different from the themes indicated in the titles of the sections of the introduction). It is within every thematic cluster of cartoons, that the criterion is chronological progression. Ronan (2008, p. 88) is correct when she remarks that one would wish there would be more conclusions, but as with complex issues, it is doubtful that they could be provided: "Did, for instance, political cartoons have power to sway democratic participation? [...] *The Art of Ill Will* hedges on both sides of the fence, naming cartoon after cartoon that influenced the vote in particular elections, while then arguing that cartoonist power was limited, judging by the number of cartoon 'targets' who were voted into office despite relentless cartoon campaigns against them." Elsa Dixler (2007) went somewhat deeper, when (before enumerating cartoons she missed) she remarked:

As Dewey ties the art of the political cartoon to the rise of newspapers, he worries that their decline may spell the end of the form as anything more than entertainment. He believes that syndication has already steered cartoonists away from local politics, and that editors' ability to choose cartoons from a wide selection rather than deal with individual cartoonists has made the form blander. He is not optimistic about the future of cartooning on the Web, and does not see the many gallery exhibitions of cartoonists' work as a hopeful sign, because none of these have "the same exposure for potential impact that print does."

One might quarrel with some of Dewey's conclusions and choices, and wish that his comments about the relationship between politics and entertainment went a little deeper. [...]

3. Discussion in Hess and Northrop's American Political Cartoons

Hess and Northrop's book under review has on its cover, top right, an aged Liberty sweeping dust under the carpet (this being the banner), and bottom left, an elderly Uncle Sam who, having taken off his hat (which is in bad shape), is crouched on the floor and sewing the banner, which has tearing in it. The latter is a cartoon by Jeff Danziger (*Christian Science Monitor*, 30 December 1987), which appears again, but in remarkably poor resolution (poorer than the rest on the two facing pages), on p. 31. Liberty sweeping dust under the carpet appears both on the cover, and on p. 33: it is a 1980 cartoon by Doug Marlette (1950–2007), from *Drawing Blood*.

The front page of the book is facing a full-page cartoon, again by Jeff Danziger (*Christian Science Monitor*, circa 1990) showing two besuited characters dining together, with a blasé expression on their faces. The Republican elephant, left, asks the Democrat donkey, right: "So, what's on for tomorrow? Your guy insults our guy or our guy insults your guy?"

The first two pages (and more) of Hess and Northrop's Introduction are concerned with a particular episode, by way of illustration: Thomas Nast's attacks on William Tweed and Tammany Hall. By the summer of 1876, Tweed "had escaped from jail and fled to Spain. Soon after, a cable from Vigo, Spain, stated that 'Twid' had been apprehended for kidnapping two American children. A Spanish official who did not read English had spotted Tweed from the *Harper's Weekly* cartoon, and, while he assumed the wrong crime, his identification was flawless" (9–10). "The mythical power of cartoons has continued to grow since Thomas Nast took on William Tweed", placing the cartoonists' role in an exalted position as a standard-bearer for integrity and truth in journalism, as the voice of common sense — the boy revealing that the emperor has no clothes. The cartoonists' influence may be illusory but their popularity is not." (10). We have already seen that Dewey instead has little patience for such rhetoric, but in practice, Hess and Northrop's book is both insightful, and necessary: their and Dewey's books are complementary, owing to the almost exclusive

dependence of Dewey upon The Granger Collection. Dewey underscores the importance of that collection, whereas Hess and Northrop span a wide range of source.

By p. 11, Hess and Northrop are already using as examples Bill Mauldin's (1921–2003) wartime cartoons and, one decade later, Herblock attacking Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s. A famous cartoon about Lyndon B. Johnson having undergone surgery and showing a Vietnam-shaped scar appears on p. 12: "David Levine's caricature of Lyndon Johnson at the time when the Vietnam War threatened to overwhelm his presidency used simple juxtaposition to create a searing portrait. At a press briefing, Johnson had pulled up his shirt to show reporters his scar from a recent gallbladder operation. Levine changed just a detail of the actual event: he drew the scar in the shape of Vietnam" (11–12).

As an example of cartoonists who kept a perspective continually before the audience, Hess and Northrop give interventionist Daniel Fitzpatrick anti-Nazi cartoons (12–13), intended to stir Americans away from isolationism, and in which he depicted the swastika as a death machine, and "used this symbol repeatedly to challenge Americans to rethink their isolationist stand and enter World War II" (12).

Hess and Northrop also discuss in their introduction topics that Dewey discussed in his own, such as caricaturists' constraints and autonomy, and the effects of syndication (16–17). George Fisher's (1923–2003) "attack on the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Arkansas in the early 1970s helped halt needless plans for damming several of the state's rivers. There are countless other cartoonists who have influenced local issues over the years whose names are not household words" (Hess and Northrop, 17). Racial, ethnic, or religious stereotypes are discussed on pp. 17–20.

Hess and Northrop's chapter "The Birth of National Identity: 1754–1865" begins, of course, with Benjamin Franklin (24–25), who not only was the first American political cartoonist; he "was also the first public figure in America to have been ridiculed in cartoons" (25). The section quickly turns then to Andrew Jackson (26–27), and to party and national political symbols (with a felicitously copious exemplification digressing from the temporal span of the section). "Just as cartoonists have always had some character to represent the American nation and its values, so, too, has there always been a character to represent the American people" (34): from the character of Major Jack Downing (after a fictional Yankee peddler) in the 1830s and 1840s, to Frederick Opper's drawing in 1905 a little man and labelling him "The Common People", a character also known as "John Public" (34, 73).

Then Hess and Northrop show how a 1805 cartoon by James Gillray, showing George III, King of England, and Napoleon Bonaparte cutting and dividing among themselves the globe, was emulated in a cartoon by Draper Hill (1935–2009), in which the tall Gerald Ford and the diminutive Jimmy Carter, dressed rather like the two characters from the 1805 cartoon, divide a globe labelled "FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE", "to suggest the scope of an upcoming presidential campaign debate" between the two contenders (35). That Draper Hill, an American cartoonist, should recycle a Gillray cartoon comes as no surprise. Draper Hill published in 1965 the book *Mr. Gillray the Caricaturist*. Edward Sorel published in 1973 a cartoon on Richard Nixon, emulating the 1832 anonymous cartoon against Andrew Jackson, "Andrew the First", crowned and holding the sceptre (41). Cartoons concerning Abraham Lincoln have, of course, honour of place at the end of the section whose period ends in 1865.

The next chapter in Hess and Northrop's book, "The Rise of the American cartoon: 1865–1896", begins with America being "engulfed by great tides of immigration, massive industrialization, and widespread political corruption" (52). Of course, readers meet there Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler. One cartoon (53) is about "the animosity between Thomas Nast and his editor George William Curtis, which was kept in check by the publisher Fletcher Harper. After Harper's death, however, the differences between the two men became irreconcilable" (53). Then we find again Nast's attacks on Tammany Hall (56–57). Then the section turns to Joseph Keppler (58). On the cover of the inaugural issue of Puck, on 14

March 1877, entitled "A Stir in the Roost" and portraying the publishers of New York's leading newspapers as cocks with human heads, in the bottom right corner one such cock has the head of Thomas Nast (59). That was ten years before Nast left *Harper's Weekly* (58). "The question of limiting immigration was often debated and Keppler, an immigrant himself, fuelled the fires. Like Nast, he singled out the Irish Catholics for particularly caustic attacks, perpetuating the stereotypes Nast had created, and damning their religion. But it was Keppler's perspective on American politics that sustained the magazine's popularity" (61, 63).

The first of Bernhard Gillam's tattooed Man cartoons against James Blaine appears on p. 63. The cartoonist, Bernhard Gillam, is misnamed as "Bernard", and it's not the only time in this book. Usefully however, Hess and Northrop reproduce beneath it a cartoon by Paul Conrad, published by the *Los Angeles Times* on 17 February 1987, and reproduced in rather poor resolution. "Borrowing from Keppler's invention, Paul Conrad tattoos President Ronald Reagan with events stemming from his years in the White House" (63). A David Star labelled "Israel" is among the images on Reagan's back. Bear in mind that a politician's tattooed body "was a device Keppler had used when he worked for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*. This time Bernhard Gillam, a talented British artist Keppler had lured away from *Leslie's Illustrated*, did the tattooing. The cartoon proved an instant sensation" (64).

Then the same section turns to *Judge* magazine. "*Puck's* rival, *Judge* was founded in 1881 by James Wales who left *Puck* after a quarrel with Keppler" (64). Wales "sold the magazine [...] in 1885 and returned to Keppler's stable" (65). The new owner was William J. Arkell, and he made Bernhard Gillam his full partner. *Life* magazine (a precursor of *Life* we know from living memory) was established in 1883 (65).

"Between 1881 and 1905 there were 37,000 labor strikes including bloody confrontations in the railroad and steel industries. Cartoonist like Keppler, who had originally supported the workingman, turned against labor as the violence continued" (67). Cartoonists however "aimed their attacks on the all-pervasive power of the trusts, monopolies, and big business" (67).

The next chapter in Hess and Northrop's book is "The Cartoon Comes of Age: 1896–1918". That was an age when "in many cities, cartoons reigned on the front page" (68), whereas "until the 1880s one form of humor, the cartoons, was notable for its absence in the daily newspaper" (68). One reason (which Dewey does not mention) was newspaper type: it "was set in narrow columns and the presses made it inconvenient to print anything larger than one column in width — a space too confining for an effective cartoon" (Hess and Northrop, 68). Change had first come with the *New York Evening Telegram*, established in 1867 and catering to the lower classes. It "ran a big front-page cartoon every Friday, making the newspaper the first daily in the country to use cartoons on a regular basis" (68).

This is a chapter that discusses the role of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst in American journalism, and their luring away cartoonists from each other. In the caption to a cartoon by Leon Barritt (1852–1938) published in *Vim* of 29 June 1898, and showing Pulitzer and Hears barefoot and in a nightgown, putting letters blocks upon each other to form the word "WAR" (they were lobbying for war against Spain at the time, because of the sinking of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana's harbour), Hess and Northrop state (78): "Cartoonist Leon Barritt cleverly dressed the duelling publishers in the distinctive garb of the Yellow Kid, from which the term yellow journalism was derived." We are also told about the circumstances which brought about simpler cartoons, of the kind to which we are still accustomed today (73):

For many cartoonists the transition from magazines to newspapers was difficult, often impossible. The leisurely routine of the weekly journals was replaced by a grinding, daily demand. Many artists quickly found they could not stand the pace or the increased drain on their creative juices.

Moreover, the different media required different techniques. In terms of both the artist's time and the lack of sophistication of newspaper reproduction, it was impossible to use the intricate group portraits that had been the staple of *Puck* and *Judge* or the elaborate backdrops in which the caricatures were placed. [Frederick Burr] Oppen¹⁹ was one of the few men²⁰ to make the transition comfortably. Most of the newspapers would turn to a new generation of cartoonists.

Next, Hess and Northrop discuss Homer Davenport, "[t]he first of the major figures to come of age in newspaper cartooning" (73), and who with "Oppen became Heart's one-two punch" (73). We already mentioned that Dewey's discussion (36–37) and Hearst and Davenport attacking William McKinley as though he was a plaything in the hands of his campaign manager, Mark Hanna, an industrialist from Cleveland. Hess and Northrop deal with that episode quite effectively. In 1896, "Hearst's *New York Journal* was the only major newspaper in the country to support Democrat William Jennings Bryan ["a heretofore political unknown" (74)] against Republican William McKinley" (74), who himself "was the last of a generation of Civil War officers to run for president and had an unblemished record in politics" (75), making him "virtually unassailable, [so] Hearst attacked Hanna instead, using the power of the cartoon as his main weapon. Davenport turned the Republican campaign manager into an image of greed and manipulation that would haunt him for the rest of his life" (75): "Davenport distorted Hanna's features in much the same way Nast had transformed Tweed's" (75). Davenport had the panache to describe, in an article from 1899, how he distorted Hanna's features. "Davenport eventually left the *Journal* and was employed by the Republican Party. Here was one cartoonist who could be bought" (76). As to Bryan: "For more than thirty years, William Jennings Bryan captured the imagination of writers and artists", states the caption, on p. 76, to three cartoons lampooning him.

The Chicago-based cartoonist John McCutcheon is discussed by Hess and Northrop on p. 77 (cf. Dewey, pp. 51, 53). McCutcheon drawing cartoons "seeking to reinforce the good he saw around him" (77) reminds me of the British cartoonist Giles, one generation later on. ["Giles" was Carl Giles (1916–1995). See Field (2010).]

After discussing the portrayal by cartoonists of Theodore Roosevelt, Hess and Northrop turn to Robert Minor, a cartoonist who had a radical political attitude after "in 1912 he had become the country's highest-paid cartoonist" (80). His style, too, was radical: "Where other cartoonists used elaborate crosshatching, Minor made a radical departure, discarding the delicate lines of pen and ink in favor of a broad, crude, grease crayon" (80). "Minor's bold, emotive cartoons were soon widely imitated" (81). We mentioned previously that Dewey remarks that this was a technique that "would gradually come to dominate cartooning for more than fifty years" (Dewey, 45). Minor was fired from the *New York World* which he had joined in 1914 once that newspaper, "like most major newspapers of the day, took up the call for American intervention [in the First World War]. Minor refused to draw prowar cartoons and was eventually fired" (Hess and Northrop, 81). War cartoons are the next topic discussed

¹⁹ Frederick Burr Oppen (an expression of antisemitism on whose part, in a cartoon from 1884, we already addressed while discussing our Fig. 4 on pp. 183 and 186 above) had been with *Puck* eighteen years, but in 1899 he joined Hearst's *New York Journal* (which Hearst had bought in 1895), and he "would remain with the Hearst organization for thirty-two years" (Hess and Northrop, 72). The cartoonist Upjohn lampooned Oppen in *Everybody's Magazine* of June 1905, drawing "Oppen as a Man of the Stone Age", wearing fur and holding a club, while also drawing on a slab of stone characters in 19th-century garb.

