Behind the Thin Black Line

Leslie Illingworth and the Political Cartoonist in Wartime

Mark Bryant

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Abstract

W.H.Russell, the famous war correspondent of *The Times*, created the phrase 'The Thin Red Line' to describe the brave stand of British troops against the Russians during the Crimean War. It is the intention of this thesis to explore the work of the political cartoonist in wartime using the example of one particular artist, Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War.

This is a relatively new area of research and the main aim of the thesis is to discover what it is that a staff political cartoonist working for a national daily newspaper actually does in wartime. In addition, it investigates what sort of person such an artist is, what his relationship is to his newspaper, his public and the government of the day, and how far his material follows in the historical traditions of political cartoon art. The thesis draws on extensive archive material - including a large uncatalogued collection of wartime cartoons by Illingworth deposited in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth - and considerable original research into the hitherto unrecorded life of the artist himself.

After tracing the history of war cartoons in general, the history of the *Daily Mail* and the background of Illingworth's own life and career, a detailed study is made of Illingworth's wartime political cartoons - their content, frequency of publication and other factors - before examining his work in the context of his wartime contemporaries and evaluating the impact of his cartoons on the readers of the *Daily Mail* and the world at large.

The thesis concludes that, during the Second World War in particular, political cartoonists had a far from simple job and were important figures who were greatly valued by the newspapers for which they worked, by the public at large and by the government of the day. Their creations were seen by Britain and her allies - as well as her enemies - as a significant weapon in the arsenal of democracy. Also, as the Second World War was the last major international conflict before the widespread use of television, it is argued that this period marked the high point in the development of political war cartoons in daily newspapers throughout history. In addition, by demonstrating that Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail* can be seen not only as a typical political cartoonist working as a staff artist on a typical national daily newspaper during this period, but also one of its most accomplished practitioners, a case is made for viewing him as one of the finest political war cartoonists of all time.

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Preface & Acknowledgements

Embarking on this thesis was a challenge in more ways than at first seemed obvious. Not only was the topic itself a relatively new one in history and art history but also the individual cartoonist I chose as a case study was - despite his fame and his long career both as an illustrator and political cartoonist - someone about whose life and attitudes very little had been recorded at the time. Thus as well as basic academic research a considerable amount of dogged detective work was also involved in gathering the background information on which the thesis rests.

For their help in my research I would like to thank the staff of the various institutions in whose archives and libraries I have worked or with whom I have corresponded. Foremost amongst these are the British Cartoon Centre (and the Cartoon Art Trust), the British Cartoonists' Association, British Library, British Museum Department of Prints & Drawings, British Newspaper Library, *Daily Mail* Reference Library, Cardiff Public Library, Cartoon Gallery, Cartoonists' Club of Great Britain, Imaginative Book Illustration Society, Imperial War Museum Library and Department of Art, John Frost Newspapers, Karikatur & Cartoon Museum Basel, London Press Club, National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth), National Portrait Gallery, Public Record Office, Punch Library, Rae-Smith Gallery, St Bride Printing Library, Tate Gallery, University of Kent Templeman Library, University of Kent Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature, University of Kent Centre for the Study of Propaganda, University of London Senate House Library, Victoria & Albert Museum Library, *Western Mail* Library & Archives (Cardiff), and the Westminster Central Reference Library.

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A particular debt of honour must also go to the late Keith Mackenzie who was a close friend of Illingworth and whose notes and taped recorded interviews have been of considerable help. Also to my late father, whose collection of wartime

cartoon books - bought while he was serving in the RAF in Burma in the Second World War - formed some of my earliest cartoon memories.

And last but by no means least, my sincere thanks go to Jackie Waller and the staff of the School of History at the University of Kent at Canterbury for all their hard work behind the scenes; to Dr Nicholas Hiley, Jane Newton and Anna Thomas of the Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature at the University of Kent for invaluable support, advice and friendship (both on this project and many others during many years' co-operation with the Centre); and my two joint supervisors at the University of Kent - Professor Colin Seymour-Ure of the Department of Politics & International Relations and Professor David Welch of the School of History - for guidance, patience and care in bringing the fruits of my labours into its final form.

Mark Bryant
London, 2002

Introduction

'In one way war makes a cartoonist's work simple because there is only one subject, though if one is conscientious there are, of course, many angles of it to deal with. There is nothing more boring, I think, than constant repetition of the point that the enemy is a fool and a blackguard and that our brave boys will kick his pants.

People know it is not so simple as all that, and they want to know how, why and when, which means that cartoonists have to be students and when they have to work ahead they also have to be prophets, and to be a prophet these days is no joke.'

(David Low, 'The Cartoonist's Job in War', *Listener*, 2 November 1939, p.845)

> 'Greatness is to be measured by insight. The great caricaturist sees further. He discerns, though he may not understand. Crude idealisation, in war, of friend or ally; vilification of an enemy, or the man who for the moment we are up against; the gross jest with no thought in it, are the mark of the boor, the unurbane, the caricaturist of insufficient brains.'
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> (C.R.Ashbee, *Caricature* [London, 1928], p.145)

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the work of the staff political cartoonist employed on a national daily newspaper in Britain during wartime. Using the example of one particular case history - Leslie Illingworth's work for the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War - it is hoped that the results of the research will lead to some conclusions about the work of wartime political cartoonists in general and throughout history. As the topic is so broad no attempt has been made at a definitive study, but the thesis is intended to shed some new light on the work of these important and often forgotten artists which may form a basis for further inquiry in this field.

This topic is a relatively new one as, though there have been a few retrospective anthologies of Second World War cartoons of all sorts, political and otherwise since 1945,[1] there has been very little discussion of the nature of the political war cartoon in the British (or indeed overseas) national daily press. (Added to which there has been very little study of the early history of the political cartoon in the national daily press *per se*, whether in peacetime or wartime.) Part of the reason for this has been the difficulty in assembling sufficient visual material to make such a

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[1] For example Mark Bryant, *World War II in Cartoons* (Swindon, 1989) and Joseph Darracott, *A Cartoon War* (London, 1989).

study possible and the absence of biographical information about who the artists in question were. In the last decade or so a number of efforts to remedy this latter situation have been made with biographies of two major political cartoonists who were active on daily newspapers during the Second World War - Sir David Low and Vicky[2] - as well as two biographical dictionaries devoted exclusively to cartoonists and caricaturists for the first time.[3] There have also been considerable developments in computer-aided research facilities at the Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature at the University of Kent at Canterbury over the same period which has made a great deal of hitherto inaccessible visual information available for research.

Important papers have been written in recent years on a general theory of political caricature by such eminent scholars as L.H.Streicher, W.A.Coupe and others,[4] and postgraduate dissertations (both MA and PhD) have begun to appear.[5] However, very few of these have looked specifically at the work of political cartoonists in *wartime* in any detail and it is this area that is the subject of this thesis.

It should be stressed that the main concern of the thesis is with *press* cartoons and in particular with *daily national newspaper* cartoons freely available to members of the general public and on sale in newsagents or other shops in any part of the British Isles. Thus weekly journal, magazine and newspaper political cartoons – as well as daily political cartoons for regional papers - will largely be ignored except when they have some bearing on a particular daily drawing or on an artist's style. Propaganda work for government departments such as the Ministry of Information and any other non-press cartoons will also be ignored except when these have a

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[2] Colin Seymour-Ure & Jim Schoff, *David Low* (London, 1985) and Russell Davies & Liz Ottaway, *Vicky* (London, 1987) - both of which were edited by the author (henceforth MB). However, each of these books only devotes a small section to the artist's wartime work.

[3] Mark Bryant & Simon Heneage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists & Caricaturists 1730-1980* (Aldershot, 1994); Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of 20th Century British Cartoonists & Caricaturists* (London, 2000).

[4] For example, L.H.Streicher, 'David Low and the Sociology of Caricature', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8, 1965, pp.1-23; 'On a Theory of Political Caricature', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9, 1967, pp.427-445; W.A.Coupe, 'Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11, 1969, pp.79-95.

[5] For example, Timothy Benson, 'Low and Beaverbrook, The Case of a Cartoonist's Autonomy' (PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1998) and Judith S. Kindred, 'The Portrayal of Women in the Cartoons of William Kerridge Haselden, 1906-1930' (MA Thesis, University of Kent, 1997).

particular bearing on the artist's daily political cartoons (e.g. if the same cartoon is reproduced as a poster or used in an aerial leaflet for propaganda).[6]

The definition 'political cartoon' is also used in the specific sense of the main daily cartoon drawing of a newspaper, commenting on national and world events and usually featuring caricatures of national and world leaders. Thus single-column 'pocket' cartoons, strips and other kinds of topical cartoons, as well as illustrations, portraits and solo caricatures – whether or not they have political content - will not be covered either. The type of drawing that is the focus of this study has been summed up by the Dutch political cartoonist Fritz Behrendt:

> 'What is a political cartoon? It is a graphic commentary on what is going on in the world, the translation into visual image of the thoughts, emotions, visions and premonitions of an artist with strong socio-political leanings. The political cartoonist sees himself as a political journalist – a keen observer of the world stage, curious to discover what is going on behind the scenes. It is his task to produce X-ray drawings of politicians and political situations. He attempts to characterise in a few strokes what is at the core of complex and often impenetrable events, to unmask and take by surprise – without fear of sacred cows of whatever magnitude or ideological hue. Regardless of all taboos it is his task to expose demagogues, wind-bags and charlatans, and also to direct his pen against cowardice, indifference and opportunism. It is his task both to alert and to keep alert.'[7]

And it has to be emphasised that - unlike 'Superman', 'Peanuts', 'Garfield' or the work of Walt Disney - the work of this kind of cartoonist is by no means necessarily humorous. As Behrendt goes on to say:

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[6] Other kinds of cartoon such as animation, comic strips, satirical puppetry, 'lightning' caricatures and humorous book illustration have also been omitted.

[7] Fritz Behrendt, 'The Freedom of the Political Cartoonist', *20th Century Studies*, December 1975, p.77. For further discussion on this topic see Mark Bryant, 'Poison Pen or Good-Tempered Pencil? Humour and Hatred in 20th Century Political Cartoons' in Robert Edwards et al. (eds), *A Sense of Permanence? Essays on the Art of the Cartoon* (Canterbury, 1997). This book was published to celebrate the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature at the University of Kent at Canterbury (henceforth the University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre).

'He is not to be confused with his distant cousin, the strip-cartoonist. He is not out to make jokes as such, even though his graphic warnings and accusations may be laced with generous helpings of humour. The common denominator of socially-critical cartoons is not humour – but suffering, the pain of man's self-inflicted wounds... The term "cartoonist" has been so enfeebled by the countless numbers who have drawn purely for humorous effect that there has almost been lost all sense of his real identity.'[8]

And it is worth bearing in mind that the first usage of the word 'cartoon' in its modern sense was in fact applied to a poignant attack on social evils. An exhibition of fresco designs - *cartoons* in the classical sense - for the new Houses of Parliament[9] had been mounted by the government and on 15 July 1843 *Punch* magazine made a savage attack on the event which it felt was a waste of public money at a time when many Londoners were starving or in ill-health (Fig.1).[10]

By the term 'war cartoon' is intended one drawn and published during a conflict between nations or within a nation, specifically in this case one published during the Second World War between the commencement of hostilities between Britain and Germany on 3 September 1939 and the official capitulation by Japan on 2 September 1945. Peacetime cartoons and belligerent anti-Nazi or anti-Fascist cartoons drawn before this period will not be dealt with except in so far as they have a bearing on the war itself (e.g. the issue of Chamberlain and appeasement).

Other types of (non-political) war cartoon will generally not be discussed in this thesis but for the sake of clarity, and to avoid confusion, will be divided here into two categories. *Socio-military* war cartoons are those drawings featuring fictional members of the armed forces at the Front, usually complaining of their lot - e.g. the 'Old Bill' cartoons of Bruce Bairnsfather in the First World War or the 'Two Types'

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[8] Fritz Behrendt, op.cit., pp.77-8.

[9] The old one having been destroyed by fire in 1834. The only building to survive was Westminster Hall.

[10] Ironically a 'cartoon' on St Cecilia by John Tenniel - who in 1864 succeeded John Leech as *Punch*'s main political cartoonist - was actually among those chosen for the Palace of Westminster's frescoes.

CARTOON, No. I.

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

Fig.1. 'Cartoon, No.1: Substance and Shadow', John Leech (1817-64), *Punch*, 15 July 1843.

The first ever 'cartoon' in the modern sense. Prior to this the full-page drawing in *Punch* had been called 'The Big Cut' (as it was the largest woodcut in the magazine) or 'Mr Punch's Pencillings'. The first of a series of six such attacks by John Leech on social injustices, the accompanying editorial declared: 'There are many silly, dissatisfied people in this country, who are continually urging upon Ministers the propriety of considering the wants of the pauper population, under the impression that it is as laudable to feed men as to shelter horses. [...] We conceive that Ministers have adopted the very best means to silence this unwarrantable outcry. They have considerately determined that as they cannot afford to give hungry nakedness the *substance* which it covets, at least it shall have the *shadow*. The poor ask for bread, and the philanthropy of the State accords - an exhibition.' After 'Cartoon No.6' the main drawing became generally known as the Cartoon (capital C) and its artist the Cartoonist. Gradually by association all the drawings in the magazine were referred to as 'cartoons'.

cartoons of JON in the Second World War. *Socio-domestic* war cartoons are those featuring fictional members of the public and minor officials/auxiliary forces (e.g. police, air-raid wardens, firemen) on the Home Front - an example here being the 'Smiling Through' cartoons by Joe Lee in the Second World War. Many political war cartoonists (especially artists like Strube and Giles) also produced social cartoons of both these types during the war.

The title of the thesis alludes to the phrase 'The Thin Red Line', which was first used by W.H.Russell, the famous war correspondent of *The Times*, to describe the brave stand of the 93rd Highlanders against the Russians at the Battle of Balaclava in 1854, during the Crimean War (the British Army uniform at the time was red). It

thus has wartime overtones and of course also puns on pen-and-ink drawing in a particularly apposite way in the case of Leslie Illingworth, who used a very fine-nibbed pen in some of his work (especially in his cartoons for *Punch*). I have thus taken the phrase 'The Thin Black Line' as a symbol to refer to political war cartoons.

Three important questions need to be addressed from the outset: if the thesis is to examine the work of the daily political cartoonist in wartime as a whole, why choose Britain as the country to focus on, why the Second World War as the conflict to study and why Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail* as the artist?

Why Britain?

Britain has been chosen as the focus country out of all the countries that could possibly have been chosen as 'No other people on earth are such avid readers of newspapers as the British.'[11] And this was particularly the case during the Second World War. As the social historian Angus Calder has pointed out:

> 'The British were well known to be the world's most avid newspaper-readers. In 1943, the number of newspapers bought per head of population was even higher than before the war… Excellent though the BBC news was, only the printed word could be studied so as to form the basis of a considered opinion.'[12]

Writing in 1957, Francis Williams (Editor of the *Daily Herald*, 1937-40 and Controller of the Press and Censorship in the Ministry of Information during the Second World War) said that 90 percent of the adult population of Britain reads at least one national morning paper a day and that the individual circulations of British papers are the highest in the world.[13] It was also in Britain that the world's first daily newspaper was published: the *Daily Courant*, in Fleet Street, London, in 1702. In addition, Britain has a long tradition of political satire, in wartime and peace, stretching back 300 years to William Hogarth and more recently to *Punch* - launched in 1841 during the Afghan wars - which, as has been seen, gave rise to the

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[11] Francis Williams, *Dangerous Estate* (London, 1959), p.1.
[12] Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-45* (London, 1969), p.504.

word 'cartoon' in its modern sense.[14] Indeed the father of the modern political cartoon, James Gillray[15] - who was born at the start of the Seven Years' War in 1756 and died just 17 days before the Battle of Waterloo in 1812 - went out to Flanders after the Duke of York captured Valenciennes and thus also became the first officially accredited front-line war cartoonist.

Britain has also been chosen because the world's first staff political cartoonist working for a daily newspaper - Francis Carruthers Gould - was English and worked for a British paper.[16] Appointed in 1887, he worked for the small-circulation but highly influential London evening paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and thus also became one of the world's first political war cartoonists on a daily paper when he began drawing cartoons of the conflict on the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899.[17] (Coincidentally, before the *Daily Mail* took on its own staff cartoonist, many of Gould's drawings were reproduced in its pages.)

Another reason for choosing Britain was the fact that for centuries it has always prided itself on having a (relatively) free press - even in wartime - for which cartoonists, like journalists, can work without editorial pressure or external censorship. Hence they can draw largely what they want to draw - in the form of pictorial satire and wit - as free creative agents. As Fred Joss, caricaturist, political cartoonist and journalist of the *Star* for 21 years (since 1934) later said: 'Few editors in this country would dream of telling the cartoonist what to draw. He may be censored, but he is not coerced.' [18] This freedom of expression is especially

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[13] Francis Williams, op.cit., p.1.

[14] And it should be remembered that from the beginning this sense was a political/satirical rather than a comic one (see Fig.1).

[15] Indeed some put it even earlier, dating the first caricature ever drawn in England to one by Antoine Watteau of Dr Misaubin sketched in a London coffee-house c.1719 which was published as an engraving by Pond in his book of 24 caricatures in 1744.

[16] Claims have also been made for Walt McDougall (1858-1938) who joined the *New York World* in June 1884, but as he also drew cartoon strips it is not clear whether he was appointed specifically as a political cartoonist or as a general staff artist.

[17] Though on the whole Gould rarely drew foreigners or cartoons about foreign politics, he did draw President Kruger in various forms such as Brer Rabbit, as a parrot and as a tortoise.

[18] Fred Joss, 'A Cartoonist's Meditations', *The Artist*, April 1953, p.33.

necessary for the political cartoonist - whether in wartime or peace - because of the nature of his job.[19]

Why the Second World War?

The Second World War has been chosen as the particular conflict to be studied because during this period the daily political cartoon – in war or peace - can be said with some justification to have reached the peak of its achievement, both technically and with regard to its power and impact (via the mass media) on a wide public. Neither before nor since has it held this unique position.

There are a number of reasons for holding this view. Though obviously the history of the political cartoon in wartime can be traced back centuries - to Gillray and the Napoleonic Wars, to *Punch* which had been publishing such drawings weekly since 1841 and to Francis Carruthers Gould who had drawn political war cartoons since he joined the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1887 - 'The true *newspaper* cartoonist is a twentieth-century species', as Julian Phipps has pointed out.[20] And the Second World War, in particular, is of great importance because it occurred at a significant point in the history of the genre.

On the purely technical side, process printing (only invented in the 1890s) had by the late 1930s reached full development, allowing for the first time the widespread use of illustrations, including cartoons, on cheap newsprint paper. In this respect they had a great advantage over photographs which required better quality paper – and this factor would take on added importance when high-quality Scandinavian woodpulp became scarce because of U-boat blockades of Britain. Also, in contrast to cartoons, photographs were frequently censored during the Second World War and were less immediate - they often took days to arrive and air mail was very limited. And as only official service photographers were allowed to work in overseas theatres

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[19] It should also be added that another reason for choosing Britain was a purely practical one: I am myself British, live in London, work in Fleet Street and speak English as my mother tongue. Thus it made considerably more sense to base the research on British political war cartoons than to focus on, say, Australian, US, Japanese or German ones.

[20] Julian Phipps, 'The Cartoon World' in *Fleet Street* (essay held in the Illingworth Papers collection of the University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre [henceforth Illingworth Papers]), p.158. Phipps

of war anyway, those photos which could be used in the daily press were more or less identical. In addition, as mere records of events, mechanical and impersonal. they told less of a story than cartoons which could combine as many elements – portraits, landscapes, animals, action, death, heroism etc - and as many opinions, as the artist wished. As Scott Long, erstwhile President of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists, has so strikingly put it:

> 'The cartoonist can animate inanimate objects. He can make rocks smile and warheads frown. He can make the sun weep. He can make a tree curtsy. He can make a Cadillac cringe. What photographer can do these things?'[21]

It should also not be forgotten that in the 1930s television was still in its infancy and cinema newsreels were often out of date by the time they were screened (and at the beginning of the war cinemas were closed by Government decree anyway). As a result, cartoons - whether in monochrome in newspapers or in colour on posters - became one of the main pictorial information media. Though radio was the prime method of communication (by the 1930s political cartoons, like newspaper leader columns, followed the news rather than announced it), daily press cartoons gave the public not only commentary and interpretation of news stories, propaganda and assurance but also its images of the leading political figures of the day, at home and abroad - especially as caricatures of individuals increasingly began to replace the old national symbols such as Britannia and the British Lion.

Another reason for the importance of the cartoon during this period was that, by having few or no words, a cartoon could communicate quickly and powerfully to everyone, including those who could not read English well - such as barely literate groups of British nationals or non-English-speaking foreigners. This was an essential attribute in wartime, but especially in the Second World War when it was necessary to communicate not only with many foreign allies overseas but also with

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(1907-91) was Art Editor of the *Daily Mirror* (1949-53) and Associated Newspapers (1953-70), and also worked as a joke/strip cartoonist and journalist for the *Daily Mail* from 1929 to 1949.

[21] Scott Long, 'The Cartoon is a Weapon' (essay held in the Keith Mackenzie Papers collection of the University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre [henceforth Keith Mackenzie Papers]. p.17.

the thousands of foreigners either stationed in Britain as troops or living in the country as exiles. And of course, there was also the propaganda value of the pictures when they were seen by non-English-speaking enemies themselves - Germans, Japanese, Italians etc. – proof of which is the number of cartoons (including some by Illingworth)[22] found in files kept by Goebbels in Hitler's bunker after the fall of Berlin in 1945. Anyone who could recognise Hitler or Stalin from photos, films or portraits could recognise them transformed into animals - so long as the drawing quality was good enough in each case.

Mass-market newspaper editors and proprietors were very aware of this power of cartoons. In 1930 Strube of the *Daily Express* had been offered £10,000 a year to join the *Daily Herald* – an enormous sum in its day and then more than the salary of any other journalist on the paper (including the editor) - and David Low on the *Evening Standard* was equally well rewarded for his work. And at the outbreak of war in 1939 or soon afterwards all those mass-market newspapers which did not already have staff political/editorial cartoonists immediately took them on.[23] At about the same time that Illingworth joined the *Daily Mail* (which had been without a political cartoonist for a year since Poy retired), three national morning papers appointed staff political cartoonists for the very first time:[24] Zec joined the *Daily Mirror*,[25] Vicky joined the *News Chronicle*[26]and Uptton joined the *Daily Sketch*.[27] (None of these, incidentally had had any experience of daily political cartoon work before: Zec had been in advertising, Uptton was an illustrator and Vicky had only recently arrived in Britain - speaking little English and knowing less about the British - from Berlin where he had worked as a caricaturist.) And it is also significant that when paper-rationing was introduced in 1940, reducing many newspapers to eight pages or less, it was the sports, strip and joke cartoonists who

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[22] For examples of Illingworth's cartoons found in Hitler's bunker see Chapter 7.
[23] The upmarket 'quality' press did not employ cartoonists until long after the war.
[24] Another significant appointment in 1939 was George Butterworth as political cartoonist for the influential Manchester newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch* (later absorbed by the *News Chronicle*).
[25] Though W.K. Haselden (1872-1953) worked for the paper from 1904 to 1940 he cannot be seen as a political cartoonist in the same way as he was best known for using many panels in his cartoons.
[26] His predecessor 'Wooping' (Willi Wolpe), about whom little is known and who drew few cartoons for the paper, appears not to have been a staff artist.
[27] W.H. Toy (1885-1915), who drew for the *Sketch* until his death aged 30 was again, like Haselden, a multi-frame artist.

were discarded – the political cartoonists remained, their work often being reproduced to the same size as before despite the fact that this would mean less textual journalism in the paper. This is given added impact when one realises that 'By the end of 1943, well over a third of the nation's nine thousand journalists were in the forces…[and] Most newspapers lost about three-quarters of their still photographers.'[28]

In addition, the Second World War - far more than the First World War and any earlier conflicts - was the first 'total war', involving civilians at home as well as military forces, and hence the cartoonist's subject matter was broader than ever before. It also has to be noted that for a variety of reasons it was something about which the public had an insatiable appetite for information. And it is not insignificant to add that sales of the *Daily Mail* broke the one million mark for the first time ever - thereby making it the highest selling daily newspaper in the world - during the Boer War. As Thomas Hardy once said, 'War makes rattling good history; but Peace is poor reading.' [29] And as wars go, the 1939-45 conflict takes some beating.