²⁰ Political cartoons are still mostly drawn by male artists, even though here and there (e.g., in France) women cartoonists have begun to appear. Laura Foster, a 1912 cartoon by whom, published by *Life* and supporting the suffragettes, appears on p. 91 in Hess and Northrop's book, "was one of the few women to have her cartoons printed in mainstream publications such as *Life*" (91). "Historian Alice Sheppard has assembled the work of more than three dozen female cartoonists who published their prosuffrage cartoons primarily in women's magazines" (90). Sheppard's book (1988) is missing from the bibliographies per chapter, but, without her name appearing, the book (its title, publisher, and year are given) is credited on p. 195, under the rubric "Illustration Sources and Copyrights".

(81–82), then pacifist or socialist cartoonists, and *The Masses*, a periodical suppressed in 1917 (83–87).

Hess and Northrop's chapter "The Art of Uncertainty: 1918–1947" is, of course, replete with disparate topics and cartoonists. Nevertheless, as we have seen for the early part of the book, this is also a chapter in which there are digressions from the given period: when discussing the Prohibition Era and the character character of Mr. Dry (standing for Temperance advocacy), 19th-century antecedents are evoked, with a 1889 cartoon by Keppler against proponents of the prohibition of alcohol.

The chapter turns from the *Saturday Evening Post* — which "by 1920 had become the most popular publication in America" (91) — its cartoonists, and its support for Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover (93), to the Great Depression. On p. 94 there is a striking unpublished 1932 *New Yorker* cover by Peter Arno (1904–1968): it was "drawn for the *New Yorker* weeks before the actual inauguration" (94), and shows Hoover and Roosevelt sitting side by side in the same limousine: Hoover is somber, whereas the blissful Roosevelt's broad smile towards the unseen side of the street (what you see, is the crowd in the backdrop, on the other side of the street) reveals the new president's horse teeth. "The cover was never published. After an assassination attempt on FRD in mid-February 1933, in which the mayor of Chicago was killed while riding in the president's car, New Yorker editors decided to use a less provocative cover" (94).²¹ From cartoons on FDR, the New Deal, and Eleanor Roosevelt, Hess and Northrop digress to show how another First Lady, Hillary Clinton, also perceived to make herself too perspicuous politically, was lampooned in a cartoon from 1994 (97). Then Hess and Northrop turn to the Harlem renaissance of the 1920s and later African American artists, and to the reflection in cartoons of lynching, the Ku Klux Klan, and racial segregation in the South (98–99, 103), and next, to the Second World War (100–102), the fight against Japan, the dropping of the atom bomb at Hiroshima (101), to the cartoonist Bill Mauldin (102–103), and McCarthyism (102–103).

Hess and Northrop's chapter "The Cartoonist versus the Television: 1947–1974" begins with the Cold War, *Mad* magazine — "a humor magazine that titillated the postwar generation's acerbic wit" (104) — television, Washington, D.C., and the cartoonist Herblock and his attack on Joseph McCarthy televised investigations and on McCarthyism (the very word was apparently coined by Herbert Block himself). From McCarthyism, the chapter turns to racial segregation and desegregation, and to cartoons about John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

On p. 111, a remarkable, still striking three-panel cartoon from *Mad* of December 1961 is reproduced. It was drawn by Mort Drucker and written by Larry Siegel. "Mad used familiar tunes to parody political topics, a device that became a popular feature in the magazine. Here, the Gilbert & Sullivan operetta HMS Pinafore provides the melody for Mad's commentary on the telegenic first family" (Hess and Northrop, 111). In the first panel, a footnote instructs:

* *Sung to the tune of* "WHEN I WAS A LAD" ("... AND NOW I AM THE RULER OF THE QUEEN'S NAVY")

The First Family is dining on their table, while a maidservant with an assuming attitude, her eyes shut, is bringing a tray on the far right. On the far left, the President's little girl, sitting on top of four books so she reaches the table's surface, tells her father: "Daddy, before you start working today, please sing me a song." In the bowl in front of her, an atomic explosion is taking place. JFK smiles to her. In his first balloon, he tells her: "Why, certainly, Caroline.

²¹ One can see something vaguely similar on p. 128 in Hess and Northrop's book: it is a cartoon by Mike Peters which was published by the *Dayton Daily News* in 1996. It shows the façade of the White House, but the colonnade shows the columns divided below the middle, and protruding outside. This was a portrait of Jimmy Carter's smile. "Jimmy Carter's smile kept cartoonists busy. Only the president's brother, Billy, received more attention" (128). Did he? For sure Billy Carter received much attention because of the Billygate and his eager support for Libya's dictator Muammar Gaddafi.

I'll tell you the story of how this wonderful life of ours in the White House all came about. You see..." And his second balloon continues:

* When I was a lad, my father said,
 "You've got great hair right there upon your head!
 Just make sure, son, that you tousle it well,
 And upon the female voters you will cast a spell!
 I tousled my hair so careful-lee —
 That now I am the leader of the whole coun-tree!

Jacqueline Kennedy, realistically drawn in profile and also smiling, on the right, repeats the refrain: "He tousled up his hair / so carefuller — / That now he is the leader / of the whole countree!". We see the back of a chair, in the forefront, and know that somebody small is sitting there, because a balloon states: "Ah... choo!". Then, in a smaller panel at the bottom left corner, a toddler's forearm is seen raised, holding a lollipop, and in a balloon, we read: "Goo!" So that is JFK's little boy. His daughter Caroline is standing, with a shy and delighted expression, while JFK is crouching and patting her back, saying:

As I grew up, I quickly learned
 That a penny saved is like a penny earned.
 At pennies saved none could match my kin;
 For the primaries my Daddy bought me Wis-con-sin!
 He bought Wisconsin with his dough for me —
 And now I am the leader of the whole countree!

On the right side, Jacqueline Kennedy, now seen frontally, smiles, her hands intertwined in delight, and repeats the refrain: "He bought Wisconsin / with his dough for thee — / And now you are the leader / of the whole countree!" In the third and final panel, in the bottom right corner, JFK and his daughter hold hands and we see their back, as they walk in a corridor, with a guard of honour on both sides. JFK sings:

Now young men there, whoever you may be,
 If you want to rise to the top of the tree,
 Make sure that you've a head of tousled locks,
 And your Daddy owns a great big stack of solid stocks.
 And if you find a wom-am like Jackee —
 You too may be the leader of the whole countree!

His little girl repeats the refrain: "And if you find a / wo-man like Mommee — / You too may be the leader / of the whole countree!" This is an elaborate parody, clever humour, and of unthinkable application today. Knowledge of the lyrics of songs is no longer widespread.

Bill Mauldin "left cartooning temporarily, in 1949", we were told at the end of the previous chapter (103), but in this chapter we find on p. 112 his famous cartoon from the *Chicago Sun-Times* of 23 November 1963, showing the Lincoln monument weeping for President Kennedy's assassination (perceived to be a repetition of Abraham Lincoln's own assassination). The same cartoon appears on a full page in Dewey's book on p. 107, along with the comment that it "became the most noted cartoon response to the killing." On its side, on p.112 in Hess and Northrop's book, there is a 1962 cartoon by Mauldin, in which two men, presumably Ku Klux Klan members (this time, not hooded, but wearing a rural broad-rimmed hat) are carrying a box of dynamite and a can of gasoline (the moon is in the backdrop), and tell each other: "See you in Church." This is about Black churches being blown or burnt by arsonists in the South. Hess and Northrop remark (112):

While Mauldin ridiculed the southern redneck as the civil rights struggle turned from peaceful sit-ins to violent confrontations in the 1960s, a cartoonist and playwright from New York named

Jules Feiffer probed the rhetoric and psychology of northern white liberals, finding contradictions that went to the very depth of the race issue. Feiffer's panels in the *Village Voice* read like mini-plays; they were not quite comic strips, but neither were they editorial cartoons. There could be no doubt, however, about their political volatility.

Hess and Northrop elaborate further about Feiffer's²² cartoons and his inner-monologue style (112–113). "Feiffer's fresh approach and sustained political vision gave the moribund craft of cartooning a much-needed kick in the pants" (113). "After the retirement of editorial cartoonist Edwin Marcus in 1958, the *New York Times* elected not to hire a replacement and later began commissioning artwork to illustrate its op-ed page" (113). "Pat Oliphant arrived in the United States in 1964 from Australia to work for the *Denver Post*" (113). "Oliphant's stand on an issue was not as predictable" as Feiffer's (114). Oliphant's "style was refreshing, exuberant, and unforgiving" (114). Hess and Northrop concentrate on his treatment of the issue of civil rights and urban violence (114–115). They then turn to the Vietnam War, portrayals of Lyndon Johnson in cartoons, and Richard Nixon's presidency and the Watergate. The chapter ends with a 1973 cartoon strip by Garry Trudeau about the Watergate (125).

That chapter in Hess and Northrop's book is entitled "The Cartoonist versus the Television: 1947–1974" (104–125), but whereas here and there it turns its attention to the television indeed, it cannot be said that that topic is very conspicuous there. It will therefore be hopefully helpful to signal the following. Beniger (1983) researched the possible impact of television on labelling in editorial cartoons from 1948 to 1980: "The diffusion of television may increase the proportion of a population that recognizes various public figures and more abstract cultural symbols. This hypothesis is tested with time series of the labeling used in 1,154 editorial cartoons of five leading U.S. metropolitan newspapers. The sample includes at least a hundred cartoons published in each of the nine presidential election years, 1948–1980" (Beniger, 103). Beniger found his hypothesis confirmed. Among the other things, he wrote (104):

This study attempts to assess the effect of television on the shared symbolic environment of the United States since 1948 through analysis of another visual form, the editorial cartoon. Editorial cartoons might be seen as one application of the founding idea of modern cultural anthropology, via Tylor (1873, 1878) and Durkheim (1915), that it is easier to think about concrete things than about abstract concepts. This simple idea points up the essential relationship between symbols and culture, in general, as well as between cartoon symbols and political ideas in particular. Editorial cartoons are therefore one obvious registry of cultural symbols shared by a mass society. Symbols themselves are not the subject of this study, however, which focuses instead upon trends in the use of labeling by editorial cartoonists. The reasoning is straightforward: If the diffusion of television did affect the number of symbols with common meaning to the American public, this ought to be reflected in the number of persons and symbolic objects labeled per cartoon. Specifically, if television did enhance the shared symbolic environment, as hypothesized here, then measures of the new medium's diffusion ought to correlate (with some temporal lag) with a decrease in the labeling of cartoon symbols, in general, and with a decrease in the labeling of public figures in particular. The reason is that if public figures are thought to be widely recognized by sight, and other political and social symbols are considered generally shared, cartoonists will not need to label these items for their readers.

Noah's Ark's as a theme occurs on p. 126, the first page of Hess and Northrop's chapter "Coming Full Circle: 1975–1996". This is in a cartoon by Pat Oliphant from the *Denver Post* of 3 November 1974. A huge elephant (the Republican Party) is inside the skeleton of an Ark to be, being built by President Gerald Ford, who has a nail in his mouth and is hammering on a bent nail on the prow. It is starting to rain, there is a dark cloud, and lightning is visible.

²² Long autobiographical interviews with Jules Feiffer, David Levine, Edward Sorel, and Ralph Steadman appear in Groth (2004).

The elephant looks at it and says: "Hurry up, will you, Noah?" Noah's Ark as a theme had already appeared on p. 92, in a 1915 cartoon from the *Washington Star* by Clifford Berryman (1869–1949), the cartoonist who had earlier introduced the Teddy Bear. It was an over-optimistic cartoon. President Woodrow Wilson, wearing a tie and a suit, extends his forearms outside a window in the Ark, as a dove is bringing to him a sheet of paper with the label "PROMISED GERMAN AGREEMENT".

Hess and Northrop inform us that "Pat Oliphant changed newspapers in 1975, moving from the *Denver Post* to the *Washington Star*. Now, two of America's most influential cartoonists, Oliphant and Herblock, resided in the nation's capital. Together with Paul Conrad, they remained the most important and consistent political cartoonists working in daily newspapers in the United States" (127). The presidencies of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan get coverage, then George H.W. Bush, the end of the Soviet Union, and the Gulf War of 1991 against Saddam Hussein's Iraq, before the chapter turns to Bill Clinton's presidency.

The last chapter, added to the new edition, is "Cartooning at a Crossroads: 1997–2010". It begins with a cartoon (from a website) by Gordon Campbell about the 2008 presidential campaign (149). The text on the same page begins: "MARCH 6, 2008. GORDON CAMPBELL didn't expect the pink slip." The next paragraph explains: "Campbell's job was one of the many local and national cartoonist positions lost to downward spiralling readership and revenue for newspapers throughout the United States" (149). "In the future, most papers would pick up cartoons on the cheap from syndicates rather than hire their own artists" (150). "Ted Rall, the popular syndicated cartoonist, says cartoonists are 'the canary in the coal mine' for the newspaper industry" (150).

The chapter then turns to Bill Clinton's presidency, to that of his successor George W. Bush, and the attack of September the 11, 2001, on the World Trade Center in New York. For example, on p.155, Mike Ritter's cartoon "Still Standing" shows New York's changed landscape, but amid the smoke of Ground Zero, the legs of Uncle Sam are towering, in his striped trousers. Only his clenched fist is also visible, on top of the cartoon. The presidential campaign of 2008, which saw Barack Obama elected, is also covered in that chapter.

A problem with Hess and Northrop's book is that inside the cartoons (which are not full-page as in Dewey's book), it is sometimes very difficult or even impossible to read the lettering of labels. Even using a magnifying glass does not help, because the resolution of the scans is poor, so magnifying does not enable to read text inside the images that is sometimes totally unrecoverable (e.g., on pp. 96–97). In a future edition, Transaction would better rescan all cartoons in high resolution, and in even in case they are not published as full pages, at least a magnifying glass could be helpful. After Dewey's book, Transaction cannot afford to make poor image resolution do.

This problem with fully appreciating detail in histories of American cartoons is not new. Already Hamilton (1944, p. 305) had remarked that the reader "may need a reading glass for some of the labels and blocks of print in earlier lithograph", and then Hamilton (1944) was reviewing a history of 19th-century American cartoons (Nevins and Weitenkampf 1944) in which a "page of historical comment and explanation [...] accompanies each full-page illustration" (Hamilton, *ibid.*).