Finally, on an artistic level, the fast-growing markets for cartoons generally at this time (in magazines, newspapers, advertising etc.) led to the appearance of a large number of extremely gifted full-time cartoonists - not to mention the hordes of amateurs who, unable to attend art academies through lack of funds or because they were serving in the Forces, were taught by correspondence schools such as the Press Art School. [30] As a result of this intense competition, standards rose even higher, making the Second World War – perhaps ironically - one of the golden periods in the history of cartoons, especially those on a war theme, political or otherwise.[31]

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[28] Angus Calder, op. cit., p.505.

[29] Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts* (London, 1904-8), Act II, Scene V.

[30] By 1943 more than 4000 drawings by pupils of Percy Bradshaw's Press Art School had been published in *Punch* alone. Famous graduates included David Ghilchik (Uptton's successor as wartime political cartoonist on the *Daily Sketch*), Fougasse (Kenneth Bird, later Editor of *Punch* and famous for his 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' posters in the Second World War), Joe Lee (who drew the popular wartime 'Smiling Through' panel in the *Evening News*) and Norman Pett (creator of the celebrated 'Jane' strip in the *Daily Mirror* which had such a huge impact during the war years - see Chapter 7).

[31] As a postscript, on a personal level, the Second World War was also chosen because cartoons from this period have always fascinated me. Indeed, apart from the usual childhood comics such as *The Victor* and *The Hornet*, with their stirring pictorial tales of wartime heroism and adventure, my

Why Illingworth?

Leslie Illingworth has been chosen for a number of reasons. The first and most obvious is that he began working as a staff political cartoonist in the autumn of 1939, soon after war broke out, and thus was taken on by the *Daily Mail* specifically as a political war cartoonist.[32] Also – having been staff political cartoonist on the *Western Mail* for six years in the 1920s and having gained a vast amount of knowledge of the cartoon world (as well as illustration), through his freelance work in advertising and for *Punch* and other magazines – he had far more experience of this art form generally, and the political cartoon in particular, than Uptton, Zec and Vicky who also started work on their respective papers at about the same time. Of the four 'new arrivals' on the scene in 1939 he was thus the one best equipped for the job and the one most likely to be typical of the class.

Secondly, the newspaper he worked for (the *Daily Mail*) was not only historically one of the first national daily newspapers to use political war cartoons and had been the official paper of the British troops in the First World War (10,000 copies being sent to the Front every day) but also its proprietor, Lord Northcliffe, had been the government's Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries during the conflict. In addition the *Daily Mail* had been a 'journalistic Sputnik' [33] when it was originally launched in 1896 and had dominated the newspaper world internationally for more than three decades (from 1896 until 1933 it had had the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in the world).[34] Even in 1939 it was still one of the largest selling daily papers in the country and thus Illingworth's cartoons would have been seen by far more people nationwide than those of Low, Vicky, Uptton or some of his other

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earliest memories of cartoons were of wartime collections brought home by my father who served in RAF Intelligence in Burma. Amongst these were the 'Pilot Officer Prune' books by 'Raff' (Bill Hooper) and a now very rare wartime collection, *Jungle, Jungle, Little Chindit* with illustrations by Jon Musgrave-Wood, who later became better known as 'Emmwood', Illingworth's successor as political cartoonist on the *Daily Mail*.

[32] By coincidence, Britain declared war on Germany the day after Illingworth's 37th birthday. He began work at the *Mail* on Monday 30 October 1939 and, though a staffer for 30 years, he never actually had a contract.

[33] Julian Phipps, op. cit., p.158.

[34] As mentioned earlier, it was the first paper ever to sell a million copies a day. In 1933 (1,756,000) it was overtaken by the *Daily Herald* (2,000,000) and the *Daily Express* (1,903,000). Figures from W.A.Belson, *The British Press: Part III* (London, c.1961).

contemporaries.[35] It was also at this period a typical popular paper of its time. Based in Fleet Street, it was pictorial and broadsheet in format (as were the *Daily Express*. *News Chronicle* and *Daily Herald*, but unlike the tabloid *Daily Sketch*. *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Worker*). It had also had a single editor[36] throughout most of the war and thus had a consistent editorial policy. As well as being published in Britain it had a sister version, the *Continental Daily Mail*, published in Paris and containing many of the features of the London paper, which was widely available in Europe, and a transatlantic edition (the *Overseas Daily Mail*) was available in the USA. The upshot was that in 1944 an article in *Newsweek* was able to call Illingworth

> 'one of Britain's best known cartoonists – perhaps second only to the world-famous David Low…The tremendous national circulation of the *Daily Mail* (most recent ABC figure: 1,416,192) plus reprint privileges extended by its transatlantic edition, give Illingworth a British-American audience rivalling the estimated 200,000,000 of Low.' [37]

That the *Daily Mail* was seen as a typical British paper of its period is given added weight by an article in the Nazi newspaper *Das Reich* in 1942 which devoted two pages to a study of the *Daily Mail*, singling it out as typical of the British Press and British public opinion and calling it 'a prism of the English "everyday" ' and 'typically English, stable, conservative'. The article went on to analyse 5000 words of the paper and included a cartoon by Illingworth.[38]

Added to which Illingworth himself was in many ways a conventional political cartoonist and thus typical of his kind, though this does not mean that his cartoons

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[35] In 1939 the *Daily Mail* had the fourth largest circulation of any British national daily (1,522,000) and continued in this position until the end of the war (1,752,000). The top selling title in 1939 was the *Daily Express* (2,546,000), followed by the *Daily Herald* (1,850,000) and the *Daily Mirror* (1,571,000). The *News Chronicle* (1,299,000) and *Daily Sketch* (750,000) were far behind - the latter being outsold by the *Mail*'s sister paper, the London *Evening News* (838,000). The London *Evening Standard* had the smallest circulation of all (382,000) - only three times the circulation of *Punch* (116,000). Figures from W.A.Belson, op.cit.

[36] Robert Prew (Editor 1939-44). He was succeeded in 1944 by Stanley Horniblow (Editor 1944-7).

[37] 'Colonel Blimp's Rival', *Newsweek*, 17 April 1944, p.84.

[38] Quoted in Froom Tyler's article. 'Goebbels Dislikes Us – But He Reads Us', *Daily Mail*, 4 March 1942. Tyler also remarks on the fact that Negley Farson's reports from Moscow were read over Kuibishev radio and concludes his piece with the sentence: 'So to friend and foe alike, the *Daily Mail* is the touchstone of Britain at war.'

lacked bite - in his history of *Punch*, R.G.G.Price described Illingworth thus: 'a fiery, genial Welshman he was often savage in the *Daily Mail* and has shown no embarrassment when given savage subjects in *Punch*'.[39] (And the *Newsweek* article mentioned earlier was keen to point out that 'nearly all agree he is Low's outstanding rival'.) In addition, Illingworth was a British cartoonist of British parents (Low, Vicky and Zec were not) – and hence would have had a natural inbred British attitude to the war, politics, the British public and the British tradition in political cartooning. Thus if anyone would be representative of the British political cartoonist in wartime it would be him. Also after the war he remained with the paper for 30 years - a record few purely political cartoonists have matched before or since[40] – which would seem to imply both satisfaction with his work by successive editors (he survived eight of them through nine editorships during this period) and also a close understanding on his part of what the newspaper required of its political cartoonist both in wartime and peace.

Another important factor was that as well as being 'a political observer of global stature' [41] Illingworth was also a remarkable draughtsman 'of consummate gifts...the most technically accomplished pen in Britain' [42]and 'an incomparable black-and-white artist'[43] who had also drawn for *Punch* since 1931 and became Deputy Political Cartoonist on the magazine during the war years (jointly with E.H.Shepard under Bernard Partridge).[44] (He became *Punch*'s main political cartoonist in 1948, again remaining in this post for nearly three decades with all that this implies, especially bearing in mind that *Punch* continued to be the prime satirical magazine and the flagship of the British cartoon world until *Private Eye* was launched in 1961.)

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[39] R.G.G.Price, *A History of* Punch (London, 1957), p.285.

[40] Both Strube and Giles of the *Express* managed 30 years each and Haselden was at the *Daily Mirror* for 40 years but these were largely social cartoonists. The nearest political cartoonists were Low (23 years on the *Evening Standard*) and Poy, Illingworth's predecessor on the *Mail* (22 years). (I have not included postwar cartoonists such as Cummings who worked for the *Daily Express* for 41 years, 1949-90.)

[41] Julian Phipps, op.cit., p.159.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Malcolm Muggeridge, Introduction to *Vicky's World* (London, 1959), p.iv.

[44] Illingworth was also a pioneer of the use of scraperboard in cartoons, though he seldom used this technique in the Second World War (and never in his work for the *Daily Mail* during this period).

All these considerations alone would make Illingworth a fascinating study, but to be able to draw a likeness so well (he was also one of the few British cartoonists who had actually seen the Nazi leaders in the flesh) – albeit in less detailed form in the *Daily Mail* when compared to his *Punch* work due to the restrictions imposed by tighter deadlines on a daily newspaper - made his work all the more powerful during the Second World War. And as a fellow *Punch* cartoonist Arthur Watts once said: 'The more convincingly you render their surroundings - the more convincingly you can render your characters *in* their surroundings - the more convincing your drawing will be.' [45] As for the characters themselves, Illingworth's skill in this regard echoes Francis Carruthers Gould's comments at the turn of the century:

> 'Personalities in political cartoons ought not to be, and need not be, offensively personal; but the cartoonist must use the prominent and most familiar figures in the political world as the puppets for his little stage. And the reason for this is obvious. The object of a cartoon is to show at a glance, in the most simple and concrete form possible, a critical view of a situation. If the picture be an elaborate and complicated one it becomes a puzzle rather than an illustration. The great essential is that it shall appeal swiftly and unmistakenly to the eye. To aid this there must be no excuse given for hesitation as to the identity of the puppets used; the meaning of the cartoon must be patent almost instantaneously, or half its effect is lost.'[46]

Part of the reason for Illingworth's skill may be due to the fact that, unlike all his contemporaries on daily newspapers, he had received a considerable classical art training - at the Royal College of Art, the Slade and the Académie Julian in Paris - and had worked as a professional illustrator for 13 years prior to the outbreak of war.[47]

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[45] Arthur Watts, 'Black and White Drawing', *The Artist*, April 1935, p.9.
[46] Francis Carruthers Gould, 'Why I Caricature Mr Chamberlain', *Picture Politics*, 1904-5, p.10.
[47] Low and Vicky were largely self-taught, Whitelaw spent only a year at Glasgow School of Art and by the age of 19 Uptton and Zec had both ceased studying (at Central School and St Martin's respectively) and set up commercial studios.

Finally, a number of commentators have seen in Illingworth's work something that his contemporaries - even the much admired David Low - lack. This was summed up in Malcolm Muggeridge's obituary of him:

> 'I think myself that a collection of his best cartoons will, in the long run, wear better than one of David Low's: the reason being that Low's cartoons usually relate to some immediate situation which soon gets forgotten, whereas Illingworth's go deeper, becoming, at their best, satire in the grand style rather than mischievous quips; strategic rather than practical.'[48]

There are also a number of personal considerations why Illingworth has been chosen as the case study for this thesis on political war cartoonists. The principal one is that in 1996, in the course of other work, I came across a large deposit of some 5000 of his original *Daily Mail* political cartoons in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth.[49] These - all uncatalogued and still lying loose in the boxes in which they were first deposited - covered his entire 30-year career at the paper from 1939 to 1969, and included 1200 or so wartime drawings. This is a unique resource and is probably the largest intact holding of original daily political war cartoons by any cartoonist in this country from any period of history in a public collection. Added to which my work as editor of the annuals of the current *Daily Mail* cartoonist Mac over the past decade helped me to obtain permission to gain unique access to the newspaper's cuttings library, archives and microfilm record, an honour which is not normally granted to its own journalists, let alone university students.

Another reason for choosing Illingworth was the fact that apart from his printed works very little information has been recorded about his personal life and development as an artist and thus the research would be into almost completely virgin territory academically. The results of the investigation would thus also contribute considerably to public knowledge about the personal and artistic history of this now largely forgotten artist. Unlike Low and Vicky no biography of

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[48] Malcolm Muggeridge, *Guardian*, 22 December 1979.
[49] Of these 4771 were from the *Daily Mail* and 51 from the *Sunday Dispatch*.

Illingworth exists and very little has ever been written about him in the press or elsewhere. Also unlike Low,Vicky, Strube, Friell and others he did not produce any anthologies of his work (though some 70-odd cartoons by him appear in an Associated Newspapers anthology along with examples by Neb, Moon, Lee and Gittins).[50] He had only one major exhibition of his work (and that in the USA in 1970)[51] and as he died a bachelor and had no immediate relations the whereabouts of his family was then unknown.

Another factor of personal interest was that Illingworth was the first President of the British Cartoonists' Association when it was founded in 1966 (succeeded by Carl Giles). For some eight years I was Hon. Secretary (and later Vice-President) of this organisation - which represents the top 100 professional cartoonists in Britain, including political cartoonists – and in the course of arranging exhibitions and giving lectures for the BCA I did a great deal of research into the Association's history and was intrigued by the figure of this great political cartoonist who was universally loved and respected by his fellow artists, many of whom (such as his protégé 'Trog' and John Jensen) are still alive. (In addition, one friend of Illingworth's whom I tracked down in the course of other research was Clive Uptton - the sole surviving wartime political cartoonist today [2002] - who had actually applied for the *Daily Mail* job that Illingworth got.)

Finally, in 1975 Illingworth was awarded an Hon. DLitt from the University of Kent at Canterbury, home of the internationally renowned Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature with which I have worked on a professional basis for many years – researching books etc. – and it is at the School of History in the University of Kent that I am studying for this degree.

A Brief Outline of the Thesis

The thesis will attempt to answer a number of questions about the political cartoonist in wartime and Leslie Illingworth's work during the Second World War in particular. The first of these, naturally enough, is what is a political cartoonist in

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[50] *400 Famous Cartoons* (London, 1944).
[51] Wiggin Gallery, Boston Public Library, Massachusetts, USA, 1970.

wartime? – what is his job, what is his subject matter, and how does this differ from his work in peacetime? The second is, how does a political cartoonist fit in with the newspaper he works for, and - taking a single paper and a single artist to represent all (though the legitimacy of this itself will also be discussed) - a detailed examination of the *Daily Mail* and Illingworth's position there during the Second World War will be made: what the paper's stance was on issues like appeasement, how Illingworth worked, how much or how little he was moulded by the editorial policy of the paper itself, were ideas suggested to him and so forth.

A third question is, what makes a political war cartoonist? In the example of the chosen case history this boils down to the more specific question of who was Leslie Illingworth? – what was his artistic background and personal upbringing and what was it about him that made him become or indeed want to be a daily newspaper political cartoonist in wartime? (It is interesting to note here that Zec, who was taken on at the *Daily Mirror* in 1939 as its first ever political cartoonist, could not face the idea of continuing as being a 'normal' political cartoonist after the war and resigned soon after its end [in 1948]. And Clive Uptton of the *Daily Sketch* – who only worked there from 1940 to 1942 and never again drew political cartoons - confided in an interview[52] that he never considered war cartoons to be political cartoons at all. In his opinion war cartoons were unique and a different kind of drawing altogether, reserving the term 'political cartoons' for those of a party-political nature.)

The final question is, how does one political cartoonist in wartime compare with others – are they all doing basically the same job or are some in a sense better or more successful than others? And, if it could be argued (rightly or wrongly) that there was only one supreme political cartoonist of the Second World War in Britain (and hence by the argument proposed earlier, of all time), then is Illingworth that war artist or if not where does he appear in the hierarchy of all-time great political war cartoonists?

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[52] Tape-recorded interviews by MB with Clive Uptton on 1 July and 17 November 1999 (henceforth Uptton Tapes).

To try and answer these and other questions the thesis has been divided into seven chapters whose content can be briefly outlined as follows.

Chapter 1 will examine what in general constitutes a political war cartoonist by historical example, studying the development of the war cartoon in Britain from its earliest appearance in the satirical prints of James Gillray, George Cruikshank and others during the Napoleonic Wars, through the first daily newspaper war cartoonists of the Crimean War and Boer War up until the end of the Second World War.

Chapter 2 will then investigate more specifically how a political war cartoonist works within the confines of a national daily paper. As the *Daily Mail* has been selected for this case history this chapter will focus on the birth and development of the newspaper from its beginning in 1896 until the end of the Second World War.

The next chapter will examine what it is that makes a political war cartoonist by looking in some detail at one particular artist, Leslie Illingworth, as a case history. It will thus focus on Illingworth's upbringing and personal background as a cartoonist.

Continuing with the case-history approach, Chapter 4 will look at the wartime output of a single political cartoonist (Leslie Illingworth) to see by practical example what in fact his job in such circumstances is – what does he actually draw. It will thus present a detailed breakdown (sometimes in tabular form) of Illingworth's drawings for the *Daily Mail* from 1939 until 1945.

The following chapter will examine (again using the example of Illingworth's wartime cartoons) what sort of content the artist puts in his work - especially the symbolism and metaphors used - with a view to establishing not only what a political cartoonist does generally (in peacetime or war) but specifically what kind of weapons he uses in times of international conflict and how his role as propagandist, communicator ('voice of the people'), commentator and reporter is defined by these.

Chapter 6 will evaluate the chosen political war cartoonist by comparison with work by his Fleet Street contemporaries. It will thus compare Illingworth's wartime cartoons with those drawn by other daily political cartoonists of the period who were working for rival papers (e.g. Low, Vicky, Strube, Uptton).

The final chapter will look at what sort of impact (if any) political war cartoons – especially those by Illingworth and his contemporaries in the Second World War – have had on the readership of individual newspapers and the world at large. There will also be a brief examination of the history of the subject in terms of the success or otherwise of political war cartoons in this area.

The Conclusion will piece all the research together and attempt to answer the question: 'What is the job of a daily national newspaper political cartoonist in wartime?' Is his work, as Low seems to suggest in the quotation at the beginning of this Introduction, both simpler and yet more 'prophetic' than that of his peacetime colleagues because of the black-and-white nature of the subject and the difficulties of news-gathering in wartime? Or is there something more profound involved in becoming a student of the 'how, why and when' necessary for the job of becoming a successful political war cartoonist that sets him apart, and gives him the special insight that Ashbee suggests (in the quotation beneath Low's) is the measure of greatness and that allows him to 'see further'. In addition, the conclusion will try and evaluate what contribution Leslie Illingworth in particular - working as a political cartoonist on the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War – made to the history and art history of the subject in general.

It now only remains to set the stage, as it were, for the investigations outlined above by looking at the history of the political war cartoonist in Britain, the subject of Chapter 1.

Chapter 1

Evolution of the Political War Cartoonist in Britain

'The print is a mass medium – universal, direct, immediate and pithy. Thus it often creates its effects on a rather earthy level, and will always favour satire and caricature over plain narrative. It plays the clown in the worst possible situations. This Shakespearean manner is the golden rule of political graphics: laughter must be safeguarded even at the moment of extreme unction. That is its own way of bolstering hope, of infiltrating the depression of defeat with the secret consolation of revenge, of bringing to the oppressed the intimate consolation of justice and freedom, and of asserting at the darkest hour the certainty of rescue. Prints are partisan. They espouse causes. Exaggeration is second nature to them. Their methodology is accumulation and synthesis - and hence events, places, moments and people acquire an extraordinary intensity and power. A print is neither historic evocation nor narrative,but rather a conjunction of symbols and allusions. It enlarges, shrinks, or disguises people, to reveal their many facets at a glance.The synthesizing power of the print expresses both what is visible and what is concealed. To what is, it adds what has been and what will be. The image is thus liberated from the grammar of space and time and the print remains dynamic, aggressive, fertile and creative.'
(Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* [London, 1982], p.9)

'As always in war-time, cartoons flourished.'
(M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature, 1793-1832* [Oxford, 1959], p.1)

Introduction

This chapter will take a brief look at the history of the political war cartoon in Britain (as defined in the Introduction) as a preliminary to examining in some detail the work of one major exponent of this genre - Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail* - during the Second World War. It will only focus on wars in which Britain was officially involved (hence not the American or Spanish Civil Wars etc) and will not dwell on the symbolism of war cartoons over the ages as such, as this will be examined in more detail in the chapter on symbolism and metaphor in Illingworth's own cartoons (Chapter 5). Nor will it look at cartoons by Britain's allies or enemies in such conflicts as this will be touched on in the chapter on Illingworth's wartime rivals (Chapter 6). And the question of the significance of political war cartoons to the publications in which they were printed (relative size, whether or not they followed the editorial stance of the paper and/or the government line) will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

However, this chapter will attempt to trace the origins of the political war cartoon as an art form and then follow its development in daily national (and other influential

London-based) newspapers in Britain, whether published in the morning or evening. (The work of daily political cartoonists working for regional newspapers will not be discussed through lack of space.) The survey will also attempt to discover who, since the beginning, have been the most important and influential artists in this field (and the wars they covered), and will look at the areas of interest that, historically, have most concerned the political war cartoonist.

1. In the Beginning

The first British newspapers - such as the *Daily Courant* (1702, the first daily newspaper in Britain), the *Morning Post* (1772, absorbed by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937) and the *Daily Universal Register* (1785, later renamed *The Times*) - were non-pictorial and as a result had no illustrations of any kind, let alone cartoons.[53] Portraits of wartime celebrities, like any other portraits - whether of royalty, politicians, or figures in the arts, sports or sciences - were seen by the British public in the form of paintings and drawings. However, as a single work of art can only be seen by a limited number of people it was not until the mass production of prints from engravings in the 18th century that the public at large came to see images of their leaders and their enemies. As for portraits of foreigners, these were usually made by local artists in the country of their birth and exported to Britain, slow transport making it unusual for British artists to travel far. However, such portraits revealed very little about the sitter and were often very flattering (one has only to think of the painting of Anne of Cleves that so misrepresented her to Henry VIII). Thus when caricature drawing began to be introduced from Italy to the rest of Europe (including Britain) in the 18th century it quickly gained favour as a way of judging a person's character and portraying and commenting on historical events featuring national celebrities.

At first caricature engravings, which included wartime political cartoons, were produced by specialist shops and sold, or hired out, as prints (in colour or line), or else just viewed in the print publishers' shop itself, making shop windows important sources of news. There were five important London print publishers/sellers. Mrs

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[53] Though ironically it was *The Times* which pioneered the use of illustrations in newspapers when it published a woodcut of Nelson's funeral car on 10 January 1806.

Hannah Humphrey (who published Gillray's works) was at 24 St James's Street,[54] a short distance from St James's Palace - the court of the Hanoverian kings and itself at the centre of a coffee-, chocolate- and teahouse and club area. Nearby in the elite residential area of Piccadilly were John Hatchard (also Queen Charlotte's bookseller originally at No.173 but today at 187) and Samuel Fores (publisher of Charles Williams who was paid to suppress some of his caricatures of the Prince Regent). In the City of London itself were Rudolph Ackermann (Rowlandson's publisher), at 101 Strand near the law-courts, coffee- and teashops, and Thomas Tegg (publisher of Elmes but also Rowlandson) in the then fashionable shopping and market district of Cheapside.