Having said that, Dewey's book, too, is not perfect in respect of reproducing images. The originals of several of the cartoons were in colour (this is for example the case of images from *Puck*), and even if upon seeing the image in greyscale you may think it is great, then upon seeing the image in colour it dawns upon you that in greyscale, you may have missed one of the factors that made the original striking. At any rate, as I noted in the caption of Fig. 6 above, in that image in colour the textual labels inside the image are not as readable as in its greyscale reproduction in Dewey's book. Also compare Fig. 10(a) to Fig. 10(c).



Fig. 10(a). A 1892 cartoon by Joseph Keppler, belittling the abilities of President Benjamin Harrison, by comparison to his grandfather, also a president. This is a scan of the image in Dewey, 96: "Benjamin Harrison would always be on the verge of vanishing inside the hat of his grandfather William Henry Harrison (1892). *The Granger Collection, New York.*" Reproduced here by kind permission of the Granger Collection.

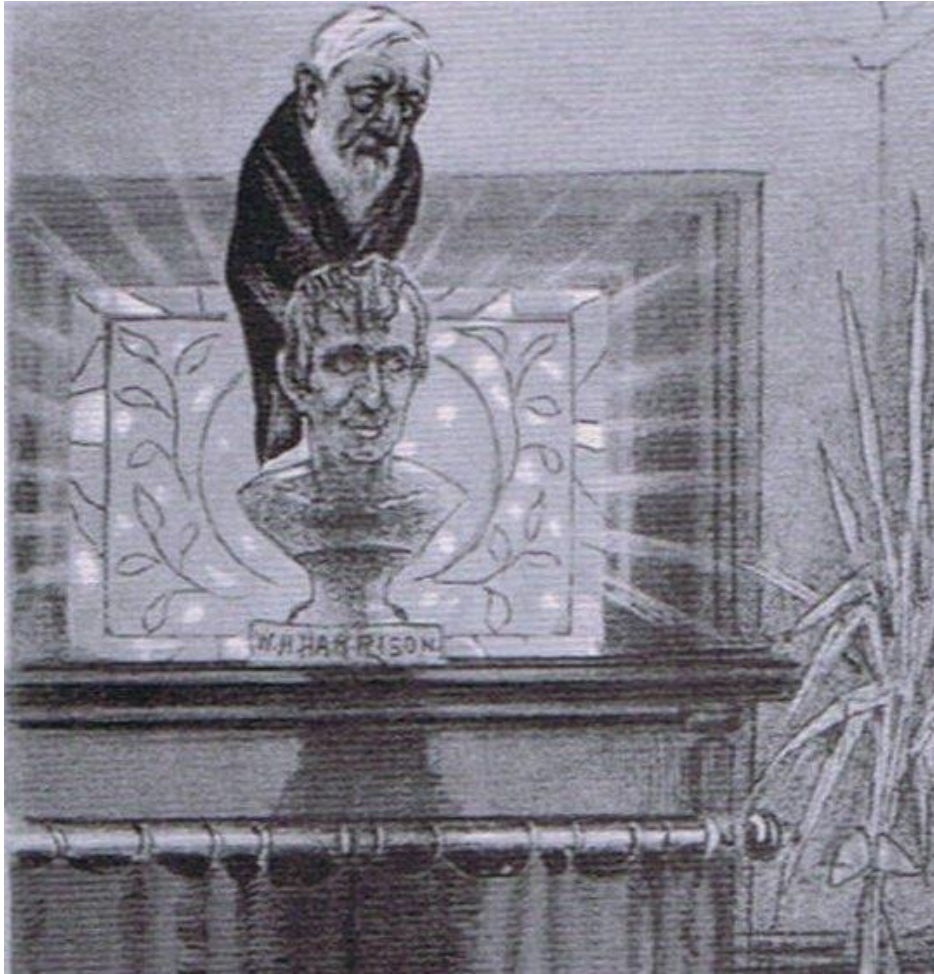


Fig. 10(b). A detail from Keppler's cartoon about the two Harrisons.²³
Being able to zoom on detail is an advantage of images in Dewey's book.

²³ Benjamin Harrison (1833–1901), a Republican, was the 23rd president of the United States of America, during only one term in office (1889–1893). His grandfather, born in 1773, and in politics a Whig, was the ninth president: this was in 1841, and he died a month after his inauguration. This didn't prevent Keppler from drawing a comparison between the two presidents, and perhaps the grandfather was being evaluated on the basis of stature shown not only during his presidency. Or then Keppler simply disliked the grandson.

From under the enormous hat, the grandson is staring uncomfortably at the apparition of his grandfather, and, dwarfed, he also stands behind a bust which carries his name, but does not look like him (but rather like some Caesar from antiquity). Ironically, the apparition is of the grandson himself as a dwarfish old man. The hat is a giant's. Regardless of authorial intentions, because of where the ghost of the grandfather is positioned, I am reminded of Edgar Allan Poe's *Raven*. Nevermore will the younger Harrison be elected for a new term as President. But this is merely an elaboration that is not found in the cartoon we are examining.

Victor Hugo's *Châtiments* (1853), the invective epic that made Hugo into France's poet-hero after 1870, pivots upon Hugo's venomous hatred for Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, i.e., Napoleon III, because of his seizing power by a coup. Hugo had already inaugurated his tirades in his 1852 pamphlet *Napoléon-le-Petit*, that has itself been described as a "coup d'État littéraire". The reproachful ghosts of the literary greats make their appearance, in that vast work of poetry (especially in "Splendeurs", III, 8). Moreover, Napoleon the Great is made to crush the unworthy Napoléon-le-Petit (VII, 6), and this by itself involves forgiving the former a lot of things. Where Hugo vents his indignation and hatred, Keppler subjects President Harrison to commiseration.

It is viewers' knowledge about the older Harrison no longer being alive, as well as his dwarfish size inside the cartoon, and his appearing high above in the room, behind a sculpted head carrying his name, that make such viewers provide the interpretation that the minuscule man is the apparition of a ghost. Yet, the human figure is just the double of the living grandson in the chair, standing on the shoulders of a giant: the grandfather is the bust. The man in the chair is shown imagining himself and finding himself wanting in comparison.



Fig. 10(c). The same image from Puck, in colour. It is found at the Wikipedia webpage about Puck. Moreover, the same image in colour, with the margins of the page from Puck, is found at the website of the Library of Congress.²⁴

²⁴ <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3g00000/3g05000/3g05400/3g05412v.jpg>

4. On Physical Features of a Few Presidents as Being "Delectable Illustration Fodder"

Let us look back at Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "granite-square forehead, aggressive horse teeth, and cigarette holder" as being "delectable illustration fodder" (Dewey, 52). Dewey (101), who reproduces on a full page a cartoon about Taft (see our Fig. 11), provides this commentary (100): "Louis Glackens pictured a consumer fancying a positive side to William Howard Taft's enormous torso — that its sheer weight might lower the cost of living." That would be the case, if the cost of living was the tree branch on which Taft is dreamed of as sitting above. In fact, the branch is inscribed "cost of living". William Taft was president of the United States for one term (1909–1913). He was a very corpulent man indeed, weighing about 300 pounds, thus 21 stones or more, almost 150 kilograms. A special bathtub was built for him at the White House; it could accommodate four normal-sized adult persons.

Taft was alive and well, yet the graphical convention in the cartoon depicts him as though he was a ghost. It would be more correct to say that the contour is that of an apparition, and that both a ghost and a dream (or daydreams) are apparitions. In fact, also the consumables are drawn with the same kind of lighter contour as Taft is. Contrast the delighted man lying on the ground and daydreaming (he is inscribed "consumer" on his waist), and the open-mouthed, thus singing bird perching on the smaller branch behind Taft's left shoulder. The consumer and the bird are drawn with the darker lines that stand for bodies, and they share a merry mood. By contrast, Taft, who is also in an agreeable mood, offers the paradox of being a disembodied apparition, yet bending the branch down with his weight. Some of the consumables are heavy, especially the meat and the bottle, yet these other apparitions do not cause the terminal (thus weaker) branches to bend — not even the bottle, which is dangling down from a very weak branch.

This is an example of a relatively benign attitude to a large body, but nevertheless one that made it (Taft's body) the target of humour. In this respect, the Taft-on-the-branch cartoon in *Puck* is interesting data for fat studies, a discipline especially associated with Sander Gilman (2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008b). The corpus (pun intended) of studies into the grotesque body displays usually more malevolent attacks, sometimes humorous (see e.g., rather controversially, in Boyarin 1991, 1992, 2008), but sometimes not humorous at all, such as in Fumiko Kometani's controversial novella *Passover*, of 1989 (concerning a fateful Passover *seder* at her in-laws, that draws from her pyrotechnical outbursts of negative emotion, conveyed through the narrator, the autobiographical character of Michiko), in her jibes against her fat sister-in-law. As Susan Chira puts it, "Much of Michiko's anger focuses on her Jewish sister-in-law, Sylvia [...]. Michiko, trim like most Japanese, is obsessed with Sylvia's weight. To her, Sylvia is a 'fat slob' with a 'greasy nose' and 'fat thighs' who shovels food 'past her garishly rouged red lips into her large, waiting open mouth.'" Large body size is also involved in the following (Cuff 1945, p. 95):

[Herbert] Johnson is an anti-New Dealer. He has satirized the high spending rate of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration. He has represented the taxpayer as being in some difficult situations because of the expenditure of billions of dollars by the government. One of these cartoons is entitled "Nonsense! If it gets too deep, you can easily pull me out!" words that are spoken by a corpulent woman, symbolizing government spending, to a frail man, symbolic of the taxpayer, when both the woman and the man are wading in the deep waters of debt.

Moreover (Margolin 1988, p. 60);

Harper's Weekly engaged cartoonist Thomas Nast, best known for his attack on New York City's crooked government headed by Boss Tweed in the 1860s and 1870s. Nast was instrumental in stereotyping rapacious big-city politicians as corpulent men, personifying power by their sheer mass. He also developed pictorial devices to portray their greed; to make this point Nast replaced a politician's head with a moneybag [...]. Similar stereotypes were used by other cartoonists.



Fig. 11. Taft's being fat is considered to be potentially useful, by a daydreaming citizen, as it would bring down the cost of living just as the man's weight would bend the branch of a tree. The living Taft being dreamed of is drawn with the contour of a ghost, but so are the consumables, too (Dewey, 101). Like for the other images from Dewey's book, this image is reproduced by kind permission of the Granger Collection in New York.

Joseph Keppler, the founder of *Puck*, a competitor of *Harper's Weekly*, attacked the United States senators who were backed by large trusts by showing them as huge, almost immobile figures with moneybags for bodies, dominating their colleagues in the Senate with their exaggerated scale. However, such stereotypes became worn out conventions through overexposure and eventually turned into political clichés as they were used repeatedly well into the 1930s.

Keppler's cartoon to which Margolin refers is reproduced on p. 229 in Dewey's book, along with the comment: "Keppler's *BOSSES OF THE SENATE* (1899) was probably the most noted of the antitrust cartoons." It is also reproduced in colour, on facing pages, inside the front cover of Dewey's book. (It also appears, on the full width of a page, in greyscale, in Hess and Northrop, p. 66.) The trusts are represented as giants whose body resembles a full sack, an effect reinforced by their collars being the opening of the sack.



Fig. 12. Self-portrait of 1893 by Joseph Keppler (1838–1894).²⁵

5. Animalisation: A Few Cases from the 1870s and 1880s

Have a look again at edibles hanging down from the tree in the Taft-on-the-branch cartoon from Joseph Keppler's (Fig. 12) *Puck* magazine. Let us consider how on occasion edibles

²⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph_Ferdinand_Keppler00a.jpg

inspired animalisation. Even though it eventually became quite prominent,²⁶ *Puck* had originally been published by Joseph Keppler in editions in German and in English,²⁷ because it originally catered to German Americans²⁸ (Keppler was one). Its graphics was initially crude, but improved and eventually excelled.²⁹ Snyder (1945) discusses a crisis in the

²⁶ "Among the most talented cartoonists were those who drew for the weekly *Puck* (1877–1918), the nation's premier journal of political satire and humor. Published on Manhattan's Lower East Side near both Tammany and city halls, it was the most influential organ of its kind in the Gilded Age and a unique means of distilling the nuances of mugwump reformism to a broad audience, especially to the growing middle class" (Thomas 2004b, p. 213). "'Mugwump', derived from the native-American term meaning 'chief', originated in 1884 as a derogatory description of those liberal Republicans who bolted their party to support the Democratic presidential nominee, Grover Cleveland. Since that time, the term has taken on a broader meaning to describe those who supported political independence or nonpartisanship and specifically those elitist, middle-class, urban reformers, both before and after 1884, who wanted to restore honesty to the electoral process at all levels and worked for civil service reform as a way to eliminate patronage and the spoils system from the political process. Mugwumps also opposed monopoly, favored free trade, battled labor radicalism, opposed the clericalism of organized religion, and expressed contempt for immigrants, especially the Irish, who exchanged their votes for favors from machine bosses" (Thomas 2004b, p. 238, n. 3). See Tucker (1998), McFarland (1975), Sproat (1968). "Competing interpretations continue over whether mugwumps advocated reform to regain their class's lost political status in post-Civil War urban America (Sproat) or were driven by a strong moralistic sense of righteousness and principle (Tucker), although the latter view has gained considerable support" (Thomas 2004b, p. 238, n. 3). "The phenomenon of Mugwump reform has been explained as a status revolution, as a moral crusade and as patrician reform. While each of these interpretations contains some elements of the others, they have distinctly different perspectives, each describing one characteristic of Mugwump reform particularly well." (McFarland 1963, p. 41)

²⁷ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puck_\(magazine\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puck_(magazine)) explains: "The weekly magazine was founded by Joseph Ferdinand Keppler in St. Louis. It began publishing English and German language editions in March, 1871. Five years later, the German edition of *Puck* moved to New York City, where the first magazine was published on September 27, 1876. The English language edition soon followed on March 14, 1877. The English magazine continued in operation for more than 40 years under several owners and editors until it was bought by the William Randolph Hearst company in 1916. The publication lasted two more years; the final edition was distributed September 5, 1918. A typical 32-page issue contained a full-color political cartoon on the front cover and a color non-political cartoon or comic strip on the back cover. There was always a double-page color centerfold, usually on a political topic. There were numerous black-and-white cartoons used to illustrate humorous anecdotes. A page of editorials commented on the issues of the day, and the last few pages were devoted to advertisements. [...] Politically it sided with the Bourbon Democrats, whose hero was Grover Cleveland. It favored German Americans and victimised Irish Americans. [...] A London edition of *Puck* was published between January 1889 and June 1890. Amongst contributors was the English cartoonist and political satirist Tom Merry."

²⁸ "Joseph Keppler and his cofounder, Adolf Schwarzmann, published both German and English language versions of *Puck*. The former, begun in 1876, preceded the English edition by several months and lasted twenty-one years. It contained the same cartoons, but its articles were written for New York's large German-American community. The more famous, enduring, and, by 1880, more profitable version was the English language *Puck* published in New York City from March 1877 to September 1918" (Thomas 2004b, p. 238, n. 2).

²⁹ Isabel Simeral Johnson relates (1937, p. 42): "The tremendous success of Nast's work in *Harper's Weekly* led naturally to the founding of weekly magazines dedicated to illustration, caricature, and cartoon. Of these none was more successful than *Puck*, founded in St. Louis in 1870 by a young German, Joseph Keppler. Keppler was soon forced to abandon the original enterprise, but in 1873 he left for New York and there three years later, September 1876, the first German number, and in March 1877, the first English number, of a new *Puck* appeared. Cartoons in the early numbers were in black and white and very crude, but Keppler soon learned to use color successfully, and the fertile wits of the young German and his collaborators quickly built up a magazine which was eagerly awaited each week for its drawings, its pungent satire, its vigorous and humorous comment." Vinson (1957, p. 343) notes: "The colored cartoons of Thomas Keppler had caught the public fancy, giving him in the 80's the pre-eminence Nast had enjoyed in the 70's." Reviewing West's (1988) *Satire on Stone*, Doezeema states (1989, p. 377): "West traces the sources of Keppler's unique artistic vision to disciplined technical art training at the Akademie der Bildern Künste in Vienna as well as to his work in the theater. Keppler arrived in America in 1867 and, after dabbling briefly in the German theater in St. Louis, became increasingly attracted to the idea of establishing a German-language satire magazine in this country. His first venture involved an intriguing weekly, called *Die Vehme* (The Star Chamber) after a fifteenth-century English court known for its quick, severe punishments."

relations between the United States and Germany: the 1870s saw Germany adopt a protective tariff policy (16). "The new course had a vital effect upon German-American relations" (16). In fact (16–17):

The metamorphosis of Germany from a food-exporting to a food-importing country, a result of German industrialization, profoundly affected the attitude of German agrarians to imports from America. The growth of American agriculture and the improvement of ocean transportation had brought American agricultural products into European markets in great quantities. Bismarck's tariff of 1879 embodied an agrarian, as well as an industrial, protective policy. Two conflicting interests had to be served: it was necessary to protect German farmers against the large imports of American grain, livestock, and footstuffs, and yet at the same time German industrialists had to receive raw materials, including foodstuffs, at a price low enough to enable them to compete with foreign manufacturers in the final selling of their products.

"The superabundance of pork in the United States was indicated by the fact that, while Europe, as a whole, produced more swine than the United States, still the relative amount available in the United States was four times as great as in Europe" (17). "From December 1882 to March 1883 there was an acrimonious debate in the German press and in the reichstag over the question of total exclusion of American pork and pork products" (19). "The German prohibition of American pork apparently gave more offense in the United States than the earlier prohibitions of other European countries. If the objections in the American press following the earlier prohibition were lively, they were now even more vehement" (24). German Americans, often already resentful of Bismarck or supporters of the German opposition (and especially of German free traders), felt directly affected: "German-

That is a bit confused. The *Vehm* kind of quick court imperversed on the Continent as well! The *Star Chamber* is merely the closest English institution. *Vehmic* (or *Fehmic*) courts, or the holy *vehme*, were a "proto-vigilante" regional courts, a tribunal system with jurisdiction over all crimes, active in Westphalia, the peak of whose activity was in the 14th and 15th centuries, with lesser activity in the 13th and 16th, but which were only abolished by Jérôme Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, in 1811. Capital sentences were passed in the name of the Emperor (of the Holy Roman Empire). The proceedings were sometimes secret. This is why such courts were also called "secret courts" (*heimliches Gericht*). Whereas the execution itself may also have been secret, the body was then hung on a tree, to advertise the fact. It was probably this that inspired the name *Die Vehme* of Keppler's weekly. "Following the abandonment of the *Vehmic* courts, the term acquired a connotation of mob rule and lynching. In Modern German, the spelling of *Feme* is most common. Other variant forms are: *Fehme*, *Feime*, *Veme*. The verb *verfemen* is in current use and means 'to ostracise', i.e. by public opinion rather than formal legal proceeding. A noun derived from this is *Verfemter* 'outlaw, ostracised person'" (http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Vehmic_court&oldid=527193258).

In contrast, in the history of English law: "The **Star Chamber** (Latin: *Camera stellata*) was an English court of law that sat at the royal Palace of Westminster until 1641. It was made up of Privy Councillors, as well as common-law judges and supplemented the activities of the common-law and equity courts in both civil and criminal matters. The court was set up to ensure the fair enforcement of laws against prominent people, those so powerful that ordinary courts could never convict them of their crimes. Court sessions were held in secret, with no indictments, and no witnesses. Evidence was presented in writing. Over time it evolved into a political weapon, a symbol of the misuse and abuse of power by the English monarchy and courts. In modern usage, legal or administrative bodies with strict, arbitrary rulings and secretive proceedings are sometimes called, metaphorically or poetically, *star chambers*. This is a pejorative term and intended to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the proceedings" (http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Star_Chamber&oldid=533587974).

Doezema continues (1989, p. 377): "West reports that *Die Vehme* was among the first American magazines to be produced entirely on lithographic presses, with the significant effect that artwork was never translated into another medium for reproduction. Not the least of Satire on Stone's contribution is made by the reproduction of images from all but inaccessible periodicals such as *Die Vehme* and the early phase of *Puck*, especially the German-language version. A set of illustrations in chronological order follows each section of West's text. No attempt is made to evoke the layout of the original magazines, except when an entire cover is featured. Rather, each full-page reproduction is faced with identification and concise explanatory text on an otherwise blank page. The Swann Foundation for Caricature and Cartoons upported the cost of sixteen color illustrations, which are fairly good re-creations of the original art."

Americans who had settled in the pork centers of the Middle West made no secret of their anger because of lost business" (24).

Especially rankling was the fact that, while in ordinary tariff procedure exclusion was effected by a general law covering the same products from all countries, the German government had insisted upon banning only American pork — "and that on a pretext which, being officially set up by a responsib]e government, tends to injure the reputation of American hog products in all other countries." [as the *New York Herald* of 17 March 1883 put it.]

Snyder elaborates about how the dispute was reflected in American cartoons (24–25):

Typical of the attitude of the American press was the headline of an article on the pork dispute reading: "Avenging the American hog." [in the *New York Herald* of 18 January 1884] For American cartoonists the pork dispute was a welcome subject. On March 1, 1884 there appeared a cartoon in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* which criticized Bismarck both for his rejection of the Lasker Resolution and his policy on American pork. The chancellor, bearing a huge porcelain pipe in one hand and a foaming jug of beer in the other, with a pretzel hanging from his cap, is shown walking along the street. From his pocket hangs a slip of paper labeled "Lasker Resolution." Passing in the opposite direction is a huge hog, whose belly is wrapped in an American flag and from whose tail the Stars and Stripes wave proudly. The caption read: "We do not greet each other when we meet on the street!" In the April 5, 1884 issue of the same magazine appeared another cartoon entitled: "President Arthur apologizes." Bismarck is shown seated on a throne, the legs of which are beer mugs. The hands and feet of a hog are substituted for the chancellor's own extremities. Covering the pedestal of the throne is an American flag. President Arthur is depicted bowing before Bismarck in a most humble and apologetic manner. On the wall is a sign: "We have enough [p. 25:] hogs — Bismarck." Sargent, the American minister, is shown leaving through the door headed for a new post at St. Petersburg. Yet, however humorous the conflict might appear to some, to the meat packers of Chicago and Cincinnati the mid-western farmers the representatives of the farm states in congress, and the state department the issue was a distressingly serious one.³⁰

Of course, pigs appeared in other cartoons in different contexts as well. Dewey (204) reproduces a 1874 cartoon by Thomas Nast, after the Cincinnati police had arrested and marched to the police station twenty-four women who had demonstrated in the street by singing and praying. Both the Cincinnati *Gazette* (from which Dewey quotes), and Nast denounced the Cincinnati police taking graft and not enforcing the law against the liquor industry. Nast represented the policement with pig heads, and on one shop sign opne can read "SCHWEIN KOPF LAGER" (Nast was of German background himself), whereas a sign on another shop identifies the place as "THE RUM HOLE".

There is something to bear in mind, concerning Nast in New York commenting about events in Cincinnati. While discussing the popularity of American humorists in the 19th century, Walter Blair (1931) noted the following concerning copies being exchanged between periodicals (*ibid.*, pp. 180–181):

Giving credit sometimes, often withholding it,³¹ newspapers and [p. 181:] periodicals all ower the country passed along the best humorous sketches, anecdotes, poems, and paragraphs discovered in exchanges. And since laws allowed exchange copies to be sent without postage, and since newspapers were eager to borrow good material, exchange lists were long; each newspaper sprinkled its pages with quotations from papers of every part of the United States. I was able, with little effort, to compile a list of eighty [news]papers which were quoted in at least two publications in 1880.

"The most important periodicals, however, from the standpoint of humorists who profited by popularity, were the comic journals" (Blair 1931, p. 183), but the existence of many suich

³⁰ Snyder (1945) wrote in lower case "reichstag", "congress", and "state department".

³¹ "Yankee Doodle, *The Spirit of the Times*, and *Puck* carried on vehement campaigns against the failure of papers to give credit to exchanges from which they pilfered material" (Blair 1931, p. 180, fn. 18).

periodicals was precarious. "To be sure many of these died at a tender age, after driving editors to despair, and there was some naturalness in the ending of Newell's burlesque novel, *The Cloven Foot* (1870), which showed a comic journal editor attempting to hang himself" (Blair, *ibid.*). "[C]omic periodicals were so numerous that Newell, in the novel mentioned, could tell with some accuracy of an undertaker displaying a graveyard full of 'projectors of American Punches'" (Blair, *ibid.*). In Cincinnati in particular, a comic periodical entitled *The Fat Contributor's Saturday Night*, in Cincinnati, existed during about eleven years, from 1872 to 1882 (Blair 1931, p. 184). Sometimes, evolving technology played a role; Joseph Keppler's *Puck* made use of colour; as to Thomas Nast, he was apparently not as comfortable with the progress of typographical techniques.³²

Burns (1999) is an important study in animal symbolism in American cartoons, especially of Wall Street bulls as bears, and especially in relation to Thomas Nast. Burns (1999, p. 11) notes that Nast was among those transforming old animal symbols "by combining established models of exaggerated grotesque humor with a new and highly intensified naturalism, as in Nast's rendering of the 'Democratic Tiger' in *The Millennium* (Fig. 8 [on p.17 in Burns (1999)]). Licking his chops after ingesting the Republican Lamb, Nast's tiger is no cartoon feline but an entirely plausible predator." Burns also points out the impact of Darwinism, as well as of Barnum's menagerie,³³ on the appearance of animals in cartoons. Signalling that much is an arguably interesting addition to the two histories of American cartoons under review here.

Consider Nast's cartoon "Millennium" in Fig. 13. Whereas the representation of the tiger is rather naturalistic, its wink (felines do blink) carries the meaning that human winking does. "Spring lamb and peas" (from human cuisine) suggests that to the tiger, the lamb is just a dish: something to be devoured. "Inquire within" (which at present would be "Ask inside") combines the surprise effect of the contradicted expectation that there would be two characters to be seen (a tiger and a lamb), with the social competence about a sign that one may expect to find outside a shop.

In *Isaiah* 11:6, the coexisting pairs are a wolf and a lamb (cf. *Isaiah* 65:25), and a leopard with a kid (followed by a trio: two bovines and a lion). In *Isaiah* 11:7, the pair is a cow and a bear. At 11:8, a toddler is playing over a snake hole.³⁴ Nast replaced an Indian animal, the tiger, for the wolf or the leopard from *Isaiah*.

³² Vinson (1957, p. 343) notes: "The colored cartoons of Thomas Keppler had caught the public fancy, giving him in the 80s the pre-eminence Nast had enjoyed in the 70's. His woes were increased by a change in the method of reproducing drawings. His first work was in wash and line. About the time of his attacks on Andrew Johnson, he began to develop a line technique marked by cross-hatching. Drawings of this period were made by Nast in pencil on the engraver's block of wood. These were excellent in their management of light and shadow and marked by vibrant lines and solid forms. During the campaign of 1880, *Harper's* began using the photo-chemical process of engraving. Nast was now required to make his drawings in pen and ink on paper. This medium was never as agreeable to him as the former method. His line became less sure, his figures more wooden and the whole effect less intense than his earlier work. Possibly this was a reflection of his own confusion and dissatisfaction in the later period. The drawing was always subordinate to the idea. Nast, unlike other masters of black and white, [William] Hogarth in England or [Francisco] Goya in Spain, was never interested in art for its own sake. He was adjudged at the outset of his career to have talent equal to that of George Inness. In his latter years he did a few paintings, but usually on commission with no notable success."