2. The First Political War Cartoonists

War cartoons in the modern sense[55] - including the introduction into political prints of personal caricature (in addition to the more usual national stereotypes like Britannia, John Bull or the British Lion) - can be dated from Britain's conflicts with revolutionary France, known as the Napoleonic Wars, which began in 1793 and ran on for 22 years until 1815. Published as prints by Mrs Humphrey and her like, the main artists of political war cartoons in this period were (in chronological order of birth): George, 4th Viscount Townshend (1724-1807, the first major amateur caricaturist and the first to come from the serving forces - he became a field marshal in 1796); the French-born Philippe de Loutherburg RA (1740-1812, who was also George III's favourite painter) and Henry Bunbury (1750-1811, another amateur whom Horace Walpole called 'the second Hogarth'). Soon after came perhaps the greatest of them all, James Gillray (1756-1815, who was also the first ever officially credited war cartoonist (he went to Flanders after the Duke of York captured Valenciennes).[56] Gillray was followed by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) who, having created the first ever cartoon character Dr Syntax in 1809, went on to create the first ever war cartoon character Johnny Newcome - a newly commissioned

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[54] The site is now occupied by the *Economist* on the corner of Ryder Street.

[55] Though the word 'cartoon' did not get its modern meaning until 1843, as has been seen.

[56] 'In the summer of 1793 Gillray went to Flanders with de Loutherbourg to do portraits of the Allied commanders for the latter's picture of the siege of Valenciennes' (Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature, 1793-1832* [Oxford, 1959], p.5). Gillray later incorporated his work into his print 'Fatigues of the Campaign in Flanders' (20 May 1793).

officer in the Peninsular War against Napoleon.[57] Then came George Woodward ('Mustard George' , 1760-1809) followed by the famous Cruikshank family, notably Isaac (1764-1811) and later his sons Robert (1789-1856) and most importantly George (1792-1878).

These first political war cartoonists, like their fellow artists two centuries later, depicted domestic wartime subjects as well as frontline ones. 'Home Front' issues tackled during the Napoleonic Wars included the introduction of new taxes (not just income tax,[58] but also taxes on dogs, windows, malt, soap, candles, salt, tobacco, home-brewed beer, hair powder, wine, carriages, male servants, clocks and watches - and even men's hats). The cartoonists also lampooned the 18th-century prototype of the Home Guard (the St George's Volunteers), and anyone who might be suspected of being a spy or Fifth Columnist (notably the politician Charles James Fox and others who openly expressed pro-Revolution sympathies).

The Services then only included the Royal Navy and the Army. As the senior service the Navy usually received favourable treatment from cartoonists (though Gillray, amongst others, was a vehement opponent of the press-gang system[59]). This was largely because it was not only the most powerful force in the world but also because it was not a burden on the public in peacetime.[60] By contrast, the Army came off much worse with frequent pictorial attacks on the effeteness of the officer corps and the unpleasantness of recruits.

Individual caricatures also quickly became evident during the Napoleonic Wars. As well as cartoons featuring heroically drawn Allied military chiefs like Wellington, Nelson and Blücher, there were also lampoons on the British royal family, especially George III and his three sons: the hopeless Duke of York, the decadent

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[57] The character appeared in Rowlandson's *The Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome* (London, 1816) and *The Adventures of Johnny Newcome in the Navy* (London, 1818).
[58] Income tax originated in Britain and was first introduced in 1799 by William Pitt specifically to raise money for Britain's war against France.
[59] For example in a cartoon published in 1779. The press-gang system, in which civilians were physically forced to join the Navy, was introduced in Elizabethan times and was at its height during the Napoleonic Wars but gradually lapsed after 1815 as a result of new legislation.
[60] This respectful attitude to the Navy was reflected later in the habit of Victorian and Edwardian parents dressing their children in sailor suits.

Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence. The enemy were also targeted but it was not until 1799, when he was appointed First Consul and virtual dictator of France, that Napoleon was singled out for the caricaturists' attack as the main enemy (the first engraved portraits of him had begun to arrive in England from Italy in 1797). In the following 15 years at least 2000 caricatures of Napoleon were published. He was portrayed in many guises including horned devil, caged animal, a Corsican bloodhound etc. and Gillray quickly cut him down to size by christening him 'Little Boney' and always drawing him very small. A good example of this is his famous drawing 'The Plumb-pudding in Danger' (Fig.1) published on 26 February 1805.

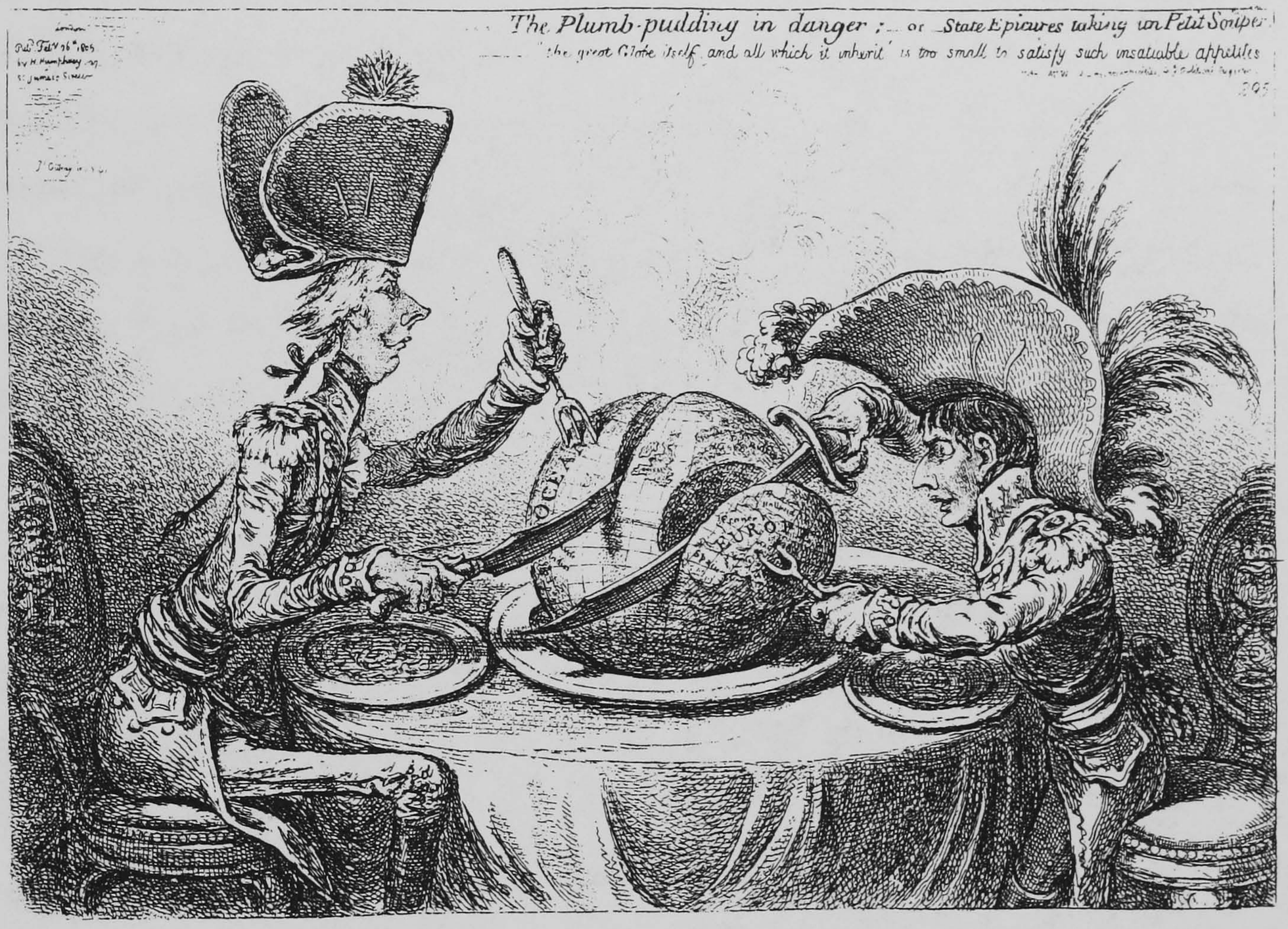

Fig. 1. James Gillray, 'The Plumb-pudding in Danger, or State Epicures Taking un Petit Souper', print by Hannah Humphrey, 26 February 1805.

An early political war cartoon from the Napoleonic Wars between Britain and her allies and France. In fact this cartoon illustrates a peace overture from Napoleon to George III made on 2 January 1805 in which he said that 'the world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it'. The tall figure carving up the ocean beside the diminutive Napoleon slicing into Europe is British Prime Minister Pitt (both men are in military uniform) - the implication being that Britain's Royal Navy can rule the seas while the French take command of the Continent. Often reproduced and parodied this is probably Gillray's best-known work and it is also one of the earliest uses of the globe as a symbol for cartoonists.

There was also a strong propaganda element to the political war cartoons of this period, with many atrocity stories (usually untrue) being depicted (e.g. the slaughter of Turkish prisoners, and French soldiers with plague being killed by drug overdoses

administered by French doctors). And perhaps not surprisingly there were also a number of anti-war cartoons. Of these perhaps the best known are the 'John Bull's Progress' sequence by Gillray (whose father lost an arm in the War of the Austrian Succession, the last war in which an English king [George II] led troops into battle) and the 'He Would Be a Soldier' sequence by Cruikshank.

As to style, the political war cartoons of this period were frequently in colour (individually hand-painted at extra cost for those who could afford it) and incorporated speech balloons and long captions, often with verse or prose quotations. As well as featuring individuals, they also made great use of national stereotypes (John Bull, Britannia etc), employed animal symbolism, positive and negative, and were frequently grotesque, vulgar and derisive. Sophisticated good-humoured political comment only came in with John Doyle[61] (followed by Leech and Tenniel) with his series of lithographic prints ('Political Sketches') published by McLean from 1829 and including 900 subjects over 20 years (Doyle's gentler satire lost its popularity when *Punch* started in 1841).[62]

As the focus of this thesis is on the *newspaper* cartoonist during wartime - and specifically the *daily* staff artist - these early political war cartoons will not be dwelt on further as they were produced at irregular intervals and then only as limited-edition engravings. Though they deal with the same subjects - dictators, battles, soldiers etc - as their later Fleet Street colleagues, they were produced in a very different manner, in a very different environment and to very different schedules. None the less this brief survey sheds some interesting light on the history of the genre as it applies to the later work of Fleet Street artists. Indeed, the tradition of political prints in Britain is one of which all political cartoonists (including Illingworth) have been and continue to be aware to this day. In fact such has been the impact of Gillray, Rowlandson, Cruikshank and others on later artists that not

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[61] John Doyle (1797-1868) was the father of the illustrators and cartoonists Charles Doyle (himself father of the writer Arthur Conan Doyle), Henry Doyle and Richard Doyle, designer of the best known cover of *Punch* in 1849 which lasted until 1954. John Doyle drew as 'HB', after a grade of drawing pencil.

[62] Mention should also be made of the mild caricatures of military personalities by Robert Dighton and later his son Richard which foreshadowed the style of *Vanity Fair*, but as these are not strictly speaking political cartoons as defined in this thesis they are not discussed here.

only their symbolism but sometimes also the entire design of their cartoons have been borrowed or replicated as modern-day pastiches.

3. The First Political War Cartoonists in Fleet Street

Though there had been daily newspapers in Britain since the *Daily Courant* began in 1702, there were no staff political cartoonists working for daily newspapers until nearly 200 years later (indeed there were few illustrations in any papers at all until the weekly *Illustrated London News* was launched in 1842).

However, with the invention of the steam-driven press, which made publishing quicker, the beginning of the 19th century saw a boom in the production of cheap illustrated periodicals. In the early 1800s magazines featuring cartoons began to appear in Britain, including the *Satirist* (1808), *Scourge* (1811) and *Meteor* (1813), with drawings by George Cruikshank et al. Europe's first caricature magazine, the *Northern Looking Glass* - edited and illustrated by the cartoonist William Heath ('Paul Pry') appeared in 1825 - followed by Thomas McLean's *Looking Glass* (1830), the *Monthly Sheet of Caricatures* (1830, featuring drawings by Robert Seymour and then John Doyle), *Figaro in London* (1831, with drawings by Seymour, Cruikshank and William Newman) and *Punch in London* (1831, with drawings by Kenny Meadows).

By the middle of the century, a number of important illustrated and satirical magazines had begun to publish regularly - weekly or monthly if not yet daily - political war cartoons during the conflicts in which Britain was involved. Foremost amongst these was *Punch, or The London Charivari.*[63] The first issue was published by R.Bryant at 13 Wellington Street, Strand, in London[64] on 17 July 1841 in the middle of the First Afghan War and Britain's Opium War with China. From its very first number it contained political cartoons by its first ever political cartoonist (1841-2) and designer of its first cover, Archibald S. Henning (d.1864), but these were of a

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[63] The subtitle and basic format of the magazine were taken from Charles Philipon's French satirical magazine, *Le Charivari* (the title of which denoted 'a serenade of rough music, made with kettles, pans, tea-trays, etc, used in France, in derision of incongruous marriages, etc: hence a babel of noise' *Oxford English Dictionary*), founded on 30 November 1830.

[64] *Punch* later moved to 85 Fleet Street.

domestic nature and did not focus on the wars. Later came John Leech (1817-64) who created the first 'cartoon' in its modern sense in a series of six political drawings attacking social injustices (as mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis).

Other magazines which began appearing at this time included *Man in the Moon* and *Great Gun* but *Punch* had no serious rivals, either as a satirical magazine or as a vehicle for political war cartoonists, until *Fun* started in 1860. Indeed such was its success that *Punch* quickly became a powerful force in Britain and a national institution reflecting popular opinion. This was evident during the Crimean War (1854-5) - between Russia and the allied forces of Britain, France and Turkey - which was the only major conflict in Europe involving Britain between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of the First World War.

The Crimean War also introduced the world's first star war reporter, William Howard Russell of *The Times*, who, as mentioned earlier, introduced the phrase 'The Thin Red Line' when describing the Battle of Balaclava in 1854.[65] In addition it heralded the arrival of the world's first war photographers, Roger Fenton and James Robertson. The first ever 'Special Artists' were also beginning to emerge. These were frontline artists, drawing the war as it happened in front of them and then sending their work back home either as finished artwork or as sketches to be redrawn in the studio. Some of these artists later became better known as cartoonists and caricaturists (notably René Bull who began as a 'special' on *Black and White* soon after it was launched in 1891 and who covered the Armenian massacres in Constantinople in 1895 amongst other events).

But to return to the Crimea, war cartoons of this period included some scurrilous attacks not only on enemies such as Tsar Nicholas I (who died during war - see Fig. 2) but also on Britain's own leaders such as Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen (which led to his downfall, see Chapter 7, Fig. 1), Viscount Hardinge (Wellington's

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[65] There is some debate about who was the first ever war correspondent, some arguing for S. Read of the *Illustrated London News* and others for Charles Lewis Gruneisen of the *Morning Post* ('that title

"GENERAL FÉVRIER" TURNED TRAITOR.

"Russia has Two Generals in whom she can confide—Generals Janvier and Février."—*Speech of the late Emperor of Russia.*

March 10, 1855.] [Punch, No. 713.

Fig.2. '"General Février" Turned Traitor', John Leech (1817-64), *Punch*, 10 March 1835.

This famous cartoon by Leech comments on the death of Tsar Nicholas I whose ambitions in Turkey had led to opposition by Britain and France resulting in the Crimean War. Nicholas, who died on 2 March 1855, had claimed at the commencement of hostilities that 'Russia has two generals in whom she can confide - Generals Janvier and Février' and that winter would prove to be his best ally. However, though thousands of British and French troops perished of cold and disease, a great many Russian soldiers also died en route to the Crimea from Russia.

successor as Commander-in-Chief of the Army), Lord Raglan (Commander-in-Chief in the Crimea), Lord Cardigan (leader of the disastrous Charge of the Light Brigade) and other old men in charge of allied forces. In addition there were attacks on 'drawing-room captains' and moustachioed cavalry officers, and the corrupt practice of allowing the wealthy to purchase commissions up to the level of Lieutenant-Colonel which led to the promotion of incompetent officers. By contrast there were also heroic images of Queen Victoria visiting invalids (and the introduction of the Victoria Cross for valour), the famous reforming nurse Florence Nightingale, and the old war-horse (and new Prime Minister) Lord Palmerston and others.

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probably belongs to the *Morning Post*'s man, G.L.Gruneisen [sic]' Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty* [London, 1975], p.4).

The cartoons of this period also depicted much more sympathy for the common soldier and a new style of humour was created which led to characters such as Bruce Bairnsfather's 'Old Bill' and others in the First World War (Fig. 3).

"Well, Jack! Here's good news from Home. We're to have a Medal."
"That's very kind. Maybe one of these days we'll have a Coat to stick it on?"

'Well, Jack! Here's good news from home. We're to have a medal.'
'That's very kind. Maybe one of these days we'll have a coat to stick it on?'

Fig.3. (Untitled), John Leech (1817-64), *Punch*, 17 February 1855.

Though not strictly a political war cartoon as defined in this thesis, but rather more a socio-military war cartoon, Leech's drawing from the Crimean War in the weekly *Punch* has been included here as it makes a remarkably Bairnsfather-like joke about two soldiers at the front bemoaning their fate. (See also Chapter 7.)

As well as laughing at misfortunes and attacking the poor equipment and terrible hospitals (especially the main allied hospitai at Scutari, Turkey) there were a number of specific issues that cropped up repeatedly in cartoons during this war. These included the supply of useless green unroasted coffee beans and bad horse feed, the lack of food and coats generally, the slow delivery of letters and having to fight in full dress uniform (with its tight lacing and choker collars etc.). This latter rule soon changed especially as soldiers began to improvise in the cold with woollen clothing such as balaclava helmets etc (Balaklava was the main Allied base, near Sebastapol), cardigans and raglan sweaters (both named after generals). On the

domestic front, income-tax increases, profiteering in bread and sugar. adulteration of food and the activities of the Peace Society[66] caught the cartoonists' attention.

Soon after the Crimean War the repeal of tax on advertisements and paper duties led to the launch of new papers and weekly periodicals such as *Fun* (1861), notable for the work of its important political cartoonist J.Gordon Thomson who worked for the magazine in 1870-78 and 1890-93. A full-page example of his work published during the Second Afghan War is shown in Figure 4.

Other magazines featuring political war cartoons included *Judy* (1867), *Vanity Fair* (1868,[67] notably caricatures of military figures by 'Ape' and 'Spy'), *Moonshine* (1879, notably the work of Alfred Bryan), the *Graphic* (1870), the *Sketch* (1893) and *Truth*. And local publications also began to appear such as the *Delhi Sketch Book* and *Indian Punch* during the Indian Mutiny. This period also heralded the beginnings of comics (not for children at first but for working-class adults) such as *Funny Folks* (1874) and *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday* (1884).[68] Tenniel, meanwhile, remained a pillar of strength at *Punch* until 1901 with Linley Sambourne as his deputy (and later successor), and many good political cartoons were also drawn by Harry Furniss who left *Punch* in 1894 after a quarrel.

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[66] Ironically this was led by the former peoples' champions Richard Cobden and John Bright who had earlier won public praise in their efforts to repeal the Corn Laws.

[67] The first caricature (by Ape, of Disraeli) appeared on 30 January 1869. More than 200 British and foreign officers appeared in its pages, including General Gordon, Field Marshall Lord Roberts, Paul Kruger (leader of the Boers), General Baden-Powell, General Garibaldi, Lord Kitchener and Field Marshall Count von Moltke.

[68] And the reintroduction of speech balloons for these (cf Georgian cartoonists).

Fig 4. 'Stamping it out', J.Gordon Thompson (fl.1861-93), *Fun*, 11 August 1880.

This cartoon shows John Bull stamping out the Afghan scorpion at the time of the relief of the besieged city of Kandahar during the Second Afghan War (1878-80).

Various imperial conflicts involving Britain in the second half of the 19th century included the Indian Mutiny (1857), the Second Afghan War (1878-80), the Zulu War (1879) and the conflict in the Sudan. There were lots of atrocity stories and cartoons on big-game hunting, pig-sticking, polo etc. And military heroes such as Kitchener and Wolseley featured widely, as did Disraeli and Gladstone. General Gordon also featured in an unfortunate drawing by Tenniel which showed the difficulties of communication for political war cartoonists at this period, as well as the problems of working for a weekly as opposed to a daily paper. Believing that Gordon would be relieved at Khartoum, Tenniel drew a heroic picture which was

published in *Punch*. When news of his death eventually got through, *Punch* published a second version, shown below (Fig. 5).[69]

In this period the common soldier came in for scrutiny once more with the creation - by Captain George Atkinson (1822-59) of the Bengal Engineers - of the 'Our

AT LAST!

"TOO LATE!"

Telegram, Thursday Morning, Feb. 5.—"Khartoum taken by the Mahdi. General Gordon's fate uncertain."

Fig.5A (left). 'At Last!', John Tenniel (1820-1914), *Punch*, 7 February 1885.
Fig. 5B (right). 'Too Late!', John Tenniel (1820-1914), *Punch*, 14 February 1885.

During the wars with the Mahdi in the Sudan one of the main problems of the political war cartoonist at home in Britain was getting accurate news of events, as these two versions of the relief of Khartoum in the weekly *Punch* show.

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[69] In contrast, Phil May drew a cartoon for the *St Stephen's Review* ('Old Gravedigger's Christmas Eve', 27 December 1884) which featured Prime Minister Gladstone as the gravedigger and predicted the death of Gordon at Khartoum the following year.

Griff' cartoon character (a young ensign during the Indian Mutiny). who can be seen in many ways as the precursor of Bill Hooper's 'Pilot Officer Prune' and JON's 'Two Types' in the Second World War (see also Chapter 7).[70]

4. The First Daily Political War Cartoonists

The end of the 19th century saw huge advances in technology. Steam started to be replaced by electricity (the first electric power station was opened in 1890) and communications were greatly improved (the first automatic telephone switchboard was set up in 1892 and wireless telegraphy was introduced 1895).[71] All of which speeded up the process of news reporting and hence sources of information for political cartoonists. In addition, the invention of cinematography in 1895 ushered in newsreels and around 1899 the development of internal combustion engines led to motorised transport and early aeroplanes. Printing processes were also improved by the introduction of the linotype machine in 1886, and in 1890 the *Daily Graphic* was launched as the first fully illustrated daily paper in Britain. It was also the first to use the photographic reproduction process for line drawings and regularly published halftone images (the weekly *Punch* had printed its first halftone in 1896).

It was at about this time that the first true daily newspaper political cartoonist in wartime emerged. Francis Carruthers Gould was appointed as the world's first ever staff political cartoonist on a daily newspaper in 1887. He began on the Liberal *Pall Mall Gazette* (the first of the London-based literary evening papers, founded in 1865 and later absorbed into the *Evening Standard*) under its famous editor W.T.Stead. When it was sold in 1893 to Waldorf Astor and the Unionists, Gould moved with its then editor Edward Cook to its newly founded (Liberal) rival the *Westminster Gazette* (which was printed on green paper), [72] being replaced on the *PMG* by G.R.Halkett (Fig.6). Thus by the time of the Boer War (1899-1902) there had been staff political cartoonists on daily newspapers for more than a decade.