³³ Note moreover: "P. T. Barnum's museum in New York City was a popular attraction in the mid-1800s, and cartoonists used its distinctive surroundings to depict politicians as members of Barnum's freak show. Today, a cartoon's setting is much simpler and certainly less sensational. Many cartoons take place around the family television set where most Americans get their news" (Hess and Northrop, 14). Two politicians arguing from two television sets facing each other while a viewer leaves the room appears in a cartoon by Tony Auth, from the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of 21 September 1976, on p. 15 of Hess and Northrop's book. To its right, a cartoon is reproduced, by Bernhard (not Bernard!) Gillam, from *Puck* of 15 April 1884, set at Barnum's museum.

³⁴ Allegorical interpretation applying this to human kinds (wicked, larcenously acquisitive persons, and the meek ones) have existed across faith communities (e.g., among medieval Jewish exegetes, that was their



Fig. 13. Thomas Nast's cartoon (a wood engraving) "Millennium. The Tiger and the Lamb Lie Together", published by *Harper's Weekly* on 3 November 1877. Nast replaced the lion and lamb of Isaiah with the Tammany Tiger (New York Democrats) and the Republican Lamb, that is nowhere to be seen, because the tiger has devoured it.

opinion, briefly stated, of Abraham Ibn Ezra, whereas David Kimchi explained it at length, but was noncommittal in that he ascribed that opinion to others; he also explained the literal interpretation, and reckoned that carnivores must have been vegetarian when created, before the individuals couples created of their usual herbivore prey reproduced, and he also suggested that carnivores in the Ark were vegetarian while there, unless the seven couples of clean species were admitted into the Ark also in order to feed carnivores).

The tiger in 19th century Western cultures used to be associated with India,³⁵ and it appeared for example in a cartoon showing the British lion assaulting a native tiger who is about to devour a woman and her baby (Dewey, pp. 18–19): "The British Lion and the Bengal Tiger", a 1857 *Punch* illustration by John Tenniel about the Kanpur Mutiny in India, an illustration which Dewey considers to have been the first source for the Tammany tiger. "Then there was the fire engine company where Nast's most famous target, political boss William Tweed, had once worked: the fire station's lead wagon had carried a tiger's head as an emblem — a souvenir Tweed had taken with him as he had climbed the political ladder" (Dewey, 19). Dewey also proposes that a trigger for Nast's 1871 cartoon "The Tammany Tiger Loose — What Are You Going to do about It?" (Dewey, 203) was a cartoon by Keppler that had appeared three weeks earlier in the St. Louis version of *Puck* in German and English, showing Columbia (a symbol for the U.S.) "fighting in an arena with a tiger wearing a collar labeled 'Corruption' and was clearly a reference to the turmoil then under way in New York over the Tweed gang" (Dewey, 19). In Nast's own double-page cartoon, Columbia had fallen, and the tiger was about to devour her. The tiger's paw is on the fallen woman's head, and we know she stands for America, because she is labelled "REPUBLIC".

I would like to point out that just an Indian original reference (through the tiger) was included in those cartoons (clearly so in Tenniel's illustration), the motif of the lion and lamb coexisting in peace, of biblical derivation, influenced art in early modern Mughal India, in the portraiture of a Muslim emperor. An

extraordinary allegorical portrait shows the emperor Jahangir standing on a globe, on [or in?] which a symbolic lion and lamb peacefully lie together,³⁶ shooting an arrow at a pathetic figure of an old man shrouded in darkness. We know from the inscription above Jahangir's head that the emaciated old man symbolises Poverty, and it is clear from the huge sun-like nimbus surrounding the Emperor that he is to be seen as the antithesis of the dark cloud of Poverty. A pair of European *putti* hold a crown over Jahangir's head, while a third hands him his arrows. These escapees from western art mingle with other more Indian features [...]

It is an opaque watercolour and gold on paper, attributed to Abu'l-Hasan, c. 1625, now at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Crill and Jariwala 2010, p. 78, image on p. 79). "Mughal portraiture as a distinct genre evolved considerably during Jahangir's reign, continually enriched by the adoption of European conventions and motifs, though given new meaning from their different context" (Stronge 2010, p. 28).

I would also like to signal here a cartoon from *Puck* of 15 March 1882, by Bernhard Gillam (1856–1896) about Chester Alan Arthur (1829–1886), who was U.S. president in 1881–1885, and whom we have come across earlier in this section. Its theme is a white elephant (cf. Nissan 2013, pp. 124 and 127, where Obama's contender McCain at the 2008 U.S. presidential elections appears as a white elephant in a cartoon from Cambodia).

Arthur's Awkward "White Elephant". "How shall I ever get rid of him? It won't do for me to have him on my hands in 1884!" – March 15, 1882 – [*Puck*] 11:262 – President Chester Arthur sits on a rock outside the Supreme Court Building, deep in thought as to how to best handle his debts to Roscoe Conkling [1829–1888], represented by a large white elephant, centered in the illustration and demanding in presence. Refusing both a position on the Supreme Court and to take office, Roscoe was rumored to run for the 1884 presidential election, as a rival to incumbent President Arthur.³⁷

³⁵ In recent decades, especially in the late 1980s, the tiger has been an associate of countries with a strong economy in the Far East and South East Asia, parts of the world where tigers have been living (except in Japan).

³⁶ Actually the tail of the lion is on the lamb's back.

³⁷ http://www.delart.org/collections/HFS_library/finding_aids/PuckMagazine.htm#Description (a library site entitled "PUCK MAGAZINE Illustration Collection, 1876–c.1901. A Finding Aid to the PUCK MAGAZINE Illustration Collection, Helen Farr Sloan Library, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware, 2004").

Another cartoon by Bernhard Gillam from *Puck* (this one of 17 May 1882) is "A Sop to Cerberus", and is anti-Irish (as usual in *Puck*) and subserviently pro-Chinese:

Gillam, Bernhard, 1856–1896 – A Sop to Cerberus. – May 17, 1882 – [*Puck*] 11:271 – President Chester Arthur dressed in white robes offering a three-headed dog, representing the Western Vote (Hoodlum, Demagogue and Irish) the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The three-headed dog blocks the pathway to the White House, glowing with the number 1884. President Chester Arthur with political aspirations for a second term in office, offers a sop to pacify the three-headed dog of mythology (Cerberus) the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in order to tame the wild beast, which will allow Arthur to claim victory in the 1884 presidential elections.³⁸

6. King Kong and his Ilk in Popular Culture and the Cartoons

In cartooning, the following is an example of an unusual form of animalisation. The cartoonist B. Kliban, in a book (1976) entitled *Never Eat Anything Bigger Than Your Head & Other Drawings*, published a cartoon captioned

Q. WHAT DID THE CITY OF NEW YORK DO WITH KING KONG?

That cartoon showed a diner, with people (including a policeman) eating hamburgers. A waitress walks by (her head is not shown), holding a tray with hamburgers on it.³⁹ That cartoon is the first example in a paper in humour studies, "Why Ellen Laughed" (Ellen stands for anybody), by Norman Holland (1980, p. 346, image on p. 347; my added emphasis). He claimed:

And all these theories work! In fact they work too well. Few indeed are the jokes that will not fit a dozen or so theories — even when the theories are quite inconsistent.

Consider the cartoon by B. Kliban below (fig. 1). There are various incongruities: between the fantastic world of King Kong and this hum-drum diner; between what New York ought to have done with the body and what evidently was done; between these little people and the big ape; and—there must be many more. There is the sudden solving of the riddle posed by the caption and the equally sudden realization it is all playful foolery. There is a sense of the superiority of these mere mortals to the monstrous ape and aggression at both Kong and these derided people. There is even an archetype: the sacramental eating of the slain god.

All these theories fit, even when they are inconsistent. **The eating, for instance, is both sacred and disgusting; the diners are both superior and inferior to King Kong.** The theories do not, however, explain why some people are not amused (except for the "conditions" theories: the joke wasn't sudden enough or didn't create a frame of playfulness).

I would like to offer a different approach, one that, as far as I can tell, in all the twenty-five centuries of asking why we laugh, no one has fully tried. I interviewed someone being amused by a text (cartoons) and, while associating and reminiscing, she explained why she thought these cartoons were funny. The person in question I have called Ellen, and she said about the King Kong cartoon: "The thing that attracted me to the book, if you want to know, the thing I like best—About my favorite drawing, at first, was the guy eating the hamburger, 'What Did the City of New York Do with King Kong?'... That was so perfect — because I've eaten there." Now what does her feeling that she has eaten in that kind of diner have to do with her laughing at this cartoon? I do not, obviously, expect Ellen to explain what Aristotle and hundreds of other theorists have already overexplained. [...]

³⁸ http://www.delart.org/collections/HFS_library/finding_aids/PuckMagazine.htm#Description

³⁹ This reminds me of the episode, in a play by Bertolt Brecht about the Chicago slaughterhouses, in which the wife of a slaughterhouse worker who fell into a machine is willing to believe his employer's claim that he fled to "Frisco", and it is suggested that his flesh is being eaten as meat.

Those diners — the munching bespectacled man wearing a hat, and the policeman (recognised as such because of his hat) whose teeth on display are about to bite again the hamburger sandwich he is holding — are captured in mid-action carrying out a bodily function, and are in a sense even more animal(istic) than the big ape, King Kong. For sure, that was a one-panel gag cartoon, not a political cartoon. The same for another cartoon from Kliban's book, discussed by Holland (1980, pp. 352–353). Its caption is:

Victor Grows More Suspicious Hourly

It shows a man in the forest standing behind a tree and watching, as a group of men standing, dressed up as bears and who hold bear-head hoods under their pit, except one of them who is taking it off his head (so that you may better realise the situation).

Ellen, the graduate student at his English Department in Buffalo whose responses to various cartoons Norman Holland reproduced, claimed about this particular cartoon: "It's like an old movie or a cowboy movie where they're all plotting, and you see him behind a tree watching it" (1980, p. 352). I would like to also suggest Bigfoot films, what David Coleman (2012), writing in English has called "Ciné du Sasquatch" (this is a genre close to, but distinct from, the Killer Gorilla, to which the character of King Kong belongs), and especially that strand of the genre in which the hominid turns out to be a hoax. Bears in a forest, however, are not cryptids. Ellen's personal experience presumably was of western films, rather than Ciné du Sasquatch about the Sasquatch, Bigfoot, the Yeti and their ilk.

Moreover, there are three entries from Coleman (2012) which I would like to signal, because of some typological relation to the cartoon about King Kong hamburgers at the diner. They share the co-occurrence of the themes "King Kong" and "diner"/"fast food". One is the entry (on p.277) for a 2007 documentary, *Southern Fried Bigfoot*, whose title was clearly patterned after *Kentucky Fried Chicken*. Coleman explains that this documentary on Southern folklore and cryptozoology is a "look at the fetid swamp apes of the South — known individually as the Fouke Monster (Arkansas), the Skunk Ape (Florida), the Honey Island Swamp Monster (Louisiana), and the Lake Worth Monster (Texas), but herein collectively dubbed 'Southern Fried Bigfoot'" (Coleman 2012, p. 277). The other entry (on p. 219) is for a 1993 "Pizza Hut Bigfoot Commercial" for American television. "Although it never technically shows a hominid, Pizza Hut capitalized upon the namesake of Bigfoot itself with the introduction of their Bigfoot Pizza in 1993."⁴⁰ Eyewitnesses refer to a recently sighted object, and it turns out to be a pizza of that brand in a box. "After showing a logo for Pizza Hut and the product, an animated Bigfoot's hairy leg and foot stomp the pizza into a pulp"; "this ad was very popular", but the "product didn't last very long and was soon retired" (Coleman 2012, p. 219). In neither case is the hominid eaten, as fast food or otherwise. The same for the following; the third entry is for the 2008 comic film "No Burgers for Bigfoot", about a dilettante filmmaker trying to make a Bigfoot epic.

It must be said that the only entry that takes a human and animalises him, within the genre, is the 1927 German expressionist film *Ramper, der Tiermesch* (*The Strange Case of Captain Ramper*), in which an explorer's plane crashes in the Arctic, and grows long body hair and becomes mute during fifteen years of isolation; rescued, his humanity is denied (Coleman 2012, pp. 281–282). A normal man physically becoming a wild man has a long tradition in European cultures (Bernheimer 1952 [1970]), and instances include narratuives about Merlin or hermit saints, the latter being legends of the hairy anchorite (Williams 1925, 1926, 1935).

A famous scene with threatening King Kong on a tower, while airplanes appear, is the protagonist of in cartoon by Nick Anderson, dated 12 December 2005. King Kong is roaring,

⁴⁰ Pizza names are the subject of Nissan and Alinei (1013); cf. Alinei and Nissan (2007).

but is shaped like a man wearing a short and a tie, labelled "ACCOUNTANTS". His left hand holds a building labelled "TRIBUNE TOWER" (the building of the *Chicago Tribune*). His right hand, with hairy fingers, grasps a bunch of dollars. Hess and Northrop's book reproduces it on p. 150, and the caption explains: "Cartoonists across the country protested the Tribune Company's firing of two respected colleagues, Michael Ramirez and Kevin Kallaugher. Anderson's cartoon spotlighted the Chicago Tribune's landmark tower that had housed the studios of the paper's long string of Pulitzer Prize winning cartoonists since it was built in 1925 (See page 77)" (150).

7. Between Herblock's Perceptions and Perceptions of Herblock

Herblock⁴¹ was apparently influential in how the perception of other politicians was popularly traded down. For example, a review in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 190(1), of 1994, of a book about John Foster Dulles (Marks 1993) mentioned another book, which resulted from a workshop of historians of U.S. foreign policy about John Foster Dulles in the year he would have turned 100. The review stated: "They could agree only that President Dwight D. Eisenhower's chief diplomatic adviser bore little resemblance to the inflexible moral crusader immortalized in Herblock cartoons" (Immerman 1994, p. 178). In another book review, Pruessen stated (1975, p. 540): "For all of Dulles's clear susceptibility to criticism, in other words, something more solid seems to be called for, something more than a series of Herblock cartoons put into prose." Yet another book review states: "And that assessment is sure to jolt many readers whose opinions of Eisenhower have been based on Herblock cartoons which depicted him as a well-meaning simpleton taken in by the hard-line stance of John Foster Dulles" (Berman 1975, p. 503). While discussing, in an art journal, *Brinkmanship*, a 1959 sculpture by the Chicago artist Horace Clifford Westermann's, David McCarthy claims (1996, p. 61): "Political cartoonists assailed [Dulles's] concept of brinkmanship, as well as Dulles's Lone Ranger approach to diplomacy [...]. By early 1957, several prominent Democratic senators [...] were lobbying for Dulles's replacement. Eisenhower [...] refused to find a new secretary, knowing that Dulles could take the public criticism for difficult foreign policy decisions while allowing the president to play the role of a moderate and prudent world leader."