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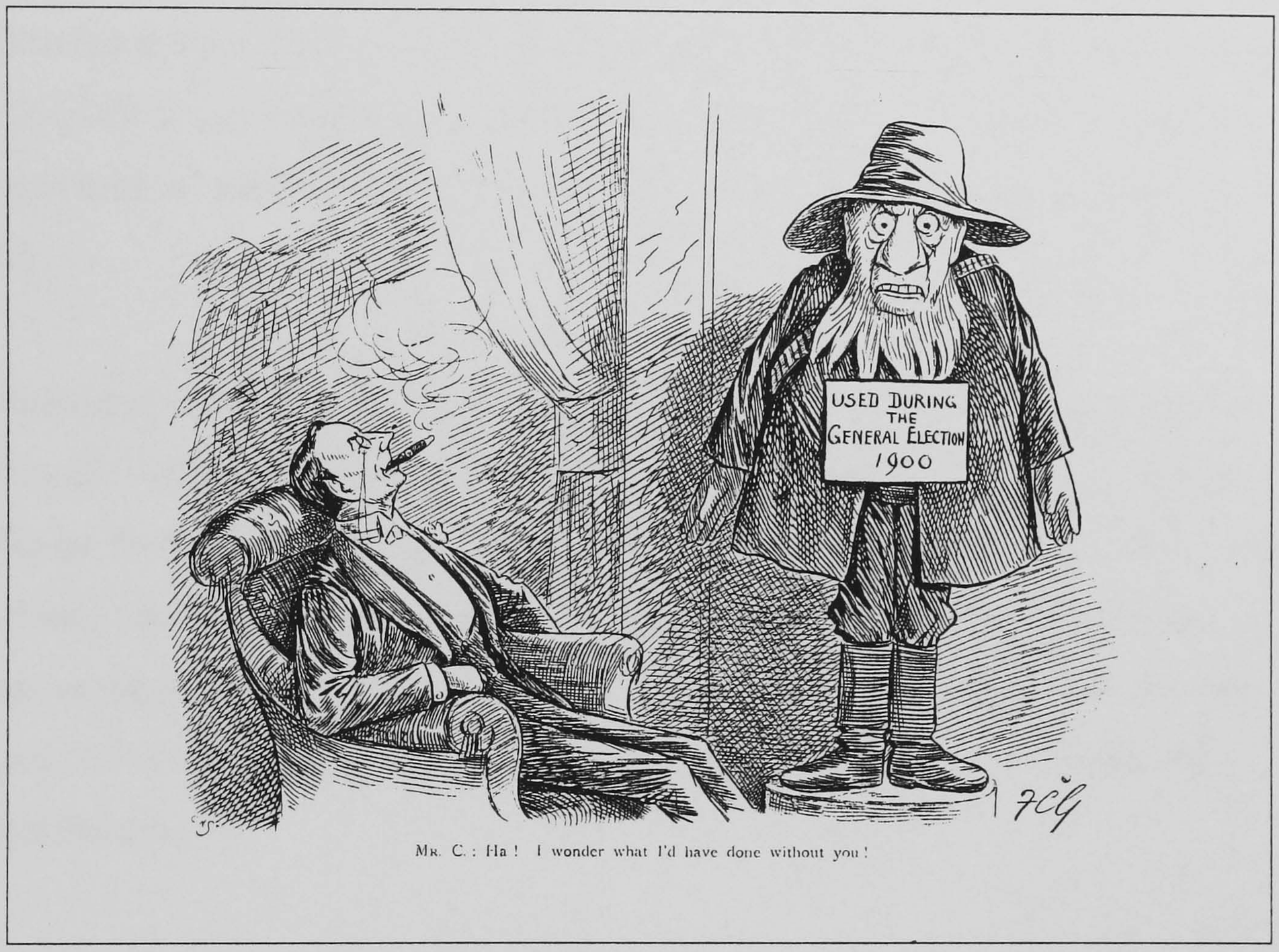
[70] By coincidence JON (W.J.Philpin Jones) later also worked at the *Daily Mail* with Illingworth as pocket cartoonist and was a close friend of his. He read the oration at Illingworth's funeral.

[71] Reuters also opened in London in 1851.

[72] According to press historian Dr Dennis Griffiths (conversation with MB), this colour was chosen as it made it easier to read under Victorian gas street-lighting.

Other daily papers using cartoonists during the Boer War were the *Daily Graphic* (including Phil May - who greatly simplified drawing style - Reginald Cleaver, E.J.Sullivan, Thomas Downey and others), the *Daily Chronicle* (e.g. David Wilson and Linley Sambourne)[73] and the *Daily Express*. This period also saw the introduction of the first ever illustrated postcards and political war cartoons were also used on these by artists such as Lance Thackeray and F.C.Gould, often reproduced from their newspaper work.



MR. C.: Ha! I wonder what I'd have done without you!

Mr C.: *'Ha! I wonder what I'd have done without you!'*

Fig.6. 'A Bogy Score', Francis Carruthers Gould (1844-1925), *Westminster Gazette*, 6 October 1900.

The bogeyman in this cartoon published during the Khaki Election of 1900 is 'Oom Paul' (Uncle Paul) Kruger, the South African Boer leader, during the Boer War against Britain. 'Mr C.' is Joseph Chamberlain, leader of the Liberal Unionists and Secretary for the Colonies in the coalition Government - depicted wearing his trademark monocle and orchid buttonhole - who is thanking the spectre of the Boer War for election success at home. (Though Gould's work was mostly domestic in nature he did occasionally draw political war cartoons, as here.)

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[73] Sambourne later (1901) succeeded Sir John Tenniel to become the main political cartoonist on *Punch* until his death in 1910 when he was himself succeeded by Illingworth's predecessor Bernard Partridge.

The Boer War was also the first (relatively small-scale) total war in that civilians (in Africa, though not at home in the UK) were directly involved in the conflict - it was not just military forces fighting each other. In addition it saw the introduction (by the British) of concentration camps (invented by Lord Kitchener - 20,000 died in the camps), guerrilla warfare, commandos, the increased use of balloons for artillery spotting and the final abolition (in 1902) of the formal British red-coat uniform (which was totally unsuitable against camouflaged guerrillas) – all of which provided material for cartoonists. It was also a salutary lesson in warfare: the mighty British forces were held to ransom by much smaller rebel bands (it took 2½ years for 450,000 UK troops to beat 50.000 Boers). The result of the war was the total reorganisation of the British Army when Haldane took over as War Secretary in 1905.

Caricatures focussed on the Boer leader Paul Kruger, Queen Victoria (who died during the war in 1901), British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, Secretary for the Colonies Joseph Chamberlain, General Sir Redvers Buller, Lord Kitchener, Field Marshal Lord Roberts and Robert Baden-Powell, the hero of Mafeking. Other figures captured by the political cartoonists' pen at this time would later become famous for other reasons. These included Winston Churchill, John French and Lloyd George.

Semi-political cartoon strips also appeared during the Boer War. These included such characters as ''Airy Alf and Bouncing Bill' who helped Kitchener (*Big Budget*), 'Weary Willy and Tired Tim' who helped Redvers Buller, and 'Bounderby Bounce' who helped Kitchener and Lord Roberts.

5. Political War Cartoonists and the Mass Market Press: The First World War

The first major conflict of the 20th century in which Britain was involved was the First World War (1914-18). Indeed, the Battle of Mons was the first battle the British Army had fought in Europe since Waterloo.

At the turn of century still more advances in new technology had led to a proliferation of newspapers being set up and most of the papers which would

feature political cartoonists in the Great War had established their artists long before the conflict broke out. Already mentioned among these were the main London evening papers, the *Westminster Gazette* (Gould, 1893). the *Pall Mall Gazette* (Halkett, 1892 [d.1918]), the *Star* (GAS Stevens)[74] and the *Evening News* (Poy from 1913). [75] In addition there were the new mass-market morning papers: the *Daily Mail* (various freelance cartoonists, including Rip, from 1896).[76] the *Daily Mirror*, which by 1914 was the biggest-selling paper in Britain (Haselden from 1904),[77] the *Daily Sketch* (Toy, d.1915), the *Daily Express* (Strube from 1912), the *Daily Herald* (Dyson from 1912) and the *Daily Graphic* (Jack Walker) as well as influential regional papers such as the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (Poy from 1905) and Cardiff's *Western Mail* (Staniforth from 1893)[78] - especially when Welshman Lloyd George became Prime Minister in 1916 (Fig. 7).

New magazines featuring political cartoons were set up during the war, such as *The Passing Show* (1915, like *Punch* but cheaper)[79] and *Blighty* (1916). Old stalwarts such as *Punch* (Partridge from 1910 and his deputy Raven Hill),[80] *Bystander*, *London Opinion* (Bert Thomas, 1909) and the *Humorist*[81] also continued to publish them as did the big weekly newspapers.

Unlike in previous conflicts, a great many cartoonists served in the Forces during the First World War and many saw action at the front. Those serving in the Artists' Rifles included Bert Thomas (who received an MBE for his war posters), Lance Thackeray, James Thorpe, Sidney Strube, Wyndham Robinson, Millar Watt and Fred Buchanan, and others served in the Navy and the newly formed Royal Air Force. Some even achieved high rank or were decorated for valour (e.g. *Punch*'s

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[74] The predecessor of David Low.
[75] Later Illingworth's predecessor on the *Daily Mail*.
[76] The *Daily Mail* did not have a separate cartoonist at this stage but from 1913 often reprinted Poy's cartoons from the *Evening News* among others (see Chapter 2).
[77] At first a political cartoonist and promoted as a new Gould, but later famous for his creation of the characters 'Big Willie and Little Willie' satirising the Kaiser and his son which Wilhelm himself later said were 'damnably effective' .
[78] Whom Illingworth succeeded on the paper in 1921. See also Chapter 3.
[79] Illingworth contributed to this from 1923 and its art editor later became his agent.
[80] Illingworth became lead cartoonist on *Punch* in 1949.
[81] Illingworth also contributed to these last two magazines.

DAILY SKETCH.

MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1909.

The Editor of the DAILY SKETCH *does not in any way hold himself responsible for the return of rejected MSS. or photographs; but when a stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed all endeavours will be made to return contributions promptly.*

LONDON: *118, Fleet-street.*
MANCHESTER: *Mark-lane.*
PARIS: *32, rue Louis le Grand, Boulevard des Italiens.*

Cheer Up!

's a miserable world that we are living in just ow. All sorts of things are wrong with it. here seems to be a separate nightmare waiting und the corner for every single one of us, and om the millionaire who shudders when he hears ie name of Lloyd George to the pauper who ears rumours of the destruction of his familiar d workhouse, there is sorrow in the land.

Men, women, and children can't sleep o' nights r fear of the Germans, or the noise of those who out for members of the Territorial Army. oung men lounging in their pet pubs, are sturbed by visions of a possible time in the ture when they may be forced to do drill and mp, and a lot of other unpleasant, healthy ings. Politicians are at work drawing up plans r their own protection from the militant ffragists, while in their hearts they know that their precautions are in vain. Parsons spend ary hours in trying to invent schemes for inging people back to the churchgoing habits of ir fathers. Teetotalers are breaking their arts because they can't take away all the ences, and innkeepers are bemoaning the day at ever they entered a business which

SITTING FOR HIS PORTRAIT.

Daily Sketcher: "Here you are, sir. All your features faithfully portrayed. Look towards me, if you please."

Roosevelt's Jungle Repose.

[Ex-President Roosevelt is much annoyed at the American correspondents who are preparing to track him into the African forests. He says what he wants in the jungle is privacy, and he will use all his influence to obtain it.]

I'd be monarch of all I survey,
With no one about to dispute,
No Pressman to mark what I slay,
No camera-fiend to snap-shoot.
Publicity, where are thy charms?
To be sport for the Trust and of "graft"

Alone, I'd be hunting the snark,
Unaided, the crocodile slay;
I'd shoot alligators at dark,
The fierce jabberwocky by day.
But Pressmen may come by the score,
They threaten to lie in long lairs

COUNT HANNIBAL.

Oscar Asche's Novel Stage Effects.

THE ACTOR INTERVIEWED.

The noise of crowds by gramophones, distant murmurings, worked by an electric switch, and lighting effects worked by the actor himself, are some of the devices upon which Mr. Oscar Asche will depend in his production of "Count Hannibal" on Thursday evening at Bristol.

It is to be one of the greatest theatrical enterprises ever undertaken, and the fact that Mr Asche and his company have been regularly rehearsing the play since early in the New Year shows what pains the actor-manager is taking in order that nothing shall be left to chance.

When the piece is first seen by the public on the stage of the Prince's Theatre, Bristol, nearly one hundred people will be found to be participating in the production.

Mr. Asche, in the completeness of his preparations, last week sent to London for fifteen of his principal "supers," and they have been engaged in practising the "crowding" of the stage, and making up the tableau pictures which will bring the acts to a close.

Mr. Asche has conceived some highly ingenious mechanical effects, and his "effects plot" and "light plot" are probably the most elaborate and involved ever known in the history of the stage.

But, as Mr. Asche said in the course of a chat with a *Daily Sketch* special representative the other evening, "the play's the thing."

"Have you kept strictly to Mr. Stanley Weyman's book in your adaptation?"

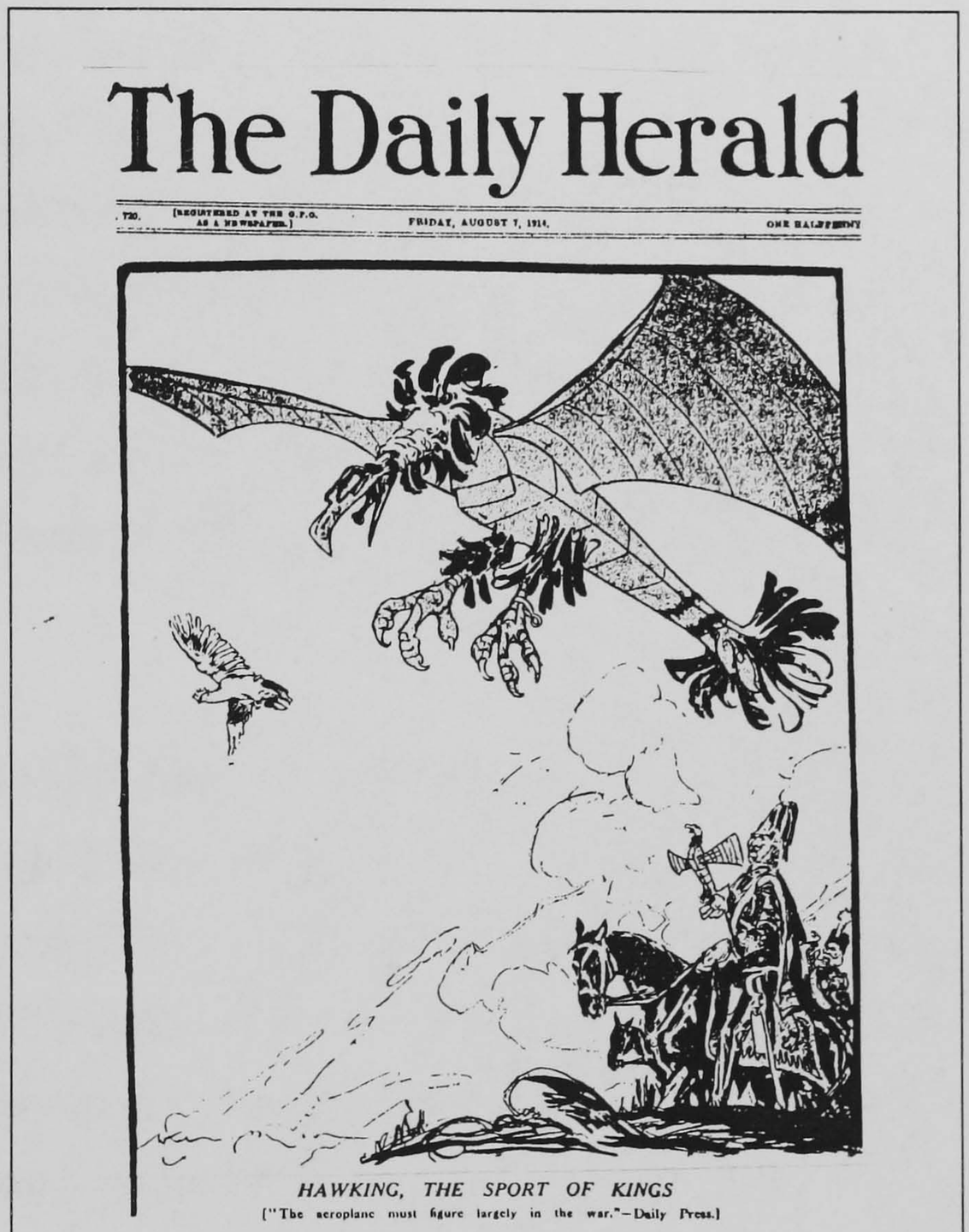
"Yes, strictly is the word," replied Mr. Asche. "You may take it that it is entirely Weyman, as far as dialogue and action go. And it [illegible]

Fig.7. (Leader page detail), *Daily Sketch*, 15 March 1909.

Of the new mass-market newspapers that emerged at the turn of the century surprisingly few had political/editorial cartoons in their first issue, though most contained illustrations. The *Daily Express*, which was launched on 24 April 1900, published the first of a series of imaginary celebrity caricatures by Henry Mayer 'When They Grow Old. - No.1. Mr Cecil Rhodes' , but the *Daily Mirror* (launched 2 November 1903 originally as a newspaper aimed at women) only contained fashion drawings. And the *Daily Mail*, which was launched on 4 May 1896, did not reproduce its own cartoons until August that year (and then they were buried in the 'Magazine' section of the paper - see Chapter 2). However, from issue No.1 the *Daily Sketch* had political cartoons placed on the main editorial page, as can be seen above. Positioned beside the leader on page 3, the drawing shown is in fact by 'Poy' (Percy Fearon, 1874-1948) who moved to the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* in 1905 and became political cartoonist on the *Evening News* in 1913 from where his cartoons were frequently reproduced in the *Daily Mail*, for whom he worked full time from 1935 until he retired in 1938 - being replaced by Leslie Illingworth (see also Chapters 2 and 3). Poy's successor at the *Daily Sketch* was W.H.Toy (1885-1915).

main sporting artist G.D.Armour became a Lieutenant-Colonel and was awarded an OBE, E.H.Shepard of 'Winnie the Pooh' fame received a Military Cross, Arthur Watts of *Punch*, who was in the Zeebrugge Raid, was twice awarded a DSO, and the caricaturist A.W.Lloyd received a Military Cross). Others also worked as official war artists (e.g Will Dyson).

Common caricatures of the enemy which featured in political war cartoons of this period included the Kaiser with upturned moustache and cuirassier uniform (or 'Admiral of the Atlantic' outfit), Little Willie (his son), Hindenburg, Count Zeppelin, Tirpitz and von Richthofen and their allies Franz Josef of Austria, Ferdinand I of Bulgaria and Mehmed V of Turkey. In addition to the stereotypes of soldiers in *pickelhauber* spiked helmets, sausages, dachshunds (especially as sausage dogs) and sauerkraut (hence 'Krauts'), the term 'Hun' was used for the first time by a *Daily Mail* journalist to describe the Germans. There were also attacks on the *Hymn of Hate* ('Haβ Gesang Gegen England') written by Ernst Lissauer, 'Gott


The Daily Herald

. 720. [REGISTERED AT THE G.P.O. AS A NEWSPAPER.] FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1914. ONE HALFPENNY

HAWKING, THE SPORT OF KINGS

["The aeroplane must figure largely in the war."—Daily Press.]

Fig.8. 'Hawking, the Sport of Kings', Will Dyson (1880-1938), *Daily Herald*, 7 August 1914.

The Australian Will Dyson, who moved to Britain in 1909, drew some very powerful political war cartoons during the First World War such as this one drawn three days after it began, featuring the Kaiser and Austrian Emperor Franz Josef whose 'hawk' aircaft are seen attacking the dove of peace. The Labour Party-controlled *Daily Herald* was so impressed by Dyson's work that the whole front page of the broadsheet newspaper was devoted to his cartoons. (See also Chapter 2.)

Strafe England' ('May God Punish England', and its response 'Er Strafe Es'). 'Gott Mit Uns' ('God is With Us'), *Kultur*, the goose step and jackboots. Figure 8 shows an example from the *Daily Herald* by Will Dyson.

The allies, by contrast, were shown in heroic terms, especially Lord Kitchener (Secretary of War 1914-16) and Haig (who replaced General French as Commander-in-Chief on the Western Front in 1915). However, very few other generals were caricatured and instead the cartoonists focussed on royalty - especially when George V (king since 1910) became the first British king to visit the front since George II did so in 1743 - folk heroes such as T.E. Lawrence ('Lawrence of Arabia'), and the main political leaders such as Lloyd George, Prime Minister Asquith, and Britain's French allies 'The Tiger' Clemenceau and Pétain. New officer stereotypes also became established during the war - the colonel with his large waxed moustache, the captain wearing a monocle - and for the first time NCOs (sergeant majors etc) began to be attacked by cartoonists. In addition the arrival of women in the forces (the Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY), Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) and Women's Land Army) gave rise to much humour.

Caricatures apart, the topics covered by political cartoonists working for daily national newspapers during the First World War included conscription (not introduced in the UK until 1916, for unmarried men aged 18-41, though it had been in place in France and Germany before the war),[82] and developments in technology such as Zeppelins, aeroplanes, Gotha bombers, U-Boats, tanks, Big Bertha siege guns, poison gas, machine-guns, flame-throwers and barbed wire. Other subjects included the royal family changing its name to Windsor from the Germanic Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1917), and atrocities such as the sinking of the cruise ship *Lusitania* (which by coincidence was also carrying 5000 boxes of ammunition...), the Irish Uprising (1916), the execution of Nurse Cavell (and German 'frightfulness' in general), the Peace Conference at Versailles (especially Will Dyson's prophetic

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[82] Notable amongst these attacks was the Australian-born Will Dyson's anti-conscription collection *Conscript 'Em* (London, 1915) attacking Northcliffe, owner of the *Daily Mail*, who campaigned for conscription.

Daily Herald cartoon predicting the outbreak of the *Second* World War c.1940) and Russia's departure from the war in 1917 and the arrival of the USA. Taxation and rationing at home were also covered (a symptom of which was that the price of the *Daily Mirror* rose to 1d in February 1917 after the Germans began an unrestricted U-boat campaign, blocking the import of woodpulp), as were hoarders (`food hogs`) and black marketeers. There were also the first ever `home front` cartoons as civilians in Britain - far from the military front lines in mainland Europe - were bombed for the first time.

Another innovation was a new naturalistic treatment of troops in cartoons - no longer were they faceless soldiers but real men with character. In addition they displayed remarkable good-spirits, despite the appalling conditions. Much of this humour, delivered while shells exploded etc., was either based on or alluded to normal life back home (e.g. wasp stings, mice and bad tobacco). [83]

However, one of the most important developments in political cartooning during the First World War was its use as allied propaganda (it is interesting to note that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler said that everything he knew about propaganda he had learnt from the British in the First World War). A War Propaganda Bureau was set up at Wellington House, London, a Press Bureau and office of censors was instigated at the War Office and the Admiralty, and the proprietor of the *Daily Mail*, Lord Northcliffe, was appointed as Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries (1918). In addition the 1914 Defence of the Realm Act gave the government great powers (lampooned by the *Daily Mail*'s political cartoonist Poy using his character DORA), anti-strike legislation was introduced (1915) and the Bryce Report was published (Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages).

Propaganda and secrecy also led to rumours and misinformation, one particularly famous example being that 250,000 Russian troops had arrived in the UK en route to France. Leslie Illingworth's uncle Frank Illingworth drew a famous cartoon about

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[83] War cartoons had many uses apart from appearing in newpapers. Some, for example, also featured in commercial advertising (e.g. by Leo Cheney for Johnnie Walker whisky).

this which was published in *Punch* in the early part of the war.[84] There were also anti-war protests and such protesters, as well as Fifth Columnists and 'draft dodgers'. were not only attacked in cartoons (e.g. Poy's 'Cuthbert the White Rabbit' in the *Daily Mail* attacked both conscientious objectors and Whitehall staff who had not been called up) but also in real life - old ladies gave out white feathers (signifying cowardice) to men at home who were not in uniform.

Recruiting posters included Alfred Leete's 'Your Country Needs You' image of Lord Kitchener (later copied by Montgomery Flagg for the USA but featuring Uncle Sam).[85] David Wilson drew black propaganda posters about German nurses denying prisoners water etc and Bert Thomas drew a hugely successful cartoon ('Arf a Mo', Kaiser') for the tobacco-for-troops campaign and a massive poster on the National Gallery for the War Bonds campaign.

Even Bruce Bairnsfather, whose cartoons of war-weary troops were at first attacked by the military establishment, was eventually promoted to the Intelligence Department of the War Office to draw morale-boosting cartoons for French, Italian and US troops.[86]

Another aspect of First World War political cartoons was the division between humour and hatred. Though joke artists like H.M.Bateman and W.Heath Robinson had great fun at the Germans' expense, many political cartoonists were deadly serious in their work and drew with great venom. The Dutchman Louis Raemaekers' gruesome anti-Kaiser cartoons had led to his expulsion from Holland for endangering the country's neutrality. However, they were widely published elsewhere, especially in the UK in papers such as the *Daily Mail* in contrast to Poy's milder work in its pages. [87] The propaganda value of these drawings was

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[84] See Chapter 3.
[85] Leete also created the popular character 'Schmidt the Spy'.
[86] It is interesting to note that 'Old Bill' was as popular with the German troops as with the Allies.
[87] Poy was mainly working for the *Daily Mail*'s sister paper, the *Evening News*, but his cartoons were often reproduced in the *Daily Mail* (see Chapter 2).

enormous and as a result Raemaekers was promoted by Lloyd George himself to try and get the USA into the war. [88]

6. Political War Cartoonists in a Total War: The Second World War

As discussed above, political cartoonists had first made a wide impact in newspapers during the First World War. Some of these publications - such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Westminster Gazette* - were long gone by 1939, along with their important political cartoonists G.R.Halkett and F.C.Gould, respectively. [89]

However, many other newspapers which had employed political cartoonists in the 1914-18 war were still going strong, even if their artists had retired or died by 1939. These included the *Daily Mirror* (which had been the biggest-selling daily paper in the UK by 1914 and employed Haselden until 1940, though latterly as a strip cartoonist), the *Daily Sketch* (which had employed Toy until his death in 1915), the *Evening News* (which had employed Poy from 1913 until he joined the *Daily Mail* in 1935), the *Star* (which had employed Low, then Grimes until 1938 when he concentrated on 'All My Own Work' and was succeeded by Wyndham Robinson), the *Daily Express* (which had employed Strube since 1912), the *Daily Herald* (which had employed Dyson from 1912 until his death in 1938 when he was succeeded by Whitelaw), the *Daily Worker* (which had employed Gabriel since 1936 and also Jack Chen) as well as influential regional papers like the *Western Mail* (which had employed Staniforth 1893-1921, then Illingworth 1921-7 and then J.C.Walker on its sister paper, the *South Wales Evening Express*) and the *Manchester Daily Dispatch* (Butterworth from 1939). Up-market papers such as the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* did not have staff political cartoonists at this time (though the *Guardian* reproduced syndicated political cartoons such as those by Low, and the *Morning Post* employed Wyndham

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[88] There will be more discussion of this aspect of the wartime cartoonist's work in later chapters – especially as Illingworth (as will be seen) was very much against the extremes of anger and the use of what might be called the art of the bloody grotesque employed by the 'hate' school of graphic satire, whether in peacetime or war.

[89] Halkett died in 1918 and Gould in 1925.

Robinson as political cartoonist from 1932 until 1937 when it was absorbed by the *Daily Telegraph*).

By 1939 all had benefited from huge leaps forward in technology with the introduction of web presses that could print continuously from reels of paper rather than single sheets and at speeds unheard of only 20 years earlier. And massively improved transportation in the form of faster railways, motor transport and aircraft meant that both the acquiring of news and its dissemination in the form of newspapers was very much quicker.

In addition to newspapers, a number of magazines had emerged to join those already established and included political cartoons in their pages. As well as *London Opinion*, *John Bull*, *Blighty*, *Bystander* and others founded in previous decades, new on the scene and highly successful were *Men Only* (1935) and *Lilliput* (1937), amongst others. And amongst the artists on these publications were a new breed of cartoonist taught not by traditional methods at full-time schools of fine art and illustration but by correspondence courses at part-time schools such as Percy Bradshaw's The Press Art School in London that admitted a wide variety of pupils.

The subject matter and style of the work of these political war cartoonists of the 1939-45 period will be dealt with in the following chapters. However, one aspect of being a cartoonist in Fleet Street during the Second World War which will be mentioned briefly here - and which differed in a significant degree to the situation of war cartoonists in any previous conflict - was the actual physical danger of going to work in an area and in buildings that were specifically targeted by enemy bombers and were subsequently positioned right in the heart of the London Blitz.

Even David Low, who worked from his studio in Hampstead rather than the *Evening Standard*'s office in Shoe Lane in the City, suffered from the difficulties of working in a total war environment where civilians at home were victims of nightly attack from the enemy:

'The physical conditions for cartooning during the blasting of London were discouraging...I would rise exhausted from the coma that passed for sleep in one of our "fortified" rooms (sandbags, beams and sheet iron) huddled with the other nine members of my household. I would walk over the Heath, side-stepping the bomb-holes, to my studio with its large windows criss-crossed with adhesive strips of cellophane, optimistically intended to prevent my becoming a human pin-cushion if an "incident" happened. One could hardly be expected to feel in form to produce wit or good design...' [90]

Government controls were another major factor in the political cartoonist's life in the Second World War, as they had been to a much lesser degree in the 1914-18 conflict. As has been mentioned earlier, radio was the prime source of news for journalists - including cartoonists – as well as the general public in the 1920s and '30s but this was quickly put under the control of the Government during the war years along with much else and it was not always clear what was really going on. As Angus Calder has pointed out:

'Under the Emergency Powers Act, the Government could do virtually what it liked with the freedom and property of any citizen simply by issuing the appropriate regulation. Censorship was imposed on overseas mail, and telephone trunk lines, though the public did not know this, were tapped...The press, frustrated by lack of news, filled their pages in the first autumn of war by attacking the uses which the bureaucracy made of its new powers. The new Ministry of Information (which told the papers what they might not say) was a prime target for criticism, along with the Office of Works.'[91]

The following cartoon by Illingworth is one of many attacking censorship drawn by Fleet Street cartoonists at this time (Fig. 9).

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[90] David Low, *Low's Autobiography* (London, 1956), p.332.

Fig. 9. 'Dead Weight', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 2 July 1941.

Even as late as 1941 the public irritation with lack of news was still evident as this highly symbolic cartoon by Illingworth shows (the tiny muzzled donkey is Minister of Information Duff Cooper, who was replaced soon after this). On at least two earlier occasions (29 July and 7 December 1940) the *Daily Mail*'s leader column had openly criticised the lack of information the government gave the public (both items were accompanied by equally cutting Illingworth cartoons). In the earlier of these, news of the sinking of the *Lancastria* on 17 June was not announced in Britain until it had first been published in the USA on 24 July, though Germany had broadcast the information the next day.

On 3 September 1939 the BBC closed down its regional services and supplied only one 'Home Service' with news broadcasts on the hour, every hour from 7am until midnight. However, with regard to radio news, of course, there was also, almost from the beginning, the confusion caused by English-language German propaganda broadcasts by William Joyce, nicknamed 'Lord Haw Haw' by a columnist on the *Daily Express* on 18 September 1939.

> 'The Haw Haw broadcasts aimed to undermine British confidence in the news supplied by the censored press, as well as making direct propaganda against Winston Churchill...the Jews and the plutocracy...Curiosity, and the absence of absorbing war news, gained him an enormous audience. A survey in the first autumn of war

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[91] Angus Calder, op.cit., p.66.

> suggested that six million adults - a sixth of the listening public - tuned in regularly to Haw Haw and another eighteen million listened occasionally.'[92]

Unlike in the First World War when there was no radio, the presence of Lord Haw Haw and the BBC's versions of the news - accurate or otherwise - made a considerable difference to the work of newspaper journalists and cartoonists. As Cecil King (editor of the *Daily Mirror*) wrote later:

> 'One point we clear'y had in view was that the paper had to be edited on the assumption that our readers listened to the BBC news every morning and that...any attempt to get news scoops was a waste of effort, though broadcasting had then been in existence for over ten years and the [other] papers were in the main edited as if the BBC did not exist.'[93]

As for the newspaper's creative staff itself, most of Fleet Street's best young reporters and editors were away - either fighting in the war, running forces newspapers or working for the government's Ministry of Information.[94] A great many of the paper's cartoonists had also either volunteered to join the forces or else failed to get special dispensation to remain at home. (Amongst these were Julian Phipps of the *Daily Mail*.) However, as has been noted earlier, a significant number of the national daily newspaper cartoonists were either too old for call-up or would have been excused on health grounds anyway.

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[92] Angus Calder, op.cit, p.65.

[93] Cecil King, *Strictly Personal* (London, 1969), p.105.

[94] The *Mirror's* Hugh Cudlipp and Cassandra, for example, were working for *Eighth Army News* in Africa and Italy with cartoonist JON (W.J.P. Jones) creator of the 'Two Types' characters and later himself pocket cartoonist on the *Daily Mail*. John Junor (later editor of the *Express*) had spent the last year of the war in the Admiralty editing a Fleet Air Arm magazine. Monty Fresco, an award-winning photographer for the *Daily Mail* (and later chief photographer for the Topical Press Agency - very few newspapers had their own photographers at this time and used agency work), served in the infantry and the photographic section of the Royal Engineers. In 1942 Frank Owen, editor of the *Evening Standard*, resigned to join the Royal Armoured Corps and was replaced by Fleet Street's youngest ever editor, 28-year-old Michael Foot (who suffered from asthma and thus was unfit for military service). Some, of course, got captured by the enemy - the *Express* lost Giles Romilly (a nephew of Churchill) this way at Narvik and also Selkirk Panton who had failed to escape from Denmark.

A second factor that affected the wartime journalist's – and hence also the political war cartoonist's – work was government censorship of the news once it had been received by the newspaper. This had grown considerably since the First World War. Arthur Christiansen, editor of the *Daily Express*, commented later on the daily 'shoals' of D-(or Defence) Notices that were sent to his office:

> 'I reckon there must have been 5,000 D-Notices before V-Day in 1945: don't do this; no mention of that. Censorship on newspapers throughout the war was voluntary, but the Government left the editors in no doubt whatsoever that infringement of the D-Notices would be punished by either imprisonment or suppression of the newspaper itself.'[95]

The government now also had the power to close down a newspaper in the interests of national security, a power it actually used in one case when the Communist *Daily Worker* was closed down by Home Secretary Herbert Morrison for 19 months in 1941. The paper had been criticising the government's stance on the war for some time and also claimed that while people died capitalists and imperialists were making big profits. Parliament voted by 297 to 11 to back its closure but it was a worrying precedent for those, such as Aneurin Bevan, who championed a free press in Britain. The paper's political cartoonist at the time was the Chinese-born Jack Chen (Gabriel had been called up by this time and was serving in the Royal Artillery - though he was kept under observation by the War Office as a 'Dangerous Red'). One of his cartoons, the last political cartoon to appear in the paper before it was closed down, is shown below (Fig. 10).

Morrison's tough stance on anyone attacking the government was also evident in the case of Philip Zec's famous cartoon for the *Daily Mirror* which nearly led to the paper's closure and became a *cause célèbre* (see Chapter 7).

Fig. 10. 'Their Gallant Allies', Jack Chen (b.1908), *Daily Worker*, 20 January 1941.

Jack Chen (whose real name was Ch'en I-fan) was born in China and began to draw cartoons for the Chinese press in 1926 before moving to study art in Moscow (his student photo of Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, was used on the front page of *Pravda* and was later made into a montage poster by the cartoonist Deni). He later became chief cartoonist and Art Editor of *Moscow News* (staffed by English and American journalists) and came to Britain in the 1930s, working for *Tribune*, *Our Time* and the *Daily Worker*. This cartoon, the last one published before the *Daily Worker* was closed down for 15 months by the government, shows Churchill outside the Houses of Parliament inspecting a line-up that consists of figures labelled: 'Dictator Salazar' (Portugal), 'Dictator Metaxas' (Greece, who died soon after), 'Fascist Staremberg' [sic] (Starhemberg, Austria) , 'Dictator [Indian] Princes' amongst others, with Polish Prime Minister Sikorski holding a flag that reads 'War on USSR, Peace with Italy . The implication is that these are not worthy allies of the British.

There were also a number of obstacles to actually publishing the news (and hence cartoons) during the war. The first of these was the physical restrictions imposed by wartime conditions themselves - paper rationing being the prime consideration. Regarding the size of the paper, as Arthur Christiansen has said:

> 'Immediately war broke out the *Daily Express* had been reduced from twenty-four pages to twelve; then to eight, then six, until, when the blitz on London began, we were working on only four. It was then that we really learnt what compression meant: thirty items to a page was the rule and if we fell below that number there was an inquest.'[96]

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[95] Arthur Christiansen, *Headlines All My Life* (London, 1961), p.210.
[96] Ibid., pp.189-90.

And the shortage of newsprint paper was the direct reason for the ending of Low's popular weekly whole-page multi-cartoon feature 'Topical Budget'. Begun on Saturday 21 April 1934 it introduced regular jokes by his famous Colonel Blimp character, amongst others, and ceased on 16 March 1940.

Another force, of course, was the newspaper editor's, proprietor's or art editor's own decision about whether to publish what the cartoonist (or indeed any journalist) had produced. On the whole this was not a major problem as cartoonists, like other journalists, were usually fairly in tune with the outlook of the individual newspaper they worked for.

When Zec first joined the *Mirror* he made the mistake of asking the editor whether the first cartoon he drew was the sort of thing they were looking for:

> 'In the early days, since I had never done any cartoons before, I had no idea what was required. I made the error of showing [Bart] a cartoon and saying "Is this what you wanted?" He didn't like that a bit. What he said to me was, "What do you mean is that what *I* want? Is that what *you* want? Whatever you've got the nerve to draw, I've got the nerve to publish." So I hastily had the sense to say, "Of course that's not what I meant. What I meant was is this the type of cartoon you want to see in the *Mirror*. You're not going to change it, I wouldn't allow that.'[97]

He was also very closely in touch with his friend Bill Connor who as 'Cassandra' was the most dynamic journalist on the paper and indeed Cassandra often gave Zec ideas and captions for cartoons (including the famous 'Price of Petrol' cartoon that nearly closed down the paper - see Chapter 7): 'If he had an idea for a cartoon I'd use it - if it was a good one' [98] and he would also show his cartoons to others in the office for their opinion, e.g. Basil Nicholson, Hugh Cudlipp, Cecil Thomas and Bart.

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[97] Tape-recorded interview by Keith Mackenzie with Philip Zec, 8 June 1978, held in the collection of University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre (henceforth Zec Tape).
[98] Zec Tape.

Vicky on the *News Chronicle* had a harder time of it simply because he had trouble with the language, with what it means to be British and with knowing what was or was not generally acceptable to the British public. The upshot of this was that in 1947 he actually published a unique collection of these historic 'out-takes' by the editor Gerald Barry under the title *The Editor Regrets: Unpublished Cartoons by Vicky* with an Introduction by Barry himself.

David Low on the *Evening Standard* always claimed that he never submitted to editorial control and Beaverbrook (though technically proprietor and not editor) for his part always maintained that he never interfered with the work of his staff - they both signed a contract to this effect when Low joined the paper in 1927. However, as a recent PhD thesis has shown[99] this was far from being the case. Indeed the author's analysis seems to imply that the total comes to 'a very conservative approximation of 164 cartoons having been intentionally left out'[100] between 1927 and 1949 when he left the paper, the highest peaks of these being between 1937 and 1939 during the appeasement era. (However, it should also be noted that Low, like Carl Giles on the *Daily Express*, was not technically a *staff* artist but rather a 'signed contributor'. In addition, Beaverbrook also claimed not to interfere with the work of his other cartoonists, such as Strube and Giles.)

The case of Vicky and Low would also seem to support Illingworth's own disdain for 'zealots' (see Chapter 5) – what is the point in being zealous if your cartoons are not published?

As for Illingworth himself, the statistics in Chapter 4 will show that publication of his daily cartoons was almost completely uninterrupted throughout the war - except when he was (briefly) on holiday. However, this is not to say that his cartoons were not tinkered with, none the less. A particular case in point is a drawing from 1942 featuring a dead German who faces right on the original but was 'flopped' on the printed version with new lettering added to compensate (Fig. 11).

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[99] Timothy Benson, 'Low and Lord Beaverbrook: The Case of a Cartoonist's Autonomy' (PhD thesis, University of Kent, Canterbury, 1998).
[100] Ibid., p.16.

Fig. 11. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 6 November 1942.

In this cartoon the printed version has been completely 'flopped' (reversed) from Illingworth's original. As a result, Illingworth had to reletter the words ' "Invincible Germans" Myth', swap the wristwatch to the figure's other arm, and redraw the swastika on his shirt.

Another example from 27 May 1940 - which shows an RAF fighting-cock (complete with roundels on its wings) tearing feathers out of a Nazi vulture in a symbolic version of the Battle of Britain - has three alternative captions written in pencil on the original drawing. These are: 'The Good Plucked 'Un' , 'The Well Plucked One' and 'The English Game Cock'. The printed version has 'The British Game-Cock'. However, the change of title for this cartoon was most probably to avoid the rather laboured pun on 'Hun'. Another case is the original drawing for the cartoon for 8 November 1939 which has, in Illingworth's handwriting, the captions 'But I ordered more last week' and 'The Whitehall Dairy Boy Delivers the Goods'. The final printed caption was 'And now, Mister Morrison, you might like to explain what made you think I ordered THIS'. And there are numerous occasions when Illingworth's spelling has been corrected.

Judging from other comments on the original drawings, some of Illingworth's cartoons themselves - not just their captions - appear not to have met with the full approval of the editor (or art editor) and hence were only used for one edition of the London version of the *Daily Mail* (e.g. 13 April 1945, see Fig.12).

And Figure 13 shows a cartoon that was only used for the Manchester edition of the paper while the main edition ran a completely different drawing on the same subject.

However, the argument put forward by some that Illingworth did not produce his own ideas would not appear to have any foundation in fact. That his *Punch* drawings were produced this way is certainly no revelation - since the beginning of the magazine the big cartoon was decided by a weekly committee and then the artist was asked to draw it. Over the years Leech, Tenniel, Sambourne, Partridge, Illingworth and others all worked this way. But there is no indication that Illingworth's daily newspaper work was anything other than his own. Indeed, there would have been little time for consultation on a daily paper in peacetime, let alone in wartime. Though the *Daily Mail*'s current cartoonist, Mac, usually provides six roughs to show the editor who then chooses one, Illingworth is on record as saying that he did three or four but was adamant that his ideas were entirely his own:

> 'I've never been told what to do. Never, never, never. The best editor is a man that will look at your roughs and say "Oh, wonderful! Good! That's the one I want".'[101]

And there is no reason to assume that he produced his war work in any other way. As has been seen, it may well have been that other people (e.g. the editor or art editor) changed or indeed on occasion created the captions for his cartoons once they were drawn, but the idea for the drawing was always produced before the

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[101] 'The Devastating Doodles of Illingworth', *Observer*, 23 August 1970.

Fig.12. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail* (first edition only), 13 April 1945.

A very unusual example of an Illingworth cartoon being dropped from the main edition of the newspaper. It many ways one can understand the reason why it was cut. As the Allies raced across Germany, Nazi soldiers surrendered in thousands and the local population welcomed the liberators. However, there were also reports of Allied POWs being forced to march long distances on starvation rations by the retreating Germans and that of 6000 Russians, Britains and Americans treated this way only 553 were still alive. As the cartoon shows, the apparent warmth of the German civilians was received with some cynicism by the Allies (the bottle of wine is labelled Liebfraumilch, a popular white variety). However, an insensitive cartoon like this (unusually brutal for Illingworth) would not have been viewed by the authorities in Britain as being helpful for those trying to cement a lasting peace. (Unfortunately the files do not remain to prove whether it was dropped by the *Daily Mail* itself or whether government departments exerted some influence.)

words that accompanied it. And, in fact, in many cases the caption adds nothing of significance to the drawing - the picture gives the whole message. See for example his cartoons for 17 July, 19 July, 20 July, 22 July, 26 July and 7 August 1940. Many of his drawings have no captions at all and for most of the others the captions actually consist of dialogue which could just as well have appeared as a speech bubble in the cartoon itself (as was often the case in other cartoons).[102]

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[102] See also Chapter 5.

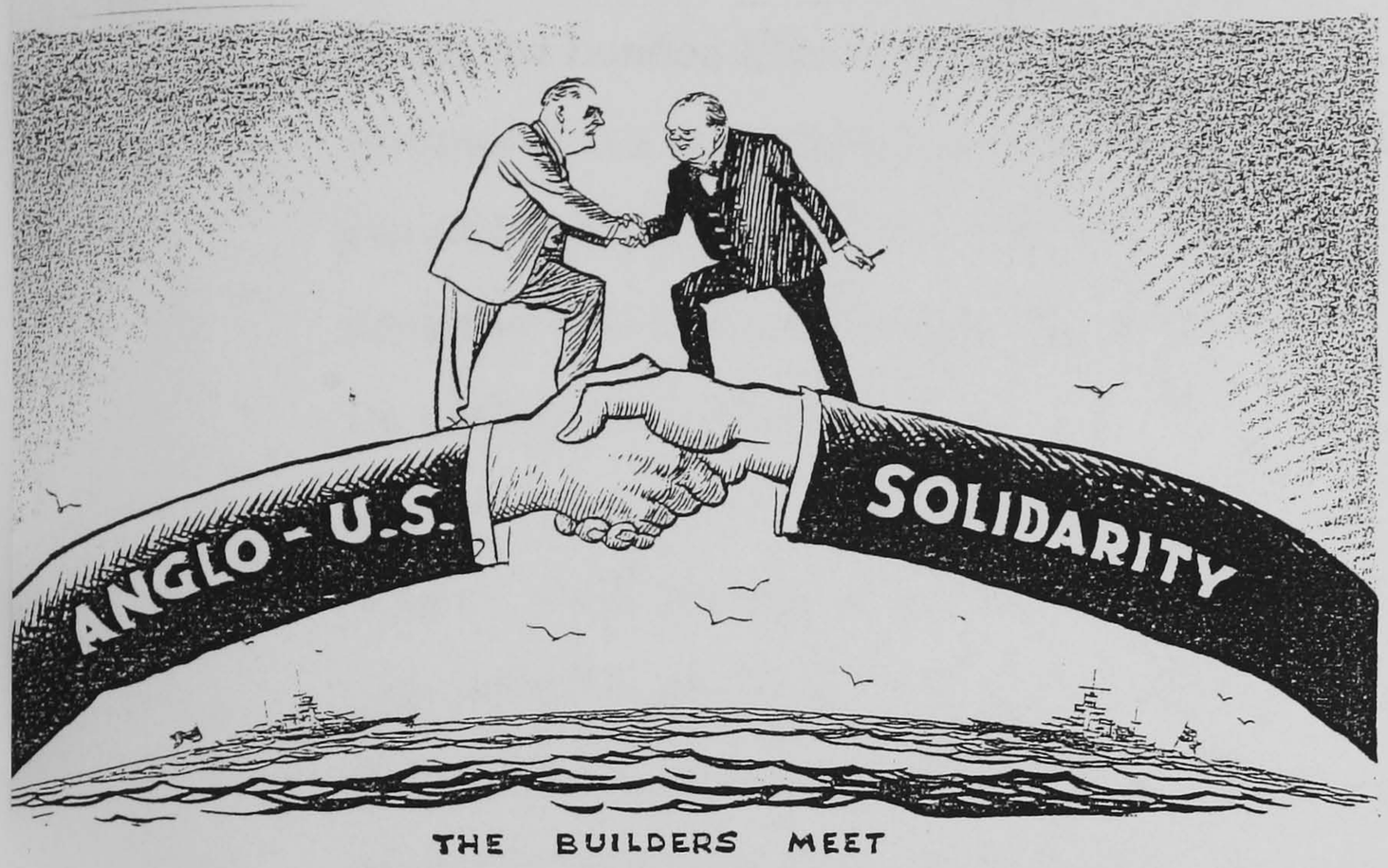

Fig. 13A (left). 'The Builders Meet', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail* (Manchester edition), 15 August 1941.
Fig.13B (right). 'The Torch', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail* (London and national edition), 15 August 1941.

A very rare case of Illingworth drawing two cartoons on the same day and, by the same token, a rare case of the earlier version ('The Builders Meet') not being seen as good enough for the London and national edition. The decision to print the Manchester version would have been purely one of time - the cartoon for the main northern edition had to be drawn much earlier in the day for it to be printed in time. Also it is not clear whether it was the editor's choice or Illingworth's not to run the 'Builders' drawing in London. It could well have been that Illingworth himself was not happy with it and drew another. It is undoubtedly true that the later drawing is a far more successful cartoon, with Churchill and Roosevelt about to carry the torch of World Liberty from the hands of the Statue of Liberty in New York to war-torn Europe (represented as a chained hand in the background). Another possibility is that the same idea may have been drawn by another cartoonist and the *Daily Mail* wanted to avoid this (see also Chapter 7).