An unsigned obituary, "Herbert L. Block 1909–2001", appeared on p. 109 of *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 33 (Autumn, 2001).⁴² The obituary mentions that his "his cartoons won three Pulitzer Prizes. He had no patience for racists. For more than a half-century he skewered them unmercifully. Herblock bequeathed the bulk of his wealth of \$50

⁴¹ I would like to signal a Yiddishism in the caption of a cartoon by Herblock on the Atomic Energy Commission: "Mutations, Shmutations — Long as You're Healthy", a derivative of the old "cancer, shmancer, as long as you're healthy". This was remarked upon by Feinsilver (1957, p. 229; 1961, p. 302). She explained (1961, p. 302): "A decade ago, Leo Spitzer [(1952)] recorded some popular manifestations of the Yiddish *shm*-formula of derogation (*fancy-shmancy*, *Plato-Shmato*, and so on), in speech, comic strip, magazine, book, and movie. Several years later the present writer added specimens from television and from magazine-quoted speech of official Washington. The usage has clearly become more widespread. In one issue of the *New Yorker* (Dec. 1, 1956, pp. 232 and 189), two different advertisements made use of the formula. [...]"

Apart from Feinsilver (1961), the journal *American Speech* also used a Herblock cartoon caption as data in Russell (1954, p. 216):

4 PERCENTER. One who engages in influence peddling with the Government for a fee of four percent. — 1953 *N.Y. Times* 13 Sept. p. 2E/1 (heading) 4 Percenter. B'ham *News* 25 Sept. p. 14/3 (Herblock cartoon) Influence Peddling! G.O.P. Aide Admits Trying to Be 4 Percenter.

⁴² <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2678935>

million to programs aimed to promote civil rights and fight prejudice and discrimination." The text appeared beneath an unsigned cartoon, in which an atom bomb holds a newspaper on whose front page one can read: "Herblock, a really nice man, dies", and sourly tells his companions: "He was never nice to us!" Those companions all look angry, and are: a hooded member of the Ku Klux Klan, a man wearing a badge, "Gun Lobby", a barrel oozing oil, and two men, labeled in case readers do not recognize them (because they are long dead): "Nixon" and "Joe McCarthy".

In an article entitled "Racism toward Black African Diplomats during the Kennedy administration, Calvin Holder related (1983) how in April 1961, the *Washington Post* (Holder 1983, p. 39)

ran a Herblock cartoon which captured the essence of the double standard in the treatment of African and Afro-Americans wrought by the administration's policy. The cartoon showed an anxious maitre d'hotel informing the bewildered waitress that she could seat a Black couple. The caption of the cartoon read: "It's alright to seat them. They are not Americans" (Washington Post, April 27, 1961). How did the maitre d'hotel know they were not Afro-Americans? The male was wearing a turban. Restaurateurs were distinguishing Africans and Afro-Americans mainly by dress and, in some cases, accepting their patronage. In fact, a probable reason why Ambassador Malick Sow [of Chad] was brusquely turned away by the waitress of the Bonnie Blue Diner was because she did not recognize him as a diplomat. "He looked", she said, "like just an ordinary run-of-the-mill nigger to me. I couldn't tell he was an ambassador" (Nation, January 27, 1962; Life, December 8, 1961). She, therefore, treated him as though he were an Afro-American. However, three Afro-Americans, not the *Post*, would reveal in the most biting and comic fashion [i.e., by a prank] how much the administration's policy had resulted in favored treatment for the diplomats. In mid-August, they, resplendent in African robes and chauffeured "in a plush, rented air-conditioned limousine", took to [Maryland's] Route 40 where most of the racial incidents had occurred. Posing as officials of the nonexistent African nation of Goban, they visited restaurants along the highway and in Baltimore which traditionally refused to serve Afro-Americans and, not to their surprise, they received gracious and dignified service. In fact, one waitress, overwhelmed by the occasion, asked a "Gobanian dignitary" for his autograph, and urged him to pay a return visit to the restaurant (Baltimore Afro-American, September 2, 1961; Reporter, October 24, 1961).

Route 40 was prominent for attempts to desegregate restaurants. Herblock's cartoon about the racially segregated restaurant faced with an African Black couple, and the maitre d'hotel instructing the receptionist to let them in, is reproduced and discussed in Romano (2000, p. 560). The maitre d'hotel holds a document on which one can see an eagle, stars, and the establishment's name: "Ye Olde Yankee Noodle Plantation Tea Roome" (*sic*, for antiquary effect). Note the pun *Yankee Noodle* vs. *Yankee Doodle*, and the absurdity of a "noodle plantation".

In an article on ethnic humour, Boskin and Dorinson (1985) do not absolve — but provide no details — even Herblock from ethnic stereotyping (or, for that matter, the politically radical Jules Feiffer, whose cartoons with helmets with a David Star are unfortunate indeed). They wrote, among the other things (Boskin and Dorinson 1985, p. 83):

Concealed by a 'smile through one's teeth', aggressive humor or wit serves two salient functions: conflict and control. Conflict, which is implicit in a variety of forms — satire, irony, sarcasm, parody, and burlesque — reinforces the in-group and weakens the out-group. Stereotypes figure prominently in most conflict humor. Obstinate, rigid, devilishly tenacious, the stereotypes have colored our thinking processes from early times. Because they are so deeply embedded in our individual memory and so firmly anchored in our collective folklore, stereotypes tend to be extremely difficult to dislodge. Witness, for example, the cartoons of Herblock, Jules Feiffer, and David Levine, the movies of Mel Brooks and Woody Allen, the standup comedy of Lenny Bruce, Dick Gregory, and Richard Pryor. Humor based on stereotype, the nastiest cut, can emasculate, enfeeble, and turn victims into scapegoats. Die Stürmer caricatures of the Jews spring painfully to mind.

See however in Hess and Northrop's book a cartoon by Signe Wilkinson, reproduced on p. 148. It was originally published by the *Nation* on 17 January 1994. It has five panels. A lady wagging a ruler protests with a cartoonist: "Your caricatures of schoolteachers are outdated insults." A man with a moustache and curly hair protests: "Your caricatures of Hispanics are hurtful stereotypes." A lady with curly hairs protests: "Your caricatures of Blacks are racist put-downs." A man wearing a white kefiyyah and with dynamite candles under his pit protests: "Your caricatures of Arabs are gross distortions." (In that particular cartoon panel, the stereotype is unfortunate indeed.) The fifth and final panel carried a headline: "My new caricatures". Four identical white men, smiling, wearing a suit and a tie, are respectively labelled beneath: "Schoolteacher", "Hispanic", "Black", and "Arab". Wilkinson was making a point, but it is not altogether convincing. The dynamite candles under the pit of the man with the kefiyyah are there to prove it. That cartoon fails to distinguish between an ethnicity, and an activity associated with a category which is not ethnic.

8. A Case Study Across Media, Visual vs. Literary: Beard's 1885 Cartoon "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests", vs. Mock-Parroting of the Canard in Gerson Rosenzweig's 1892 Satire *Tractate America*

Gerson Rosenzweig's 1892 Talmudic parody *Tractate America*, about the life of the immigrant Jewish community in New York, has already been the subject of two published studies of mine (Nissan 2002, 2012). *Tractate America* is a Hebrew-language pseudo-talmudic pastiche that satirized an early and painful stage of the embrace of America, the process of "greening-out", in Yiddish *oysgrinung*, i.e., ceasing to be a greenhorn by becoming Americanised enough.

On the very first page of *Tractate America*, one finds an invented myth about the creation of America, and about Columbus who foresciently prays, so that the place would not be named after him. The reason for that is the unsavoury categories of immigrants who flow there. The continent was created as a land of refuge, like the Cities of Refuge that Moses and Joshua had instituted. I translate:

[...] "Columbus foresaw, by means of his astrology, that America would become a land of refuge for the worthless and heedless of the entire world, so he implored pity, so that she would not be named after him. And they call her '*Amme Reiko* (Worthless People)'.⁴³ {note: Because worthless and heedless ones came there from other countries} Is it so? As it is taught: "All countries are dough [suspected of containing an alien admixture], *vis-à-vis* America [instead of Babylonia, as in the Talmud], as America is assumed to stand as having [pure and high] lineage. Said rav Meivino: "What 'lineage' is? The disqualified ones of other countries. As it is stated [a modification of a talmudic statement about Ezra's Returnees]: Ten [categories of] lineage immigrated initially {note: Except those one who immigrate now, who have no lineage} to America, and these are the following: murderers, thieves, informers, arsonists, counterfeiters, ones who sell people, false witnesses, bankrupt ones, transgressors upon *cherem*, {note: Transgressors on the *cherem* of Rabbi Gershom [i.e., bigamists]} and rebellious sons, and some say: also seduced maidens. Why are they called [good] lineage? As all disqualified ones of other countries, once they have come to America, become there [good] lineage. In the Mathnitha [*lectiones extra vagantes*, from collections of Mishnah outside the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah] it is stated: Why is she called America? Because she cleanses (*memarekes*) the sins of people, {note: As she enriches them, and their sins are cleansed *ipso facto*} the defiled become in her clean, and the disqualified ones become in her [good] lineage. And by what does she cleanse and promote them? By silver and

⁴³ '*Amma reka* in the now standard pronunciation of Hebrew, but when discussing Rosenzweig, I adopt Ashkenazi pronunciation instead.

gold, as it is stated (*Job* 28): "As silver has [a place: mines] where it comes forth, and gold, a place [where] they refine [it]". [...]

Rosenweig's ten classes of immigrants are an intertextual reference to the beginning of Chapter Four of tractate *Qiddushin* (*Betrothal*) of the *Mishnah* — the legal code from ca. 200 C.E. which forms the core of the Talmud — this being a passage that states, concerning the Returnees from babylonia under Ezra's lead: "Ten genealogical classes went up from Babylon [as Returnees]: [Aaronid] priests, Levites, Israelites, Halalim [the offspring of an Aaronid priest and a divorcee, invalid for priestly service], proselytes, freedmen, mamzerim [the offspring of incest or of an adulterous woman from her paramour], Nethineans [an Cananaean converted underclass so named since King Solomon], *shetuki* [children of unknown father], and foundlings". The categories at the end of the list are undesirable social conditions, because of some disabilities involved.



Fig. 14(a). Frank Beard 1885 cartoon "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests" about immigrants from Europe's sewers. Dewey, 175. By kind permission of the Granger Collection, New York.

I attempt to explicate the group self-deprecation of the immigrant Gerson Rosenzweig, when he enumerates ten despicable classes of immigrants, as mock-parroting of a canard that was current in his days. We are going to examine that canard through a cartoon from 1885 (see Fig. 14(a) to 14(e)) which that very negative stereotype had inspired.

The cartoon (0009960 in The Granger Collection) was drawn by Frank Beard (who at the time was based in New York City), is entitled "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests", and was published in the 7 February 1885 issue of *Judge* magazine. Cartoons demonising immigrants are an example of "pandering to the ticking demands of settled prejudices" (Dewey, 26).

Further down, *Tractate America* turns to consider the miserable existence of new immigrants who try to eke a living as peddlers. At closer scrutiny, *Tractate America* declares, it is not only the latest comers who are corrupt; locals, after all, trace their ancestry elsewhere; and locals, including the police and the judiciary, are no less corrupt, and their deeds fly in the face of the promises enshrined in the American Constitution.

Tractate America contrasts the grim realities of law enforcement to America's constitutional guarantees. A traditional homiletical interpretation of "inscribed on the Tablets" carried by Moses is that *haruth* (Ashkenazi *choris*) 'inscribed' should be read *heruth* (Ashkenazi *cheiris*) 'freedom'. These are homographs in Hebrew (⟨hrwt⟩).

Freedoms are enshrined in the Constitution indeed. A note clarifies this matter: "As we have learned: 'Do not read ⟨hrwt⟩ but ⟨hrwt⟩ — that is to say, in writing, and not in actual practice'. What Rosenzweig has done here is to exploit homography and reverse the homily: "Do not read *choris* but *cheiris*" into "Do not read *cheiris* (freedom) but *choris* (inscribed)". Next, the pseudo-talmudic discussion turns to the pseudo-mishnaic statement: "Gold buys the president and the judge, and Rabbi Yanko says: Even the enforcer". Nevertheless Rosenzweig acknowledges the Constitution of the Land of the Free. See Fig. 14(e).



Fig. 14(b). A detail from Beard's cartoon about dangerous, subversive, conspiring immigrants from Europe's sewers.



Fig. 14(c). Another detail from the same cartoon by Beard. Unwelcome immigrants from Europe.