Conclusion

By examining the evolution of the political war cartoon in Britain from a purely historical perspective this chapter has shed considerable light on what it means to be a political war cartoonist in general. It has shown how artists began work producing limited edition prints in the days before the arrival of the illustrated periodical press and then with developments in technology transferred their skills to magazines and eventually to newspapers. It has also given a broad overview of the kind of subject matter that has concerned political war cartoonists for the past three centuries, a point that will be looked at in more detail later in this thesis.

In addition, as a result of the brief examination of the many problems facing the political cartoonist in wartime - from the physical hazards of working in Fleet Street

during the London Blitz to paper rationing, as well as government and editorial constraints that were brought to bear on his work - it would seem that the political war cartoonist was a member of an elite group of communicators, a special kind of journalist who had considerable power and influence and was greatly respected by his newspaper colleagues.

Chapter 3 will investigate what it is that makes a political war cartoonist - what constitutes his mind-set, as it were - and will do so by looking at a single artists' (Illingworth's) own personal development - his upbringing, art education and previous experience as a cartoonist, political or otherwise, in wartime and peace. However, before this it is important to ascertain exactly what being a war cartoonist on a daily newspaper actually implies, and what it is that is expected of the artist by the publication for which he works.

Chapter 2

The Daily Mail *and its War Cartoonists, 1896-1945*

'One of the most interesting developments of modern times is the art of political cartooning. Dozens of newspapers scattered throughout the kingdom now indulge in a political cartoon every week, although less than fifty years ago the number was limited to two or three...Indeed it is said on excellent authority that politicians consider it such a mark of honour to be cartooned that many send their best photographs to the well-known cartoonists, and it is vigorously maintained by many that a politician does not amount to much until he has been cartooned. After that distinction he is supposed to have advanced several steps and to have arrived at a distinction that makes him a force of some moment.' (*Daily Mail*, 3 August 1896)

'Now that the war has begun in grim earnest there is a chance for some ambitious cartoonist to make a great reputation. A political cartoonist is the rarest of all artists.' (*Daily Mail*, 4 November 1899)

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to try and discover, again by historical survey, what it means to be a political cartoonist on a particular mass-market daily newspaper in wartime. It thus will trace the political, journalistic and especially graphical/pictorial heritage of the *Daily Mail* from its foundation in 1896 through all the major international conflicts that it has covered up to and including the years of the Second World War. The general philosophy behind the *Daily Mail* will be discussed, as well as its readership. The role of the political war cartoonist on the *Daily Mail* will also be examined - largely by a discussion of the work of 'Poy' (Percy Fearon), Illingworth's predecessor as political war cartoonist on the paper during the First World War - and there will also be a brief overview of the work of other, non-political, cartoonists on the paper. Topics covered will include how much independence political cartoonists had from the beginning up to and including Illingworth's work during the Second World War, how much space they were given in the paper, how important political cartoons were in comparison to strips (e.g. the hugely popular 'Teddy Tail' and 'The Nipper'), pocket cartoons, sports cartoons (noting especially that the *Daily Mail*'s sports cartoonist Tom Webster was the highest paid cartoonist of any kind in the world in 1924) and other artwork (e.g.

fashion drawings, illustrations and photos). However, this chapter will not discuss in detail Illingworth's rival political cartoonists on other national daily newspapers during the Second World War as these will be covered in Chapter 6.

1. The Early Days of the Daily Mail

The historian Thomas Macaulay described the Press in general as 'the Fourth Estate of the Realm'[103] - after the Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal and the House of Commons. Indeed, such has been the power of the press that Francis Williams - former editor of the *Daily Herald* - has described it as 'the one indispensable piece of ordnance in the armoury of democracy'.[104] However, he has also noted that another of its main roles is as 'a vehicle of entertainment, a medium for satisfying the common human appetite for gossip'.[105] From its first issue the *Daily Mail* combined both these roles to a high degree.

The *Daily Mail* was launched at the end of the 19th century, a year before Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and three years before the start of the Boer War (1899-1902)[106] and so it was one of the first national daily papers to use war cartoons in a major conflict in which Britain was involved.

Founded on 4 May 1896[107] the *Daily Mail* was trumpeted as being 'a penny newspaper for one half-penny' and 'the busy man's daily journal'. It was not in fact the first ever national halfpenny daily newspaper[108] but was in the vanguard of the movement christened by Matthew Arnold as the 'New Journalism'[109] which catered for the newly literate (if not particularly well educated) masses following the passing

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[103] 'The gallery in which the reporters sit has become a fourth estate of the realm', Thomas Macaulay, *On Hallam's Constitutional History* (London, 1828).

[104] Francis Williams, op.cit., p.13.

[105] Ibid.

[106] This is the war referred to in the second introductory quotation.

[107] The birthday of its editor and co-founder Kennedy Jones, who had also suggested its title - Alfred Harmsworth's suggestion had been the *Arrow*.

[108] These were the short-lived the *Morning* (also edited by Kennedy Jones) and the *Morning Leader* (1892).

[109] In *The Nineteenth Century*, May 1887. Arnold commented of the New Journalism that 'It has much to recommend it...it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts, its one great fault is that it is feather-brained. It throws out assertions at a venture because it wishes them true; does not correct either them or itself, if they are false; and to get at the seat of things as they truly are seems to feel no concern whatever.'

of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. One of the main features of this movement was the taking of a more personal tone, emphasising 'the habits, the clothes, or the home and social life of any person'.[110] In this the *Daily Mail* followed the popular London evening paper the *Pall Mall Gazette*,[111] founded in 1865, which under W.T.Stead's editorship from 1883 also first introduced the idea of making newspapers more accessible to the new wider audience by using illustrations, large headlines and crossheads to break up columns of type and by adopting the policy of printing sensational 'scoops'. [112] No longer was English journalism, in the words of A.G.Gardiner, editor of the *Daily News*,[113] solely 'the vehicle of the thought, the interests and temper of the leisured and educated middle class, relatively small in numbers but great in influence'. The new Education Act meant that huge numbers could now read. However, though the *Daily Mail* was a mass-market paper it was not aimed at the working classes but rather at the white-collared lower middle class (and especially women), who had sufficient disposable income to attract advertising revenue to its pages.

The *Daily Mail* was created and owned by Alfred Harmsworth,[114] who had already joined the New Journalism movement with the publication of his weekly *Answers* (1888), a deliberate and highly successful attempt to cash in on the success of George Newnes' *Tit-Bits*, a weekly miscellany of interesting snippets of information. By the time of the launch of the new daily paper Alfred Harmsworth, together with his brother Harold, had set up Amalgamated Press whose stable by then also included the hugely successful weekly comic magazines *Comic Cuts* ('Amusing Without Being Vulgar', which sold 118,000 on its first issue and within a few weeks was outselling *Answers*) and *Illustrated Chips* as well as *Forget-Me-Not*, *Sunday Companion* and others. In 1894 he had also bought his first ever daily newspaper, the pro-Conservative London *Evening News* (founded in 1881 and the pro-Liberal *Pall Mall Gazette*'s main rival), which had been ailing ever since the departure of its

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[110] T.P.O'Connor, editor of the *Star*, in *New Review*, October 1889.

[111] By coincidence also the first literary evening paper and the first daily newspaper to employ a staff political cartoonist, F.C.Gould.

[112] Notably the child prostitution scandal in London. The *Daily Mail* also drew on the examples of another London evening daily paper, the *Star* (founded in 1880 with a then record-breaking circulation of 142,600 copies) and the popular national weekly *Tit-Bits* (1881).

[113] The *Star*'s sister paper.

flamboyant editor Frank Harris.[115] Harmsworth was soon doing well with the *Evening News*[116] - so well in fact that within six months it was the top-selling evening newspaper in London. Then, having succeeded spectacularly well in magazines and with an evening newspaper, Harmsworth was keen to launch a revolutionary new national daily morning paper that would take full advantage of the new technology and the new journalistic outlook.

From the first issue Alfred Harmsworth's averred editorial policy for the paper was that 'We don't direct the ordinary man's opinion. We reflect it.'[117] As Francis Williams has reported 'What flattered a reader, he told them, was to see his own opinions and prejudices echoed in, and thus given authority by, his newspaper.'[118] And he had a simple catchphrase for his journalists: 'Explain, simplify, clarify!'[119]And, of course, what counted for journalists also applied to artists, including cartoonists, in peacetime and in war.

Though launched as a full-size broadsheet paper and with advertising on its front page like the upmarket press, the *Daily Mail*'s content was far less serious. In 1904 W.T.Stead put it in the fourth rank of British newspapers (with the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mirror*[120]), amongst those which 'combine the maximum of advertising and of circulation with the minimum of influence'.[121] Detractors such as A.A.Milne, [122] were far from complimentary about the new paper: 'Harmsworth killed the penny dreadful by the simple process of producing a ha'penny dreadfuller.'[123] None the less it was an instant success and was the first of the great

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[114] Alfred Harmsworth (1865-1922) became Lord Northcliffe in 1905.

[115] Significantly, perhaps, Alfred later decided that the faults of the *Evening News* had been mainly 'lack of continuity of policy and lack of managerial control' (quoted in S.J.Taylor, *The Great Outsiders* [London, 1996], p.28).

[116] He installed new rotary presses, adopted a new modern typeface and introduced bold headlines, women's pages, football pools, a new distribution system and other innovations.

[117] Lord Northcliffe quoted in Francis Williams, op.cit., p.127.

[118] Francis Williams, op.cit., p.145.

[119] Northcliffe quoted in S.J.Taylor, op.cit., p.35.

[120] Also founded and owned by Alfred Harmsworth.

[121] *Review of Reviews*, December 1904.

[122] Deputy Editor of *Punch* and creator of 'Winnie the Pooh' - Milne's father had owned the school at which Northcliffe was educated.

[123] A.A.Milne quoted in Reginald Pound & Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London, 1959), p.116.

popular morning daily papers.[124] It quickly entered the record books by having the highest ever circulation in one day by any daily newspaper (397,215 for its first issue) and was later the first daily newspaper ever to sell a million copies. It was also the first to employ a team of worldwide correspondents to gather the news from around the globe. Until 1932 it dominated the scene and had the largest circulation of any daily newspaper in the world.[125]

2. The Politics of the Daily Mail *and its Owners*

On publication day the Conservative Prime Minister Lord Salisbury sent Alfred Harmsworth a congratulatory telegram[126] lending support to the view that from the very beginning it was generally right of centre and pro-Conservative in its outlook. On international politics the *Daily Mail* was chauvinistic and aimed itself at a white-collar readership who were fiercely loyal to Queen Victoria, the British monarchy and the British Empire.[127] In the words of the paper's co-founder, Kennedy Jones (editor of the *Evening News*): 'If Kipling be called the Voice of Empire in English Literature, we may fairly claim to [be] the Voice of Empire in London journalism.'[128] And indeed its masthead later included the words 'For King and Empire' (and it was in fact read regularly by King George V, along with the *Weekly Dispatch*, which was also owned by Northcliffe). Reflecting this readership it was as much anti-Europe as it was anti-foreigners worldwide and Darwinian on racial supremacy (the White Man's Burden etc). It should also be stressed that the proprietor's involvement with the paper's editorial policy was very close indeed. In 1915 Northcliffe said 'If you read *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* leading articles you

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[124] Its success was highly calculated - there had been no less than 65 dummy runs before it was launched and more than £40,000 has been spent on newsprint, staff etc - something which had never been done before.

[125] But by 1933 (1,756,000 circulation) it had been overtaken by the *Daily Herald* and *Daily Express* partly due to its support for Mosley and Hitler. However, though by 1939 (when its circulation was 1,533,000) it had also been overtaken by the *Daily Mirror*, it remained the fourth largest newspaper in Britain throughout the Second World War.

[126] But secretly condemned it as 'a newspaper produced by office boys for office boys' - paraphrasing Thackeray's Pendennis who started a newspaper 'by gentlemen for gentlemen' (quoted in S.J.Taylor, op.cit., p.35).

[127] The British Empire, when the *Daily Mail* was launched, numbered around 92 million, a quarter of the world's population.

[128] Kennedy Jones quoted in S.J.Taylor, op.cit., p.37.

will see very plainly what my views are...I write most of the *Daily Mail* articles myself and have a good deal to do with the concoction of those in *The Times*.'[129]

Regarding politics in general, Northcliffe said to his News Editor, Tom Clarke: 'We must not let politics dominate the paper, but we must get the *news* in politics and give it all. But please, no long-winded columns of mere words and hackneyed speeches of corrupt solemnity. Treat politics as you treat all other news - on its merits. It has no "divine right" on newspaper space.'[130]

The *Daily Mail* also infamously misreported the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900, claiming in a brilliant and sensational - but completely untrue - story that all white men, women and children in Peking had been massacred by the Chinese. This was a disaster for its image as a serious newspaper and led to it being called 'the *Daily Liar*' (*Punch* called it the *Daily Inexactitude*). And when Harold Harmsworth[131] took over the group (now Associated Press) on the death of his brother in 1922 standards did not improve. Within two years it printed the fake Zinoviev Letter (25 October 1924) which whipped up anti-Communist fervour in the country by allegedly revealing a plot to start a Communist uprising in the UK. The result of this was to bring about the fall of the Socialist government of Ramsay MacDonald.[132] The *Daily Mail* also backed the Conservative government during the General Strike (1926), supported Churchill in his first attempt to get into Parliament and tried to topple Baldwin. (Rothermere had himself twice stood as a Unionist candidate and kept a bust of Napoleon in his office.)

Such was Rothermere's antagonism to Communism, in fact, that Associated Press - including the *Evening News* and *Sunday Dispatch* as well as the *Daily Mail* - at first

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[129] Reginald Pound & Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London, 1959), p.116. *The Times* was also owned by Northcliffe until 1922.
[130] Tom Clarke, *My Northcliffe Diary* (London, 1931), p.197.
[131] Harold Harmsworth (1868-1940) became Lord Rothermere in 1919. He was also proprietor (from 1914) of the *Daily Mirror* and founder of Fleet Street's first illustrated Sunday paper, the *Sunday Pictorial*.
[132] The fake Zinoviev Letter also led to the paper being dubbed the *Forgers' Gazette* according to Michael Foot when interviewed by MB on 2 July 1999 (henceforth Foot Tapes).

supported Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists.[133] And in the 1930s the paper was at first pro-Hitler (whom Rothermere had visited many times).

This then was the general political stance of the paper that Leslie Illingworth would join as political war cartoonist in 1939. But before examining his and the paper's respective positions during the Second World War it may be helpful to look at the *Daily Mail*'s record during previous conflicts.[134]

3. The Daily Mail *at War*

During wartime the *Daily Mail*'s editorial policies were always sympathetic to the fighting man. In the Boer War under editor S.J.Pryor (who was transferred to Cape Town for the duration) the paper offered free Beechams Pills to soldiers on active service in South Africa, and during the First World War it was the official paper to the troops - 10,000 copies being delivered to the Front daily. It also helped overthrow Asquith and install Lloyd George as Minister of Munitions, and attacked Kitchener for trying to ban war reporters and for supplying the wrong kind of shells. Unfortunately such was Kitchener's prestige that this led to a drop in the paper's circulation by 100,000 copies overnight and the *Daily Mail* and *The Times* were both publicly burnt in the Stock Exchange in London and banned from Service clubs in Pall Mall.

In addition, the *Daily Mail* attacked the Kaiser when other papers were ambivalent about him as he was Victoria's grandson, and claimed in its masthead to be 'The Paper That Foretold the War'. It also printed 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary' on its front page and made it the official anthem of the British Expeditionary Force in the war. Controversially the paper also campaigned for conscription (then unknown in

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[133] For example in the 'Hurrah for the Blackshirts' feature on 8 January 1934.

[134] Readership surveys by Mass Observation in 1947 and 1948 gave details on the *Daily Mail*: 'Read by one adult in seven, this is favoured slightly more than the other papers by the higher income groups, older people and older women. Just over half its readers are Conservatives, a quarter Labour, and one in seven are undecided or non-party. In comparison with the other three big popular papers, its readers are relatively little interested in politics or 'serious' news, but their sporting interest is on a level with each of the other three. Readers are very interested in feature articles, more so than readers of any other daily paper; 'Don Iddon' is particularly popular.' (Mass Observation, *The Press and Its Readers* [London, 1949], p.11[illegible].) And it should be noted that Don Iddon's column appeared on the same page as and very close to Illingworth's cartoon.

Britain but common elsewhere) which led to a bitter personal attack on Northcliffe by Will Dyson, political cartoonist of the *Daily Herald.* [135] Another curiosity which links directly to Illingworth is that is was largely Northcliffe's *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* which printed unfounded reports of 'snow-encrusted Russian soldiers speeding by night down the length of Britain to join their allies on the western front' .[136] (As will be noted in the next chapter, Illingworth's uncle's main claim to fame was a single cartoon he drew about this published in *Punch* in 1915.)

Northcliffe's critics, though, were less than generous about the stance of the *Daily Mail* in the Great War. A.G.Gardiner, Editor of the *Daily News*, said in an open letter to Northcliffe that 'It has always been your part to prophesy war and cultivate hate' and called him the 'the most sinister influence that has ever corrupted the soul of English journalism' (*Daily News*, 5 December 1914), later adding 'the people read you; but they despise you' (14 December).

Towards the end of the First World War (February 1918) Northcliffe himself became Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries (his team included H.G.Wells) and he was the first to promote the use of aerial leaflets being dropped on the enemy. Rothermere, meanwhile, was director-general of the Royal Army Clothing Department and in 1917 was appointed Air Minister. In this capacity he appointed Major General Hugh Trenchard, commander of the Royal Flying Corps, to create the Royal Air Force out of the RFC and the Royal Naval Air Service.[137]

4. Early Cartoons and Cartoonists at the Daily Mail *up to the First World War*

There were very few cartoonists of any kind working in Fleet Street when the *Daily Mail* was launched in 1896. Indeed, according to Thorpe,[138] apart from the artists of the *Daily Graphic* there was very little illustration work of any kind. The only major staff political cartoonists on daily papers were G.R. Halkett of the *Pall Mall Gazette* who in 1892 had replaced F.C.Gould who had himself moved on to the newly

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[135] Dyson published a book of these cartoons entitled *Conscript 'Em* (London, 1915).
[136] Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain* (London, 1981), Volume 2, p.244.
[137] He later personally commissioned the Bristol Blenheim bomber, which was faster than any US or RAF fighters at the time and which was later used as the first ever radar-equipped nightfighter.

launched upmarket evening paper the *Westminster Gazette*. All were greatly influenced by *Punch*'s main artist Sir John Tenniel - who retired from *Punch* in 1901 (being succeeded by Bernard Partridge) - and other magazine political cartoonists and caricaturists such as Harry Furniss and Alfred Bryan.

Though the *Daily Mail* included illustrations from its first issue (and later some by well-known artists such as Albert Morrow),[139] from 4 May 1896 they mostly appeared in 'The Daily Magazine' section which was 'designed to interest both sexes' and was headlined on its first appearance as 'An Entirely New Idea in Morning Journalism'. A note from the Editor explained that it was 'a practical attempt to provide something more than the mere news of the day...the object of the "Daily Magazine" is to amuse, interest, and instruct during the leisure moments of the day'. It contained short stories, poems, recipes, fashion drawings and designs, and various factual snippets and curiosities in the *Tit-Bits* manner. As the Editor's note continued:

> 'The style of the "Daily Magazine" is to be entirely different to the other parts of the paper. It will number among its contributors the best magazine writers and novelists of the time. Each day between eleven and twelve thousand words will appear on this page; the mere figures will convey little to the average reader, but it means that every week the "Daily Magazine" will contain matter equivalent to a sixpenny monthly. The *Daily Mail*, then, provides for its readers an extra bonus of fifty-two complete magazines a year, as well as a daily paper containing all the news, for the small sum of 13s. per annum. By no means is the "Daily Magazine" intended to always appear as you see it today. We intend to call the pens and pencils of several prominent artists to our aid, and from time to time this page will be brightened by general illustrations, which will ever be as high class as modern newspaper engraving will permit.'

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[138] James Thorpe, *English Illustration:The Nineties* (London, 1935), p.62.
[139] Albert Morrow (1863-1927) was also a cartoonist and was the older brother of George Morrow who later became Art Editor of *Punch* (1930-37).

To prove the point a 'Christmas Magazine Special Supplement' was produced on 21 December 1896 which as well as much festive writing also contained many humorous drawings including a huge comic scene by Louis Wain ('The Cats' Christmas - Pantomime on the Tiles'), which extended across the entire width of the paper and two-thirds of the depth.

The first cartoons published in the *Daily Mail* were thus not seen as integral to the daily news and were generally just jokes or illustrations to humorous stories. And when political cartoons eventually began to appear (again still in the 'Daily Magazine' leisure section) there were in fact largely not British at all but drawn by

THE MEETING BETWEEN THEIR TWO GREATEST STATESMEN.

"Li Chung Tong will be received by Lord Salisbury on Tuesday."—"Daily Mail," Saturday, August 1, 1896.

Fig.1. 'The Mystic East: The Busy West', 'Rip' (Roland Hill, c.1866-1949), *Daily Mail*, 3 August 1896.

The first British, truly political cartoon to appear in the *Daily Mail* was this drawing by Rip commemorating the arrival in Britain of the Viceroy Li Chung Tong (otherwise Li Hung Chang) of China. Li was a former general and, his country's leading statesman, effectively China's Minister for Foreign Affairs. After China's defeat by Japan the previous year Li came to Europe in 1896, representing the Emperor at the coronation of the Tsar and visiting Germany, Belgium, France (note the Paris label on his suitcase) and Britain before departing for the USA. He is seen being greeted on his arrival by Prime Minister Lord Salisbury. (See also Fig. 1A.)

foreigners. These (by such artists as Caran d'Ache and frequently featuring fine draughtsmanship) were printed under such rubrics as 'As Others See Us`. and though they attacked Britain were reproduced not to humble or humiliate the British public but rather to bolster their confidence by pointing out the brutality, lack of imagination and ignorance of Britain of misguided foreigners. One example printed under the heading 'Germany's Christmas Card to Us' and published in the 'Daily Magazine' section on 25 December 1896 was 'Plucking the British Bird'. Reproduced from the German satirical magazine *Lustige Blätter* it depicted a smug John Bull as a strutting turkey (appropriately for the season), with Boer leader Paul Kruger attempting to pull out a tail-feather marked 'Cape Colony' and US President Grover Cleveland tugging on another marked 'Canada', with others labelled 'India' and 'Egypt'.

The first British political cartoonists working for the *Daily Mail* were 'Rip' (Roland Hill, see Figs. 1 and 1A), the Australian-born G. Rossi Ashton[140] and one or two others. These began work for the paper in the 1890s but their drawings were only reproduced intermittently.

The cartoon by Rip reproduced above appeared alongside an article entitled 'Political Cartoons, Their Rise and Progress', an extract from which has been reproduced as the first quotation at the beginning of this chapter. However, despite the paper's apparent enthusiasm for the art form in the first few months of its publication, the work of Rip and others was by no means produced on a daily basis. By the turn of the century things had picked up somewhat and 'The *Daily Mail* revered Tenniel, and frequently featured articles on, and reproduced cartoons by, F.C.Gould.'[141] However, it was not until the First World War that things began to change dramatically on the newspaper.