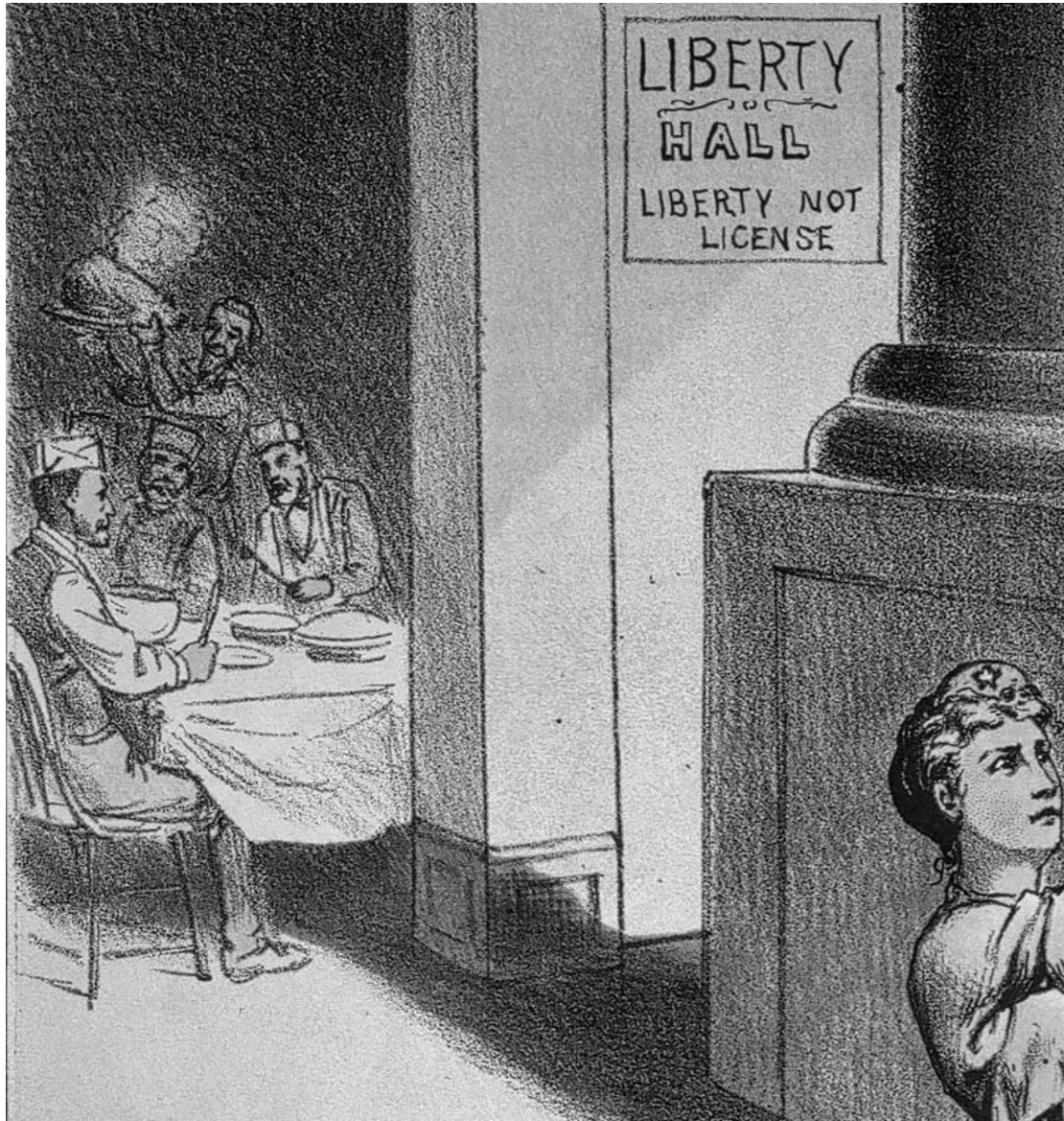


Fig. 14(d). Law-abiding labour is shown dining inside the room, in the same cartoon.

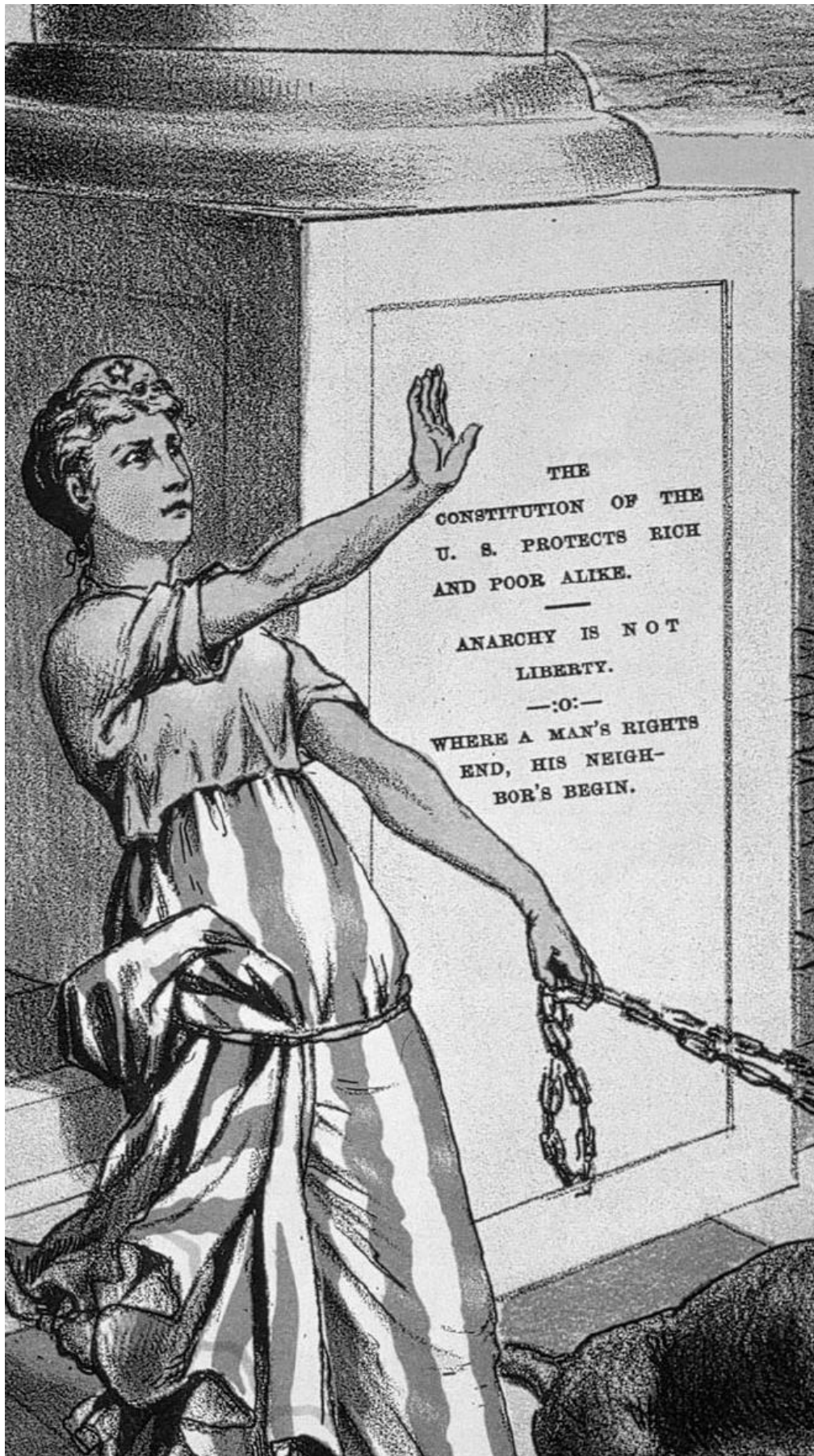


Fig. 14(e). Columbia's gist of the U.S. constitution, inscribed in stone.

9. More about Frank Beard

Frank Beard (1842–1905),⁴⁴ a regrettable cartoon by whom we considered in the previous section, was a widely known illustrator in the late 19th century. He initially worked for *Comic Monthly* (a periodical that appeared from 1859 to 1881). Apart from his cartoons, which appeared in *Judge* magazine (which is the case of the cartoon we are discussing), Beard also illustrated books. He is also credited as being the originator of so-called *chalk talks*.⁴⁵ During the 1890s, he also drew covers and other illustrations from *The Ram's Horn*, a

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Sarah Steele of The Granger Collection in New York, for signalling to me (email of 14 June 2012) the following online resources about the biography of the cartoonist Frank Beard: http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/mmh/rams_horn/content/Beard.cfm (the *eHistory* site is maintained at the Department of History at the Ohio State University, to which it was entrusted by Scott Laidig); <http://www.christiancomicsinternational.org/pioneers1.html#Anchor-FRANK-49575> (at *Christian Comics Pioneers*, a collection of biographies — ranging from the late 19th century through the 1950s and 1960s — from a "resource website", *Christian Comics International*, maintained by Comix35), as well as <http://john-adcock.blogspot.com/2009/03/interview-with-frank-beard-1895.html> (entitled "Interview with Frank Beard 1895", posted by John Adcock — himself a cartoonist, illustrator, and storyteller — and dated "Wednesday, March 11, 2009", at the website *Yesterday's Papers*. The interview was dated "CHICAGO, Sept. 11", was signed by Frank G. Carpenter, and was published in the *Morning Oregonian* on 15 September 1895. Beard's hearing was impaired, at the time when he was interviewed: "Frank Beard is as deaf as a post, and he has been so from birth. The only way to talk with him is through a black rubber tube, about as big around as a garden hose and as long as your arm. This he always has about his neck. When you talk to him he uncoils it and puts one end of it to his ear and hands you the other. You place your lips to the mouth of the tube, and through this make your connection with Frank Beard's brain").

⁴⁵ "He is, you know, the originator of the chalk talk, and there is hardly a town in the United States in which he has not given this sort of a lecture. Standing on the platform with a roll of paper stretched on an easel before him, and with a half-dozen colored crayons in his hand, he carries his audiences away with him while he draws pictures illustrating the philosophy, fun and satire which he throws at them in solid chunks. There are today a score or more of this kind of entertainers in the United States. Frank Beard, however, was the author of the business", according to Beard's interview with Carpenter. Apparently, Beard gave his first chalk talk while based in New York, young and newly married, over twenty years before the interview. Beard claimed to have initially given chalk talks at churches, for no fee. He eventually charged for those talks, and "I soon found that I was making more at my chalk talks than at my newspaper work."

Apparently however the compound *chalk talk* had made its appearance earlier than Frank Beard touring as a speaker. What Beard innovated, must have been talks given by a humorist who is also an artist and draws for his audience. In an article about English reduplicative compounds, Dienhart (1999) lists this entry (*ibid.*, p. 20):

chalk talk *n* [1830–40] Lecture using a blackboard (AE)

"AE indicates an American English innovation" (Dienhart 1999, p. 37). Dienhart listed this in his Sec. 3, "Class 2: the *hocus-pocus* class": "Membership in Class 2 involves an alteration at the beginning of the kernel, which Jespersen (1974, 180) describes as 'repetition with change of initial consonants'. Strictly speaking, however, such a formulation is not quite general enough, since it excludes such items as *itsy-bitsy* and *okey-dokey*, where a consonant is added rather than changed. Items of this type are in fact not found in Jespersen's lists (1974, 180–83), so it is possible, but not likely, that he intended to exclude items like these. But there is no reason to exclude them, since they obey the same rules as *hocus-pocus* and *palsy-walsy*" (Dienhart 1999, p. 19).

Chalk rhymes with *talk*, and for that reason bowl of chalk has existed as rhyming argot for 'talk' in both North America and Australia, writing in the journal *American Speech* about rhyming argot as a response to a paper by D.W. Maurer about rhyming argot specifically from Australia, the London-based Sir St Vincent Troubridge (1946, p. 46) had this entry, with Maurer's remark about origin in parenthesis: "BOWL OF CHALK. Talk. (Origin uncertain, but probably American.) Agreed. My men used *lump of chalk*, through *Duke of York* was commoner still." Troubridge agreed, because he did not find bowl of chalk in use among his Cockney riflemen ("as a young officer I served from 1914 to 1922 in a Regiment of the British Army exclusively Cockney in its area of recruitment", *ibid.*, p. 45); in fact, his general argument was that usually rhyming argot found in both Australia and America originated in England if an entry is found in the latter (*ibid.*, p. 45): "The argument then is as follows: As rhyming slang is admittedly English (predominantly Cockney), and more than a century old, there is, in this particular field, scant probability of any borrowings from the American — the whole tide runs the other way, via Australia. Thus, where Mr. Maurer is in doubt of the origin of

magazine published in Chicago in the 1890s and 1900s, whose orientation was non-denominational Christian, and anti-secularist.⁴⁶ Beard's "depiction of the saloon and of the liquor traffic in general provided powerful propaganda for the prohibition movement, which reprinted and circulated Beard's illustrations broadly".⁴⁷ "It is reported that, at some point in his career, Beard vowed to no longer do any cartoons which weren't aimed at spreading Christianity."⁴⁸ Frank Beard became religious, by his own admission, because of the influence of his bride,⁴⁹ while he was a young artist in New York, sometime in the early 1870s.

This does not mean Beard was charitable in his cartoons. In an article in history about sex scandals involving U.S. politicians,⁵⁰ Summers (2000) discusses among other cases, the one involving the 1884 presidential nominee for the Democrats, Grover Cleveland, the governor of New York, whose moral uprightness was trumpeted (*ibid.*, pp. 832–835). "When Keppler suggested the establishment of an independent party in 1882, his challenge was taken seriously. Two years later, he abandoned the idea and supported Grover Cleveland. Many readers felt Keppler had been co-opted by the political deals he was known to abhor" (Hess and Northrop, p. 66). Grover Cleveland's opponent was James Blaine, the one tarnished with the Tattooed Man cartoons. Then Cleveland's uprightness was challenged (Summers 2000, p. 833):

In late July 1884, however, a minister from Buffalo imputed to Cleveland "habitual immoralities with women". Writing in the *Buffalo Evening Telegraph*, the Reverend George Ball claimed that Cleveland had once made the acquaintance of a "beautiful, virtuous, and intelligent young lady" named Maria Halpin, who worked in the cloak department of a Buffalo department store. Swiftly Cleveland "won her confidence and finally seduced her". Halpin became pregnant, but Cleveland withdrew his promise to marry her, then "employed two detectives and a doctor of bad repute to spirit the woman away and dispose of the child"

a particular word, it will be pertinent if my Cockney riflemen used that word habitually thirty years ago; the word will almost surely be English in origin." Another entry for which American origin was conceded is the following (*ibid.*, p. 46): "FIFTEEN AND TWO. A Jew. (Origin uncertain, but probably American.) Almost certainly American. The English is *five to two*, from the betting odds against horses."