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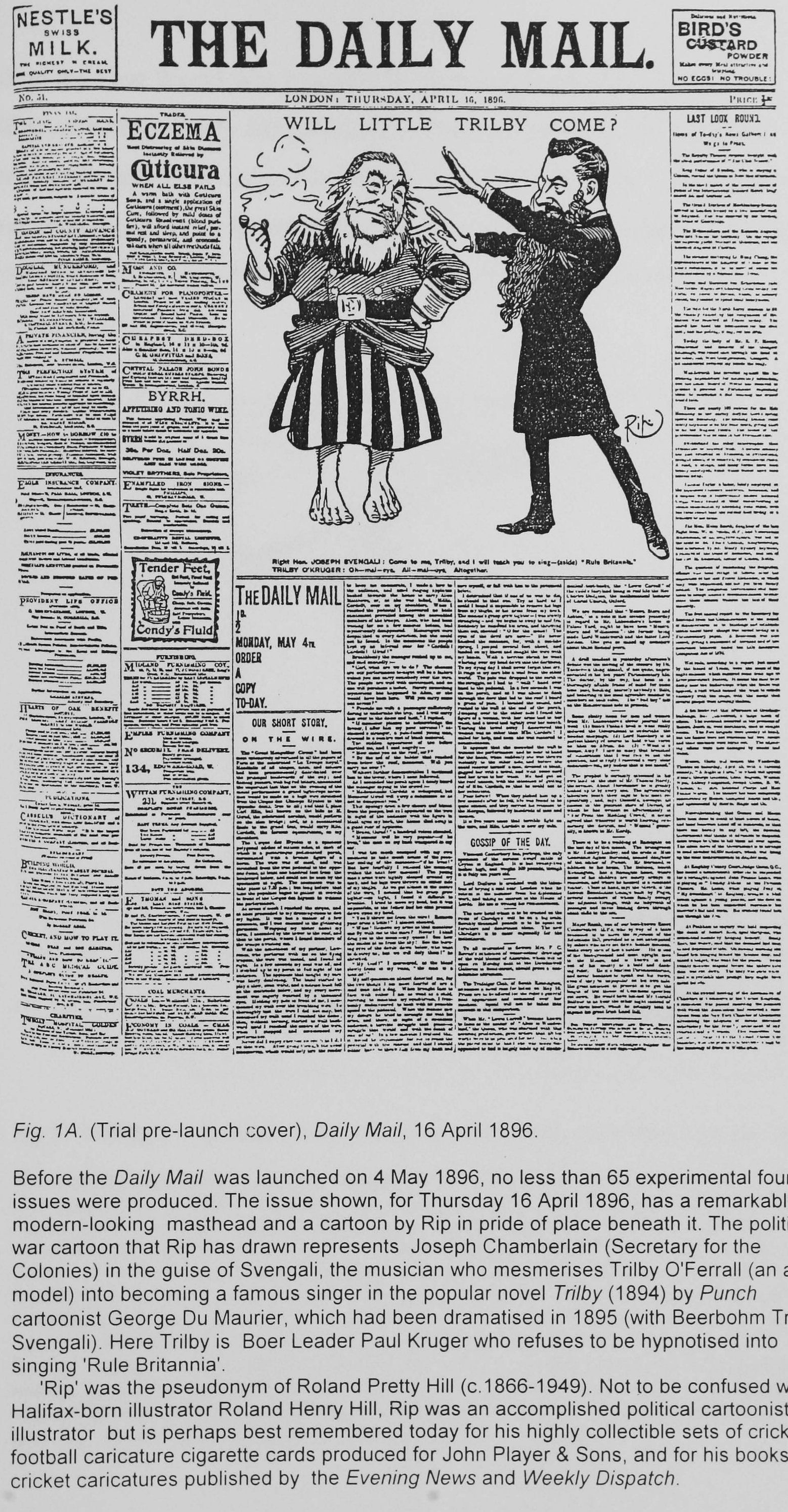
[140] Little is known about George Rossi Ashton. He had previously (1895) worked for the *Daily Graphic* and *Lika Joko* and according to Thorpe was 'a contemporary of Phil May on the *Sydney Bulletin*' (Thorpe, op.cit, p.86). As May was on the *Bulletin* from 1885 to 1889 this would suggest that perhaps he also came to Britain at about the same time as May returned. Rossi also worked for *St James's Budget* (1898), *Sketch*, *Illustrated Bits*, *Pall Mall Magazine* and *Pearson's Magazine*.


NESTLE'S SWISS MILK. THE PUREST IN CREAM. ONE QUALITY ONLY—THE BEST

THE DAILY MAIL.

BIRD'S CUSTARD POWDER. NO EGGS! NO TROUBLE!

No. 51. LONDON: THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1896. PRICE ½d

WILL LITTLE TRILBY COME?

Right Hon. JOSEPH SVENGALI: Come to me, Trilby, and I will teach you to sing—(aside) "Rule Britannia."
TRILBY O'KRUGER: Oh—mai—eye. All—mai—eye. Altogether.

THE DAILY MAIL
1d.
½
MONDAY, MAY 4TH.
ORDER
A
COPY
TO-DAY.

OUR SHORT STORY.
ON THE WIRE.

GOSSIP OF THE DAY.

LAST LOOK ROUND.

ECZEMA. Cuticura. WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS. BYRRH. Tender Feet. Condy's Fluid.

During the First World War Northcliffe expressed great admiration for the work of Will Dyson of the *Daily Herald* (despite Dyson's attacks on his stance on conscription as mentioned in Chapter 1), whom he called this 'young man with the most virile style of any British cartoonist' (see Fig. 2). [142] Indeed, so impressed was Northcliffe with Dyson's work that on 1 January 1915 he cancelled all

Fig 2. ' Wonders of Science - 1914', Will Dyson (1880-1938), *Daily Mail*, 1 January 1915.

The *pickelhauber* helmets worn by the apes lobbing bombs from one of the first monoplanes (a 'wonder of science') onto a peaceful city full of classically designed buildings marks them out as Germans. Under the heading 'Striking War Cartoon by Will Dyson' the accompanying caption reads: 'This remarkable drawing is one of twenty-five cartoons by Will Dyson, on view at the Leicester Galleries, where the exhibition will open tomorrow. Mr Dyson, who is a young man with the most virile style of any British cartoonist, came from Australia four years ago having made a name on the *Sydney Bulletin*. But London would have none of him until, one day not many months ago, he suddenly became famous. "Mr Dyson," writes Mr H.G.Wells in an introduction to the catalogue, "perceives in militaristic monarchy and national pride a threat to the world, to civilisation, and all that he holds dear, and straightway he sets about to slay it with his pencil, as I, if I could, would kill it with my pen. He turns his passionate gift against Berlin." '

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[142] *Daily Mail*, 1 January 1915. Dyson had drawn cartoons for Northcliffe's *Weekly Dispatch* soon after arriving in London in 1909 but left when its editor, Dyson's Australian friend Ernie Buley, was sacked in 1912.

advertisements for the entire back page of the *Daily Mail* (thereby losing considerable revenue) to reprint Dyson's 'Wonders of Science!' drawing from *Kultur Cartoons* (1915) so that it 'occupies a larger space than any cartoon has ever before been given in a British newspaper'.[143]

However, Dyson's full-page cartoon was a one-off. More important were the smaller contributions by the Dutchman Louis Raemaekers (reprinted from *De Telegraaf* and also licensed to *Le Journal* in France) and by 'Poy' (reprinted from the *Daily Mail*'s sister paper, the *Evening News*). Indeed, it is curious that the *Daily Mail* does not seem to have had any regular daily staff cartoonist during this period, even though the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily Express*, *Daily Mirror* and others all employed such artists. During the First World War the back page of the paper was devoted to photographs of the war and various entertainment issues and it was amongst these that the cartoons usually featured. In fact it seems to have been editorial policy to lift Poy's work from the *Evening News* whenever it was particularly powerful but otherwise to reprint savage cartoons like those drawn by the Dutch cartoonist Louis Raemaekers.[144] This would seem to imply that there was a desire to get the best political cartoons of the day without the necessity of actually having to employ a staff artist to produce them.

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[143] *Daily Mail*, 1 January 1915. Indeed, it is open to speculation whether Northcliffe tried to poach Dyson when he left the *Daily Herald* in 1916 to join the *Sketch* (but by then, of course, 'Poy' was working for the *Mail*'s sister paper, the *Evening News*, and his cartoons were being reproduced regularly in the *Mail*). According to Ross McMullin Northcliffe had certainly made him an offer before he joined the *Daily Herald* (see Ross McMullin, *Will Dyson* [London, 1984], p.80).

[144] Louis Raemaekers (1869-1956) was a very influential cartoonist. His bloodthirsty anti-German drawings led to his prosecution by the Dutch authorities for endangering their neutrality during the conflict and an exhibition of his cartoons in London in 1915 caused a sensation. When he sought asylum in Britain the following year his work so impressed Prime Minster Lloyd George that he persuaded him to go the USA where his drawings were syndicated by Hearst Publications in an effort to enlist American help in the war.

Berlin Butler *(to the Kaiser who has just returned from Vienna): 'Sorry I had to wire you to return, All Highest, but Hollweg's tearing his hair and the Reichstag don't know where it are.'*

Fig.3. (Untitled), Louis Raemaekers (1869-1956), *Daily Mail*, 12 July 1917.

Though his cartoons often appeared in other parts of the paper, many of Raemaekers' drawings were published at the top of the back page amongst the photographs, as this one was. The strapline across the whole page read 'The Worried Bagman of Berlin. Little Stories of the War in Pictures', which gave the cartoon headline status between a photo of French air ace Captain Guynemer receiving the Légion d'Honneur and a picture of the wife and daughter of General Townshend, hero of Kut el Amara and at the time a prisoner-of-war near Constantinople. (The 'worried bagman' is the Kaiser and Hollweg is German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, whose conflict with the German parliament, or Reichstag, led to his dismissal soon after this cartoon appeared.)

5. 'Poy', The Daily Mail*'s First Political Cartoonist*

The *Daily Mail*'s best known political cartoonist before Illingworth joined the paper in 1939, and its first regular political cartoonist, was 'Poy' (Percy Fearon, 1874-1948). He had joined the *Evening News* (by then Britain's biggest selling evening paper) in 1913 after a successful period as political cartoonist on *Judy* (1897-8), a weekly rival to *Punch*, and working for the Hulton group in Manchester on the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (1905-7) - then Britain's biggest regional evening paper - and its sister papers the *Daily Dispatch* (Britain's biggest regional daily) and *Sunday Chronicle* (1907-13).[145] For more than 20 years (until 1935) Poy's *Evening News* cartoons were occasionally reproduced in the pages of its daily morning sister

paper, the *Daily Mail* and then, from 1935 to 1938 Poy worked for the *Daily Mail* alone. During the First World War he also drew weekly cartoons for the *Weekly Dispatch*, which was part of the same newspaper group.

Poy was a good caricaturist as well as a cartoonist and occasional journalist. At first greatly influenced by the work of *Punch*'s main cartoonist John Tenniel (he had produced more than 1700 Tenniel-like drawings while at *Judy* alone), Philip

WAR LORD: "Where have you been this time? London, Paris, Warsaw, or Rome?"
COUNT ZEPPELIN: "I don't know. It's not in der papers!"
(The Press has been instructed to publish no details of the track of the Zeppelin Raid.)

War Lord: *'Where have you been this time? London , Paris, Warsaw,or Rome?'*
Count Zeppelin: *'I don't know. It's not in der papers!'*

Fig. 4. 'Left Guessing', 'Poy' (Percy Fearon, 1874-1948), *Evening News,* 1915.

In this typical political cartoon by Poy from the First World War, the 'war lord' is the Kaiser (presumably not explicity labelled as such because of objections from the British royal family – see Chapter 7) and the confused Count Zeppelin's reply as he returns holding his airship suitcase alludes to the fact that the British press had been instructed not to publish details of the track of the latest Zeppelin raid for fear of giving information to the enemy. (The bird on the Kaiser's helmet is squawking a variation of the phrase 'Gott strafe England' ['May God Punish England'].)

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[145] As was seen in Chapter 1 (Fig. 7) he also worked briefly for the *Daily Sketch*, drawing a cartoon for its first issue on 15 March 1909.

Connard RA once described him as 'the prettiest draughtsman of all cartoonists'. However, later he greatly simplified his style when he joined the *Evening News* and *Daily Mail* (as would Illingworth himself) both for speed of production and to suit the tone of the papers.

Poy also created a number of cartoon characters during the First World War, such as Dilly and Dally the top-hatted bureaucrats, DORA (personifying the Defence of the Realm Act) and Cuthbert the white rabbit. This white-rabbit image was immensely successful. Its main attack was on the million or more men under the age of 30 (and hence potential military conscripts) who were working in reserved occupations in Whitehall. However, it also attacked conscientious objectors. Poy himself was 40 in 1914 and a lance-corporal in the National Guard, and the paper received many supportive letters praising his anti-white-rabbit cartoons, especially when older men were called up.

6. Other Daily Mail *Cartoonists Before the Arrival of Illingworth*

A contemporary of Poy, and one of the most important cartoonists working on the *Daily Mail* before the arival of Leslie Illingworth, was Tom Webster (1886-1962). He had been, briefly, political cartoonist on the Labour Party newspaper, the *Daily Citizen* in 1912 (it folded in 1915) and during the First World War he made animated cartoon films such as *The History of a German Regiment* (1917), *Charlie at the Front* (1918) and *Charlie Joins the Navy* (1918). He joined the *Evening News* as sports cartoonist in 1918, moving to the *Daily Mail* the following year and remaining there for more than 20 years (he left in 1940, shortly after Illingworth joined the paper). He started on £2000 a year and by 1924 he had become the highest paid cartoonist (of any sort) in the world.[146] This would seem to indicate that the paper had begun to appeal to sports fans (previous papers had not done this, though there had been a huge growth of interest in football, cricket and other sports at the end of the 19th century, especially with the advent of the first test match and the

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[146] Richard Onslow, 'Tom Webster' in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1961-1970* (Oxford, 1981).

first professional footballers).[147] However, curiously, in the 1929 election it was Webster's cartoons (not Poy's) which were projected onto a huge screen giving the results in Trafalgar Square (though both had their drawings projected onto a huge screen at the Albert Hall before an invited audience of 10,000 *Daily Mail* readers for the election results in October 1924).[148] Webster also created many characters (e.g. Tishy the cross-legged racehorse, the Bloated Bookmaker and the Horizontal Heavyweight) and specialised in cartoons as 'comic pictorial gossip reporting...he disdains draughtsmanship and banks on undiluted verve and raciness almost entirely' (Low).[149]

Other cartoonists working at the *Daily Mail* before Illingworth's arrival included the pocket (or single-column) cartoonist 'Neb' (Ronald Niebour) who had joined the paper as an illustrator in 1938 and turned to pocket cartoons when war broke out (Fig.5). What is surprising about Neb is that he was a friend of Illingworth and a Welshman from the Vale of Glamorgan who had been to school with him and yet they both began work at the same paper at about the same time without either, apparently, being aware of it. (Though presumably Illingworth would have seen his work in the paper before he joined.) Neb continued to work for the *Daily Mail* until his retirement in 1960.

Another cartoonist already working for the paper was the Hungarian/German expatriate Victor Weisz ('Vicky'), who had drawn a series 'Funny Figures' (illustrated statistics) for the *Daily Mail* in 1937 and also illustrated the gossip column 'Almost in Confidence' for the *Sunday Dispatch* (formerly the *Weekly*

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[147] It would also seem to indicate that the *Daily Mail* wanted the best in the field at any price, and could afford it - according to S.J.Taylor (op.cit., p.253) Rothermere himself was 'the third richest man in Great Britain' in 1926.

[148] A photo entitled 'Ten Thousand *Daily Mail* Guests Watch the Downfall of the Socialists' and published in the *Mail* on 31 October 1924 shows the huge screen covering the Albert Hall's organ. On it is projected a jointly drawn caricature, using Poy's head of Ramsay MacDonald with Webster's body of Tishy the racehorse with all its four legs crossed. Beside it on the left is the label 'What a Twister!'

[149] David Low, *British Cartoonists, Caricaturists and Comic Artists* (London, 1942), p.46.

Fig.5. 'Neb Was in Hitler's Files, Too: Founds in Ruins', (Press-cutting), *Daily Mail*, 10 August 1945.

A typical political pocket cartoon by Neb from the Second World War showing Hitler (disparagingly referred to as having once been a housepainter) and Goebbels. According to a report published in the *Daily Mail* on 10 August 1945, this cartoon was one of a number by Neb and Illingworth found in a file in the ruins of Hitler's Chancellery in Berlin. It reached the *Daily Mail* in one of Hitler's own engraved envelopes. (See also Chapter 7, Fig. 8.)

Dispatch and part of the same press group). Indeed, it is surprising that (assuming he had applied for it) Vicky had not succeeded in getting the job of Political Cartoonist on the *Daily Mail* (which he later became on the *News Chronicle*) - especially when one remembers how pro-Hungarian Rothermere was.[150]

Julian Phipps (later Art Editor of Associated Newspapers) was another regular cartoonist on the *Daily Mail* at this time. He had joined in 1929 and stayed for more than 11 years, working as a journalist (illustrating his own articles) and producing such (usually single-panel) cartoon features as 'Laugh with Phipps' and 'Crazy News Reel' (1937-8). He returned to the paper after the war as a fashion artist.

As for strip (or multi-panel) cartoons, the very popular 'Teddy Tail' animal series featuring a mouse with a knot in his tail (so successful that the *Daily Express* started 'Rupert Bear' in competition) first appeared on 5 April 1915 - created, written and drawn by Charles Folkard. It was later taken over by his son Harry Folkard and then

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[150] Rothermere was invited to be king of Hungary after campaigning for better treatment of the country after the First World War. Vicky also failed to get the political cartoonist's job at the *Daily Mirror* (which went to Zec) even though he was at the same time drawing a similar series 'Nazi Nuggets' (illustrating quotations by Hitler et al.) for the *Mirror*, and applied for but failed to get Dyson's old job at the *Daily Herald* in 1938.

by Herbert Foxwell (1933-40). Foxwell was called up in 1939 and died in 1943. Another children's strip was Brian White's 'The Nipper' which ran from 30 August 1933 to 1941 and then from 1946 to 1947. It featured a baby ('nipper' is slang for a child) and was usually speechless.[151]

With the exception of Neb, none of these artists survived the war for long as cartoonists, either on the *Daily Mail* or elsewhere, and the only cartoonist whose work, like Illingworth's, appeared regularly in the paper throughout the war was the topical pocket cartoonist Neb.

7. Editorial Influence on Cartoonists at the Daily Mail

As was seen in Chapter 1, it is difficult to gauge from this distance in time how much editorial influence Northcliffe, Rothermere and the various editors of the *Daily Mail* had over their staff and in particular their cartoonists. The fact that Northcliffe allowed himself to be caricatured by Spy for *Vanity Fair*, and as far as we know never sued the artists of numerous - often defamatory - drawings of him would seem to imply that he did not object to cartoonists and it has already been said how much he admired Dyson and others. However, a series of articles published in the *Daily Mail* in September 1896, soon after it was launched, led one commentator to remark that 'It does not appear to have been part of *Daily Mail* editorial policy to allow a cartoonist to pursue an independent or forceful line on any particular issue.'[152]

This having been said, the *Daily Mail* was none the less a very progressive paper in many ways. It gave prizes for aviation (e.g. £10,000 for Alcock & Brown's Atlantic crossing in 1919), established the Ideal Home Exhibition (1908), encouraged radio development and campaigned for Standard Bread. It also employed some of the best journalistic talent of its day (e.g. Max Beerbohm, Edgar Wallace, G.W.Steevens, Hannen Swaffer, Sir Philip Gibbs [knighted for his reporting of the Great War], Mayson Beeton [son of Mrs Beeton], Kipling, Lovat Fraser [who coined the term 'Hun' for the Germans] and Winston Churchill). In addition it also had the world's

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[151] Brian White (1902-84) had earlier (1930) worked as an animator for Comedy Cartoon Sound Films Ltd where a 13-year-old Carl Giles was a tea-boy.
[152] Catherine Hughes, op.cit., p.191.

first ever woman war correspondent (Lady Sarah Wilson in the Boer War) and in the 1940s its star reporter was Rhona Churchill, who has been described as 'the best known woman war correspondent of the Second World War'. [153] And it was a *Daily Mail* photographer, H.A.Mason, who took the famous picture of St Paul`s in the Blitz which was printed on the front page of the paper on 31 December 1940.

However, though these were all important journalists, it is probably also fair to say that they were very much in tune with the *Daily Mail* and its politics. This also seems to have been the case when Illingworth arrived in 1939 (though it should be noted that by then the autocratic influence of the older Harmsworths was beginning to fade - Alfred had died in 1922 and Rothermere followed him on 27 November 1940[154] - so Illingworth only worked for a year under his regime). This is not an unusual situation. As W.A.Coupe has pointed out

> 'In rare cases (e.g. Nast in *Harper's Weekly*)[155] 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 of 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.'[156]

And in fact the relative weight of the political cartoon on the *Daily Mail* and its psychological association with the newspaper's editorial policy does seem to have become increasingly close with the passage of years. Poy's drawing usually appeared at the back of the paper amongst the photos (and it should be noted that Dyson's 1915 cartoon filled the *back* page of the paper) but by the time Illingworth

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[153] S.J.Taylor, op.cit., p.288.
[154] Succeeded by Esmond 2nd Viscount Rothermere.
[155] Thomas Nast (1840-1902) famously attacked the corrupt 'Tweed Ring' in the USA using cartoons.
[156] W.A.Coupe, op.cit., p.82.

was drawing for the paper his cartoon was usually printed immediately beside the editorial leader on Page 2.

The fact that Illingworth never had a collection of his cartoons published (unlike Low, Vicky, Strube and others) is probably of no great significance and was probably simply a commercial decision. However, it is interesting to note that though *Daily Mail* and *Evening News* artists and features such as Webster, 'Nipper', 'Teddy Tail', Lee (on the *News*) - even Neb (only one booklet, but containing 120 cartoons) - had annuals, in 30 years with the paper all Illingworth got was part of a joint book in 1944 with Lee, Neb, Gittins and Moon: *400 Famous Cartoons*, seen below (Fig.6).

Yet conversely it does seem to have been editorial policy (as seen earlier) for the lighter cartoons to be dropped in wartime ('Teddy Tail', sports cartoons etc) while the political and topical ones (Illingworth and Neb) were kept. The fact that some of

Fig. 6. 400 Famous Cartoons from the Daily Mail, Evening Standard, Sunday Dispatch (cover, *Daily Mail*, 1944).

It is perhaps appropriate that the cover drawing of this collection of wartime cartoons from the *Daily Mail*, *Evening News* and *Weekly Dispatch* should have been drawn by the newspaper group's senior political cartoonist, Leslie Illingworth.

the artists were called up and hence could not continue to draw for the paper is only part of the explanation - if the *Daily Mail* had really wanted them to stay they could have made a case to the relevant authorities.[157]

Conclusions

The general conclusion seems to be that from the beginning the *Daily Mail*'s cartoonists were expected to work within the framework of the paper's policy and that this was a populist approach to news reflecting what the lower middle classes were talking about, or might be expected to talk about.

The huge salary of sports cartoonist Tom Webster also seems to have been a deliberate attempt to add readers with a growing interest in sport, and the success of strips like 'Teddy Tail' and 'The Nipper' show the need for the whole family to be entertained as well as informed.[158] But above all the most important aspect seems to have been circulation figures and sales (even if it led to scandalous misreporting) and the political cartoonist had to fit into this mould too.

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[157] And it should be noted in this regard that when the *Daily Mirror* was nearly closed down by the Government in 1942 for Zec's notorious petrol-shortage cartoon ('The Price of Petrol Has Been Increased by One Penny - Official') it was the journalist 'Cassandra' (William Connor) - who had supplied the final caption - who lost his 'reserved occupation' status and was called up, not the artist Zec. See also Chapter 7.

[158] Hence also, perhaps, the popularity of characters within cartoons which the public could either identify with, laugh at or hate (e.g. Poy's Cuthbert and Dilly & Dally, Webster's Tishy etc).

Chapter 3

One Cartoonist's Road to War: Leslie Illingworth

'Leslie Gilbert Illingworth could be described as the last of the great penman in the line of English Social Satirists starting with Hogarth and traceable through the biting and rumbustious broadsides of Rowlandson, Gillray and Cruikshank to the more moderate social comments of Leech, Tenniel, Keene and Phil May...it is fairly safe to assume that when the history of Cartoon and Caricature comes to be written the name of Illingworth will have a valued place in the tradition of great political satire of this century, along with Will Dyson, Low, Giles, Vicky and Osbert Lancaster.'