An American college teacher, Rev. Raymond Roseliep (1965), authored a very brief poem, entitled "Chalk Talk" ("The youth at the black- / board drew a spiral of love, / got on, and it sprung."). The compound chalk talk took on a novel acceptance in campus slang by 1945: William Randel, teaching at the University of Minnesota, published a theme in Freshman English by his student Nancy Calkin, with her list of definitions she had added at his behest, in order to clarify her campus slang (Calkin and Randel 1945). Among the other things, she wrote this sentence: "We made flash notes and underlined our chin music or chalk talk" (*ibid.*, p. 233). Her two relevant definitions were: "FLASH NOTES. Notes on cards or slips for efficient review of course work", and "CHIN MUSIC, CHALK TALK. (Notes on) lectures" (*ibid.*, p. 234).

⁴⁶ "He [Beard] has opened a new field in cartooning, as the editor of the Ram's Horn. This is the Puck and Judge of Chicago, but its pictures are semi-religious instead of political. In it Frank Beard is trying to reform the religious world by exposing its shams. The paper had nothing of a circulation when he took hold of it. It now publishes 50,000 a month, and is rapidly becoming one of the leading pictorials of the country." Quoted from Frank Carpenter's interview of 1895 with Frank Beard, now accessible online at the website *Yesterday's Papers*, at <http://john-adcock.blogspot.com/2009/03/interview-with-frank-beard-1895.html>

⁴⁷ http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/mmh/rams_horn/content/Beard.cfm (by K. Austin Kerr, revised in 2006 by Mitchell R.K. Shelton), accessed in June 2012.

⁴⁸ <http://www.christiancomicsinternational.org/pioneers1.html#Anchor-FRANK-49575> (where a photograph and biography of Frank Beard appear, based on research credited there to Alec Stevens).

⁴⁹ "I was a young artist of New York, and had just gotten married. My wife was an enthusiastic church-goer and a great deal of our courtship was carried on in going to and from the Methodist church. The result was that I struck a revival and became converted. This occurred shortly after I was married, and like other enthusiastic young Christians, I wanted to do all I could for the church", according to Beard in his 1895 interview with Carpenter.

⁵⁰ "Criticism of the sexual rectitude of politicians first surfaced as a regular part of American public life in the acrimonious milieu of the 1780s and 1790s" (Summers 2000, p. 826).

Allegations on similar grounds were then made also against Blaine: "Already battling charges of cupidity, Blaine was now asked to answer an allegation about his sexual rectitude" (Summers 2000, p. 833). "Although the Blaine forces kept the Halpin story alive until the eve of the election, Cleveland's timely admission restored much of his credibility" (*ibid.*, p. 835). Dewey (p. 95, see Fig. 15 below) put this matter differently, while introducing a cartoon by Frank Beard that "was part of the Republican campaign to take down the Democratic candidate *after he admitted* that he might have had a child out of wedlock and, one way or another, had paid to support the biy until his adoption" (my added emphasis).



Fig. 15. "This famous cartoon, by Frank Beard, appeared in *Judge* on September 27, 1884, approximately two months after the Halpin scandal broke. Here 'Grover the Good' refuses to confront his alleged illegitimate child, who is held by a teary Maria Halpin. Courtesy Library of Congress, #LC-USZ62-34246" (Summers 2000, p. 834). In Dewey's book, this cartoon appears on a full page (94), against a white backdrop (it is not grey, there). The caption is "Another voice for Cleveland". The man is labelled "Grover the Good", while the child cries: "I want my Pa!"

Once elected, President Cleveland swore to be charitable toward everybody except scandal-mongers ("I intend to cultivate the Christian virtue of charity toward all men except the dirty class that defiled themselves with filthy scandal and Ballism"). "The Halpin affair, however, proved the last major scandal of its kind for more than one hundred years. Sexual rectitude remained a topic for open debate well into the 1890s, but willingness to expose the unsavory habits of influential politicians yielded steadily, haltingly, to a new mood in American political culture — a return of reticence" (Summers 2000, p. 835). Frank Ball had been among those who lampooned Cleveland for his sex scandal; both he and Cleveland flaunted their piety, but Beard may have been encouraged by the Rev. Ball having thrown the first stone.

Frank Beard was not above drawing specifically antisemitic cartoons. "Frank Beard's 'A Young Financier' from *Judge* of May 12, 1894, features another father-son conversation in which the son proves his mettle by buying paper flowers for his sister's wedding so they can be used again when his grandfather dies" (Dewey, 30). Bear in mind that in western and central Europe, the 1890s saw antisemitic publications climax. In that respect, Beard's "A Young Financier" cartoon was rather timeless, independent of the climate of those years, whereas Beard's anti-immigrant cartoon was, in a sense, timely instead, being representative of the response of a major sector of public opinion in the United States in response to waves of immigration of ethnic groups considered to be unappealing.

In a more recent perspective, Goodwin (2001) discussed cartoons and Jews. How touchy the matter still is, because of vicious stereotypes still being promoted in some quarters, is illustrated by the outcry following the London *Sunday Times* publishing, on 27 January 2013, which was Holocaust Memorial Day, an anti-Israel cartoon (for no apparent trigger), by Gerald Scarfe, in which its prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, builds up a wall, cementing bricks with blood and crushed human limbs. Claiming that Jews use the blood of non-Jews is a typical theme of anti-Semitism (the blood libel, which has medieval English antecedents), unfortunately adopted at present in Middle Eastern anti-Semitic iconography (of ultimately European derivation). This time the intervention of Lord Sachs, Britain's chief rabbi, resulted in apologies from the newspaper's editor and publisher (e.g., Lipman 2013a, 2013b, 2013c), and behind the façade of recovered respectability there nevertheless remains loathing in return, along with awareness of worsening standards, by which the medieval blood label is granted a niche in the mainstream mass media, simply because of an amoral criterion of catering to demand, or because of hedonistic glamorising of one's impulses on the part of post holders. Dehumanisation is a likely and important factor. In his paper on cartoons reviling Nixon, Whitfield noted (1985, p. 212):

David Levine, who may well be one of the most talented caricaturists who has ever lived, has made it a practice not to meet his subjects out of fear of liking them ("I lose my act that way"). That worry may have been unwarranted in this particular instance, but in any event a special animus was injected into his spitting images of Nixon.

Interestingly, Gerald Scarfe, whose cartoon which appeared in the *Sunday Times* on Holocaust Memorial Day offended British Jews, "was on a cruise in the Pacific Ocean when the controversy broke out", and "a bridge director on cruise ships [who] happened to be on board Mr Scarfe's round-the-world liner" rang the cartoonist's cabin, told him he was disgusted, and asked him for his reasons for producing it. That protester conceded that the cartoonist "was dumbdrunk and apologised to me" (Lipman 2013).

That suggests that he had made an attack on a group, institution, or country, but it didn't occur to him that offended persons in flesh and blood would take it and display this and respond to him personally. It may also suggest that he was sincere that it did not occur to him that his cartoon would appear on Holocaust Memorial Day, even though he was working for a Sunday newspaper, and somebody at the newspaper doubtlessly decided that it would

appear on that very day (and this makes the newspaper taking its distances more hypocritical, and probably dependent on the Australian owner, Rupert Murdoch, having developed a sensitivity and reluctance to cause further outcry in Britain after the recent scandal and demise of his *News of the World*. In this case, Murdoch is probably sincere).

Unlike Frank Beard in "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests" (which may still claim it was against dangerous ideologies rather than ethnicities), another cartoonist, William Walker (1871–1938) was appreciative of ethnic diversity in the United States, and it is a fitting tribute to that vision (and to America's vision), that to the left side of the table of contents of Hess and Northrop's book, there is a cartoon spread on two facing pages, "The Father of Our Country as seen by His Children": it appeared in *Life* magazine on 21 February 1907, and consists of 18 portraits of George Washington, with different ethnic features. They are captioned "Chinese", "Negro", "Irish", "Italian", "Russian", "German", "French", "Spanish", "Boer", "Indian" (i.e., a Native American with tresses under Washington's wig), "Swiss", "Greek", "Turk", "Alaskan", "Hawaiian", "Russian Jew", "Jap", and a bespectacled "Filipino". It appears to concede that acculturation is a two-way process. Immigrants internalise America's ideals without ceasing to be themselves.

10. Concluding Remarks

Discussing a sculpture from 1959, *Brinkmanship*, by Horace Clifford Westermann (1922–1981), David McCarthy claims: "the assemblage's zany forms — the distorted house, cagey eagle, exaggerated automobile, smoking cigar, and undulating fingers — are reminiscent of cartoons, the most prevalent vernacular art in mid-twentieth century America. Westermann was undeniably familiar with cartoons, based on an examination of his drawings. In this light, the personage is a demented jack-in-the-box, owing as much to surrealist fantasy as found, for instance, in [Joan] Miró's [1924–25 painting] *Carnival of Harlequin* [...] as to Tex Avery's overblown cartoons of the 1940" (McCarthy 1996, pp. 59–60).

Cartoons (of which political cartoons are an important category) have been conspicuous in the 20th century, but political cartoons published in the United States achieved maturity and sophistication in the last three decades of the 19th. At that time, such drawings contained much detail and elaborate backdrops, omitted from 20th-century and present-day cartoons (for the reasons behind that development, see Hess and Northrop, 73). In that respect, the British cartoonist Giles⁵¹ was anachronistic, but then, his fondness for detail was carried over from his formation as an artist. Hess and Northrop remark (67):

Nast left no disciples or school of cartooning; still, in a sense, every cartoonist was his student, freely adopting the symbols he invented and, more importantly, experiencing greater acceptance because there had been a Thomas Nast. Joseph Keppler is as unknown to cartoonists as he is to the general public, yet his contributions to the profession are equally important. Besides introducing brilliant, living color to American publishing, he brought to his drawings a blithe attitude that embraced and critiqued humankind in the same breath. It is this elusive combination that continues to endear cartoons to each new generation.

In the present long review essay, I began by examining the structure of the two books under review (Sec. 1), and then provided a long discussion (Sec. 2) of Dewey's book, in the hope that the commentary would usefully supplement both books. My discussion of Hess and Northrop's book (Sec. 3) could therefore afford to be shorter, being a detailed *précis*. I then turned to discussions with a focus on particular themes, in Sec. 4 ("On Physical Features of a Few Presidents as Being 'Delectable Illustration Fodder'"), Sec. 5 ("Animalisation: A Few

⁵¹ "Giles" was Carl Giles (1916–1995). See Field (2010).

Cases from the 1870s and 1880s"), Sec. 6 ("King Kong and his Ilk in Popular Culture and the Cartoons"), Sec. 7 ("Between Herblock's Perceptions and Perceptions of Herblock").

I then provided (Sec. 8) an illustration of the advantages of the format of presentation of the cartoons in Dewey's book, by focussing on just one cartoon by Frank Beard, "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests", decrying immigrants from Europe's sewers. We examined that cartoon detail after detail, and considered how it expressed a stereotype current in its days, a stereotype to which a Hebrew literary satirical text by Gerson Rosenzweig, *Tractate America*, responded by recycling and modifying a talmudic about ten classes of Returnees who left Babylonia under Ezra's lead. Rosenzweig enumerated ten unfortunate classes of immigrants. Arguably, he was mock-parroting a canard which permeated New York life, the same stereotype that had inspired Beard's cartoon "Columbia's Unwelcome Guests" indeed. And finally, in Sec. 9 we said something more about Frank Beard's life and career.

The two books under review entered a field with daunting competitors. Thomas (2004a, p. 440) claimed that Charles Press's (1981) *The Political Cartoon* "is still the best scholarly history from the early Republic to the recent past. A minor classic." Fischer (1996) remains a major work, especially about Gilded Age cartoons.⁵² The authors reviewed here have been up to the challenge, and are to be applauded for enriching their domain. They show that new books on American cartoons still have much to say, not merely on cartooning in the more recent period.

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⁵² Already William Murrell published (1938) *A History of American Graphic Humor, 1865–1938*. It also referred to the rise of the then recent Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck. The scope of Nevins and Weitenkampf (1944) is 19th-century cartoons in the United States. Reviewing Murrell's book, Ralph Henry Gabriel explained (1940, p. 420):

The political cartoons, few in number after the first third of the book, contain many familiar items. Not many of the nonpolitical selections are widely known. One of the chief utilities of the book is to make easily available a large body of graphic material difficult for the historian to recover. This collection, when taken as a whole, comprises source material of considerable importance not only to the student who would trace the course of American humor but to the investigator of the shifting social scene after Appomattox. [...] The work is practically without pattern save that provided by chronology. The pictures and text flow on, like a river, with no attempt at topical arrangement until the stream becomes a flood in the twentieth century. In this sense the book is an excellent reflection of the disorderly flux of life. It is not a great work. It propounds no theories either of humor or of art. But the student will find it useful, and the casual reader will discover it to be endlessly entertaining.

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⁵³ The *Winterthur Portfolio* is published by the University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

⁵⁴ The journal *MELUS* is published by the Society for the Study of the Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States (MELUS).

⁵⁵ The contents of Cherney (1997) are worth stating here, in order to give an idea of the political evolution of the Gilded Age: "Parties, Elections and Patronage"; "Parties, the State and Public Policy"; "The Major Parties:

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⁵⁸ *The Public Opinion Quarterly* has been published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

⁵⁹ <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/101035/sunday-times-editor-explains-blood-libel-cartoon-publication>
Cf. <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/100753/sunday-times-criticised-israel-cartoon-holocaust-memorial-day>; <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/101193/scarfe-sorry-over-unfortunate-timing-sunday-times-netanyahu-cartoon>; <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/101023/scarfe-regrets-timing-sunday-times-netanyahu-cartoon>; <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/101166/murdoch-apology-over-sunday-times-scarfe-israel-cartoon>; <http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/101201/sunday-times-editor-unreservedly-apologises-netanyahu-cartoon>

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⁶¹ *The Hedgehog Review* is a journal in print, but the .pdf is posted of the sold-out issues. "The Hedgehog Review is an intellectual journal concerned with contemporary cultural change published three times per year by the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture at the University of Virginia." <http://www.iasc-culture.org/THR/>

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⁶³ PMLA is how the *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* are usually referred to; the acronym appears on the journal cover.

⁶⁴ The *Journal of British Studies* is published by the University of Chicago Press on behalf of the North American Conference on British Studies.