(Keith Mackenzie, *The Artist*, June 1969, p.93)

Introduction

So far this thesis has examined the evolution of the daily political war cartoonist generally, from the 18th century up to the Second World War, and looked at the history of war cartoonists up to 1945 on one particular paper - the *Daily Mail*. It is now appropriate at this point to study in some detail, as a case history, the background of one particular artist working for one particular national daily newspaper during one particular war to see what light this may shed on the work of political war cartoonists as a whole. The chosen artist is Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail*.

The chapter will begin with the basic chronology of Illingworth's life, education and career up to 1939, and will also look at why he in particular became a cartoonist in the first place - what were his original motivations and so forth - to see what it is that makes any kind of cartoonist, let alone a wartime daily political cartoonist, tick. It will then examine the reasons why, as an avowed socialist, he joined and then left the right-wing *Western Mail* as a daily political cartoonist and why, after 13 years as a successful freelance illustrator, he then joined the equally right-wing *Daily Mail* in 1939 to become a national newspaper cartoonist in wartime. The following three chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) will then look in some detail at the contents of Illingworth's cartoons published between 1939 and 1945 and compare these

drawings with equivalent work by other artists working on daily national newspapers during the conflict.[159]

1. Illingworth's Early Beginnings as a Cartoonist

Leslie Gilbert Illingworth, was born on 2 September 1902 - the year after the great *Punch* political cartoonist Sir John Tenniel retired - at 9 Harbour Rd,[160] in the respectable 'executive part'[161] of the important port of Barry, near Cardiff, in the Vale of Glamorgan, South Wales. Barry was then a boom town, its prosperity coming from the export of coal [162] and the importing of Canadian wheat to the Rank flour mills. He was the second son of Richard ('Dick') Frederick Illingworth (1866-1956), from Knutsford, Cheshire but of a Yorkshire family, who moved to Barry in 1890 to become a clerk (later Chief Clerk)[163] in the engineers' department of the newly founded Barry Railway & Docks Company.[164] His mother, Helen MacGregor (1874-1952), was born in Hull of Scottish parents[165] and became a teacher there. After she and Dick were married in Cardiff in 1898 she also taught in the city. Leslie's elder brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Vivian Richard Illingworth OBE (1899-1944), was a civil engineer working for Great Western Railways in peacetime and a railway construction engineer (mentioned in dispatches) in the Second World War. He died of leukaemia while on active duty in Naples on 2 February 1944. Leslie also had a younger sister, Phyllis Jean Illingworth (later Lewis, 1905-97) [166] who

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[159] It should be noted that here - as elsewhere - the task of drawing accurate conclusions from this research has been greatly hampered by the fact that there is very little dependable primary source material available - the *Daily Mail* archives (including correspondence and contracts) have been destroyed and even interviews with Illingworth himself are often unreliable as his memory was not always accurate. Added to which, hitherto very little biographical material has been published on Illingworth.

[160] Possibly No.8. In his unpublished Illingworth family history dating back to the 14th century, *Lived Beloved and Died Lamented* (1999), Vivian's son Richard says his father was born at No.8 but it is possible that Leslie was born next door as he says that they moved to another house two or three years after Vivian was born and that Leslie was born in the new house. (This document has very little information on Leslie himself.)

[161] Tape-recorded interviews by Francis Wilford-Smith (cartoonist Smilby) with Illingworth made on 24 July 1976 and 9 February 1977 (henceforth Smilby Tapes).

[162] In 1913 Barry exported 11 million tons a year - then a world record - to Italy, Spain and elsewhere.

[163] A very responsible position as the company then employed about 300 clerks.

[164] The building of the docks and the installation of the railway network linking this to the mines in the valley had only been completed in 1889. The company was absorbed by the Great Western Railway in 1922.

[165] Her father was a sailor.

[166] She later married Ernest Conwill Lewis, a solicitor who became County Court Registrar on Teesside.

graduated from Homerton College, Cambridge University, and became a teacher in Wales.

The family moved to No.1 Cardiff Rd, a large house with a stables situated close to the railway station, in the village of Cadoxton, near Barry, in about 1904 and Illingworth was educated at Palmerston Road Infants School there. It was in Cadoxton that he began drawing at the age of four and his first public caricature was drawn in chalk on the tarred door of the forge of the village blacksmith Evan Hopkins (known familiarly as 'Ianto the Forge'). As Illingworth later recalled:

> 'He started me off as a caricaturist, for the first public drawing I ever did was of Tom Llewelyn, Glebe Farm, with his arm in a sling. I did it on the tarred door of the forge with a lump of chalk which Ianto gave me.' [167]

However, accounts of his first drawing vary.[168]

In about 1912 the family moved again, to 'Arnside' in Gileston,[169] where he was encouraged by Rev. George Jenkins, the Rector of nearby St Athan and his wife, who allowed him to copy original paintings by Lely and others and prints by Rackham and Dulac that hung in the rectory as well as cartoons from bound volumes of *Punch* in his private collection. Here he went to St Athan School, run by Jack Thomas, 'Thomas the School'. In later life Illingworth would claim that he always wanted to be a cartoonist and that his interest dated from this period. It appears that no other members of his immediate family were artistic (the architectural draughtsman Adeline S. Illingworth seems to be no relation according to the family

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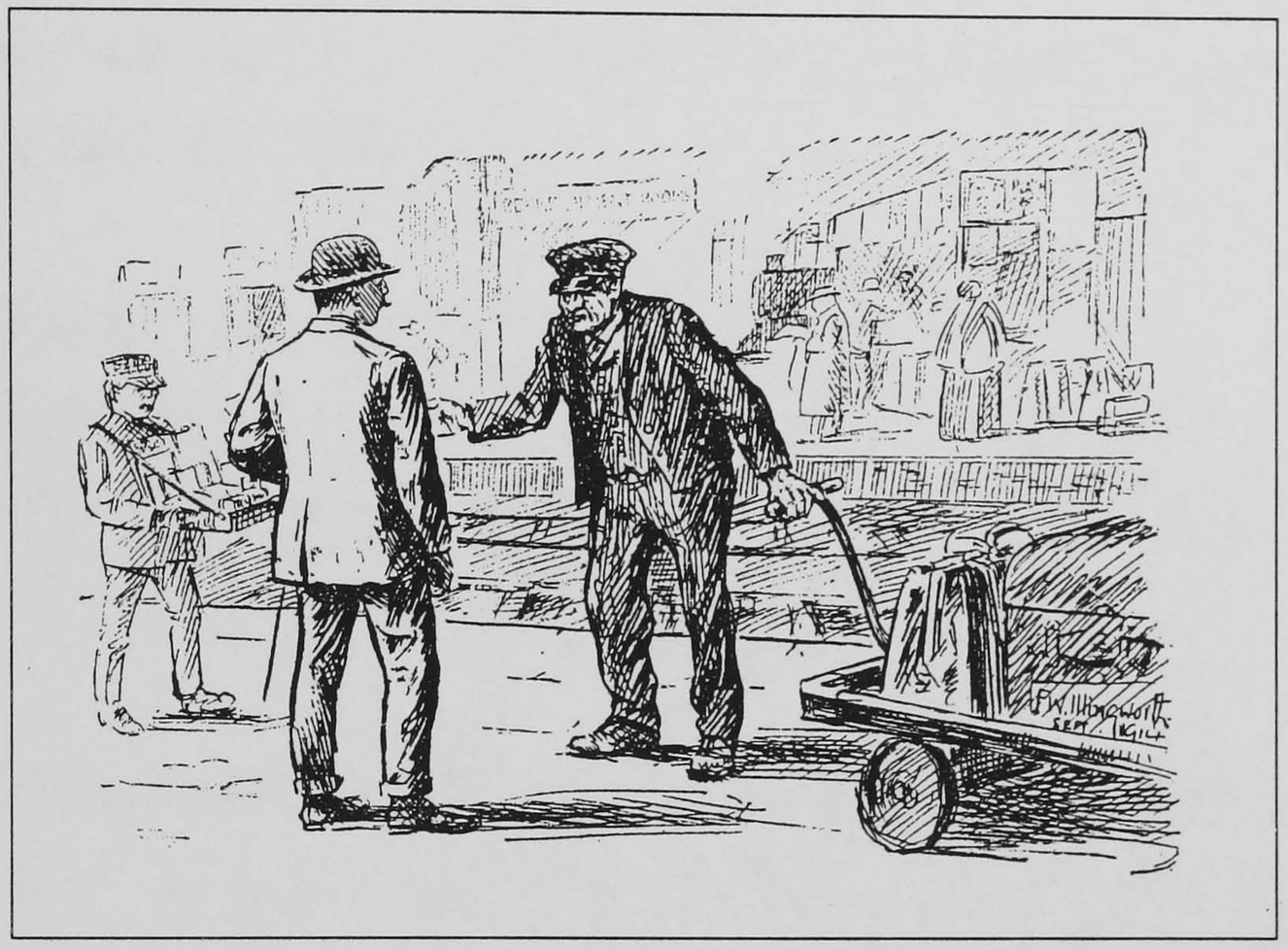
[167] From Illingworth's article 'Growing up in the Vale' in Stewart Williams, *Glamorgan History* (Cardiff, 1959), Vol. 4, p.16.

[168] In Michael Bateman's *Funny Way to Earn a Living* (London, 1966) the following quotation by Illingworth is reproduced: 'I remember my first drawing very well. The vicar had been getting his horse shod, and I used to spend a lot of time with Ian at the Forge. I was seven. I remember, when the vicar had gone, I drew him with a piece of chalk on the door of the blacksmith's. A caricature, you know. So I had this enormous public door, a tarred door, and I used to draw them all after that...' Also many sources say the forge was in St Athan.

[169] The house was again close to the railway line and Gileston was a short walk from Barry Golf Club at the Leys, which, as will be seen, had some bearing on Illingworth's career.

history researched by Vivian's son Richard). [170] However, one of his many uncles was Frank William Illingworth (1888-1972) a primary-school teacher in Wallasey who had himself taken evening art classes and had studied by correspondence course with Percy Bradshaw's Press Art School and who had had one drawing published in *Punch* (the famous First World War cartoon 'Do I know if the Rooshuns has really come through England?' reproduced below [Fig.1]).



Porter: *'Do I know if the Rooshuns has really come through England? Well, sir, if this don't prove it, I don't know what do. A train went through here full, and when it come back I knowed there'd bin Rooshuns in it, 'cause the cushions and floors was covered with snow.'*

Fig 1. (Untitled), F.W.Illingworth (1888-1972), *Punch*, 23 September 1914.

This cartoon relates to the fact that there was a persistent and widespread rumour at this time that thousands of Russian troops were crossing Britain en route to France.[171]

According to Frank Illingworth's daughter Rosemary Bragg[172] this was the only cartoon he ever had published, and though he lived (and was born) in Nantwich, Cheshire, he often visited the Glamorgan Illingworths and it was probably on one of these visits that he lent his Press Art School course notes to the young Leslie. That the boy studied these (and hence indirectly became another pupil of Bradshaw,

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[170] Richard Illingworth, op.cit., and confirmed by Rosemary Bragg (letter to MB, 5 September 1999).

[171] See Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (London, 1928), pp.63-6 and *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1918), 4th series, Vol.1, pp.16-18.

[172] Letters to MB, 19 August 1999 and 5 September 1999.

whose famous alumni included Fougasse, Leo Cheney, Norman Pett and Joe Lee) was confirmed in Bradshaw's wartime interview with him for *London Opinion*.[173] This period also saw the growth of his other great love, farming, and he often liked to visit neighbouring farms and watch the farmworkers and livestock.[174] He later said that if he had not become a cartoonist he'd have liked to have been an animal painter like Landseer or an animal illustrator like Warwick Reynolds[175] It is a tribute to his love of the countryside and his skills in draughtsmanship that Sir Alfred Munnings (Past President of the Royal Academy) later praised one of his *Daily Mail* drawings which featured a cornfield:[176]

> 'Illingworth in his cartoon today has surpassed himself. Not only is it correct in every detail, agricultural and otherwise, but he has reached the heights of cartooning and merriment. In fact it is the funniest thing in years.'[177]

When he left St Athan School Illingworth won a scholarship to Barry County Boys' (Grammar) School - the grant including rail fare and the cost of books etc - under headmaster Major Edgar Jones. Here a fellow pupil and close friend was Ronald Niebour, who was also later to become a cartoonist, first in Barry and later, under the pseudonym 'Neb', with the *Daily Mail* (joining, as pocket cartoonist, the year before Illingworth).[178] Another pupil at the school, though 12 years Illingworth's junior, was Glyn Daniel, later Professor of Archaeology at St John's College,

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[173] December 1941, pp.50-55. Reproduced in Percy V. Bradshaw, *They Make Us Smile* (London, 1942). Illingworth later wrote a course on 'Political Cartoons' for Bradshaw's Press Art School.

[174] Notable amongst these was John David of West Aberthaw: 'John David had a great sense of fun and never seemed to mind kids like myself hanging around his farm and getting in the way. Heaven it was to help feed the horses after their day's work in their warm sweet-smelling stable...A great treat in the spring was to ride them down to the beach and into the surf to cool their legs and get the salt into the "feathers" on their fetlocks.' (Leslie Illingworth, 'Growing up in the Vale' in Stewart Williams op.cit, pp.14-15.)

[175] Smilby Tapes.

[176] The cartoon in question, 'It Won't Be Long Now', was published on Thursday 20 September 1951.

[177] The political cartoonist Trog (Wally Fawkes) - who was greatly influenced by Illingworth - even depicted him as the Welsh farmer character 'Organ Morgan' in the satirical strip 'Flook' in the 1970s. Such was the attraction of the countryside that Illingworth later became a farmer himself. Having kept goats in his house in Povey Cross (c.1940-46) he then bought a 7(later 12)-acre smallholding, 'Silverdale' in Robertsbridge, Sussex, and kept three cows (Daisy, Blackie and the Gazelle), many cats and a standard poodle.

[178] Ronald Niebour (c.1902-72). Neb retired from the *Daily Mail* in 1960. See also Chapter 2.

Cambridge University, and a media celebrity appearing on *Animal, Vegetable or Mineral?* and other shows.[179]

At the age of 15 Illingworth won a scholarship to study art under Wilson Jagger at the City of Cardiff Technical College & Art School, whose former pupils had included the sculptor Sir William Goscombe John and the painter Margaret Lindsay Williams. Here he won a gold medal for drawing and had four topical cartoons published in the College's magazine, *Pen and Pencil*, in April 1920.[180] For three years (1917-20) Illingworth studied in the mornings until 12pm and in the evenings, and for nine months also worked in the lithographic department of the *Western Mail* in Cardiff in the afternoons, designing rolls of honour for First World War troops, producing illuminated addresses, and taking on various commercial printing jobs.[181] And it was at the *Western Mail*'s premises that he produced his first paid humorous drawing (a design for a railway timetable cover). This led to his being commissioned to draw a regular football cartoon ('Dai Pepper', see Fig. 2) for the weekly *Football Express* (part of the *Western Mail* group and linked to its daily evening title, the *Evening Express*, but published as a separate Saturday paper). He also produced police court drawings for the *Western Mail* (presumably earning enough from this to leave the hackwork of the lithographic department).

According to an interview with Illingworth in 1976,[182] his influences at this time included Rackham, Dulac, the magazine illustrator Frank Craig (whom he greatly

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[179] They first met when Illingworth's sister Phyllis - having graduated as a teacher - was posted to the school at nearby Llanwit Major where Glyn's father John Daniel was headmaster. Illingworth was later Glyn Daniel's best man in Exeter Cathedral.

[180] Neb did not follow Illingworth to art school but joined the Merchant Navy instead.

[181] The *Western Mail* - formerly owned by the Marquess of Bute who owned coalfields in South Wales - was then (as now) the national newspaper of Wales. It was part of the Allied Newspaper Group run by the Berry family of Merthyr Tydfil. The *Western Mail* later absorbed its rival the *South Wales Daily News* but kept the *News*'s sister evening paper, the *South Wales Echo*, intact, later (1930) allowing it to absorb its own evening title, the *Evening Express*. By the late 1920s Allied was the largest newspaper group in Britain. According to a handwritten document by Sir Robert Webber in the *Western Mail*'s archives (dated 19 November 1940) it was Sir Robert himself who first became aware of Illingworth's work while he was still at school, invited him to become an apprentice in the *Western Mail*'s art department under W.H.J.Richard, and advised him to take art classes at Cardiff Technical College.

[182] Smilby Tapes.

admired[183] and one of whose paintings - of a civic ceremony - hung in County Hall, Cardiff),[184] the artists of *Punch* (he later owned two original Charles Keene drawings)[185] and the work of the sports cartoonist of the rival *Football Echo* (part of the *South Wales Echo*, an evening rival to the *Evening Express*), Dai John of Fonmon (brother of the French consul in Cardiff). [186] However, it is highly probable that he was also aware of the great Welsh cartoonists of the past such as the early *Punch* artist Kenny Meadows[187] and Illingworth's near contemporaries the caricaturist Quiz [188]and Bert Thomas,[189] celebrated for his "Arf a Mo', Kaiser' in the First World War and later Illingworth's opposite number on the *Daily Mail*'s sister paper the *Evening News* during the Second World War. And he would definitely have been aware of the work of J.M.Staniforth, the distinguished and long-serving political cartoonist on the *Western Mail* - and one of Britain's first war cartoonists on a daily newspaper (albeit a regional one) - and was given some tips by him. [190]

In 1921[191] Illingworth won a three-year scholarship valued £90 a year[192] to study under Sir William Rothenstein[193] at the Royal College of Art, then based in

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[183] Illingworth's father also admired Craig. In an interview with Keith Mackenzie in 1971 Illingworth recalled: 'My father was sold on artists - he practically said his prayers to Frank Craig. He was right, my old man.' (Keith Mackenzie Papers, 21 February 1971.)

[184] Craig (1874-1918) illustrated books and stories for *Nash's* magazine etc (as later did Illingworth) - notably the famous story 'The Girl Philippa' (1917) by R.W.Chambers.

[185] Though he disliked the work of the *Punch* artist Leonard Raven Hill, calling it 'slipshod...a quick dash' (Smilby Tapes).

[186] Dai Gwilym John (1884-1958) As 'D.G.John' he also drew political cartoons for the *South Wales Echo* and later worked for the *News Chronicle*, *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Punch* and other publications. 'Dai John was a comic genius and very good artist who would have made an enormous name in wider fields had not the 1914 war wounded him deeply in body and soul (he had to learn to draw with his left hand after being wounded).' (Illingworth in 'Growing up in the Vale in Stewart Williams, op.cit.)

[187] Joseph Kenny Meadows (1790-1874) was born in Cardigan. Drawings from his book, *Heads of the People* (1840) are still very popular as framed prints in pubs.

[188] Powys Arthur Lenthall Evans (1899-1981), who started work for *Pan* in 1919 and then *Tatler*, was the son of a Welsh County Court judge and came to national fame with an exhibition in 1922.

[189] Herbert Samuel Thomas (1883-1966) was born in Newport. Thomas began working for *Punch* in 1905 and in the First World War also produced Britain's largest poster (for the War Bonds campaign) which covered the face of the National Gallery and was 75 feet long. Awarded an MBE in 1918, Illingworth must have been aware of his work.

[190] Sir Robert Webber in the document mentioned earlier says that he was 'encouraged and helped by the late J.M.Staniforth', and another person who encouraged him at this time was 'Miss Margaret Lindsay Williams, a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy, who predicted a brilliant future for him'. Illingworth also later expressed admiration for the wood-engraver Thomas Bewick and according to the cartoonist Harry Hargreaves (HH phone call to MB 11 April 2000), he also collected Japanese prints.

[191] Many sources (e.g. feature by Herbert B.Grimsditch in *The Artist*, December 1937) give the date as 1920 but this seems unlikely. If Illingworth only spent five months at the RCA before his appointment (as he claims, and this is repeated by Grimsditch who says that 'after five months, he was

Exhibition Road, South Kensington, London, beside the Victoria & Albert Museum. This period at the RCA was a particularly fruitful one and famous contemporaries included Barbara Hepworth (1921-4), Henry Moore, Eric Ravilious (1922-5), Edward Bawden (1922-5),[194] Raymond Coxon (1921-5), A.K.Lawrence and the bird painter Charles Tunnicliffe (1921-5). Another fellow student was John Gilroy (1919-23), later to become famous for his advertising cartoons, notably the Guinness series, and during the Second World War for his Ministry of Information posters series 'Make Do and Mend' and 'Keep it Under Your Hat'. Also, one of Illingworth's teachers was the illustrator, painter, political and joke cartoonist Thomas Derrick ARCA who had been Art Advisor to the government Foreign Propaganda Department during the First World War.

Though he had by now moved to 3 Battersea Bridge Road West, London, Illingworth continued to draw his weekly football cartoons for the Saturday *Football Express* while the *Western Mail*'s daily political cartoon was produced by J.M.Staniforth. However, when in 1921 the 58-year-old Staniforth became increasingly ill, Illingworth's father, who played golf with the paper's managing director Robert J. Webber[195] (Dick Illingworth was a founder member and later secretary of the club), suggested that his son should be Staniforth's understudy.

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just finishing his architectural course at the college' when Staniforth died), and he took over Staniforth's job in December 1921 then he must have started at the RCA in the autumn of 1921.This also ties up with the student dates of his famous contemporaries.

[192] Figure given in Gordon Beckles, 'Tory Cartoonist', *Leader Magazine*, 20 July 1946, p.10.

[193] Sir William Rothenstein NEAC, RP, principal of the RCA (1920-35) had himself studied at the Slade and Académie Julian (both of which Illingworth later studied at), was an Official War Artist in both world wars and wrote an influential book on the artist and caricaturist Goya.

[194] These last three were all later appointed Official War Artists in 1940. By coincidence Moore and Hepworth had been at Leeds Art School with Joe Lee (1901-74), later cartoonist on the *Evening News* (1934-66), who had also won a scholarship to the RCA but was unable to pay his way.

[195] Robert Webber was later knighted and became President of the Newspaper Society, Chairman of the Press Association and Deputy Chairman of Reuters. Another staff member at the time whom Illingworth got to know well was Percy Cudlipp (1905-62, subsequently Editor of the *Daily Herald*, who began work aged 13 for the *South Wales Echo* and was known as 'the boy poet of Cardiff'). His claim (Smilby Tapes) that he got to know his younger brother Hugh (who became Chairman of the Mirror Group) at this time seems unlikely as Hugh was born in 1913 and so even when Illingworth left the paper in 1927 would only have been 14 years old (though Hugh was a cub reporter on the *Penarth News* aged 14 in 1927). It is possible that he is confusing him with his brother Reginald (b.1910) who began on the *Penarth News* and was then on the *Western Mail*.

Fig 2. ' "Dai Pepper" on the Somme', J.M.Staniforth (1863-1921), in Captain T.E.Elias (ed.), *New Year Souvenir of the Welsh Division* (Western Mail, 1917).

Judging by the evidence of this cartoon, published in a *Western Mail* illustrated anthology produced during the First World War, Illingworth appears to have taken over drawing the football-playing 'Dai Pepper' from its creator, the *Western Mail's* political cartoonist J.M. Staniforth who signed himself 'JMS' (see also below).[196] However, it is difficult to confirm this as very few copies of the *Football Express* survive. ('Dai Pepper' was later succeeded by the hugely popular, pidgin-Welsh speaking 'Dai Lossin' of the Cwmsgwt Rugby Football Club, created for the rival *Football Echo* in 1919 by Dai John.)

Joseph Morewood Staniforth (1863-1921) was an important force in political cartoons both in Wales and nationally in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly during the period of influence of the Welsh politican and later Prime Minister Lloyd George. Born and educated in Cardiff he, like Illingworth four decades later, had also been apprenticed to the lithographic department of the *Western Mail*. Starting as a junior in 1878, he joined the editorial staff 10 years later as an illustrator, and from 1893 drew regular daily cartoons for the paper, publishing impressive collections on the 1895 general election, the Boer War and the First World War amongst others. He also drew for the national Sunday, *News of the World*, which was owned by the same newspaper group. His style was clean and clear and must have influenced Illingworth who drew very much like him when he began on the *Western Mail*. Staniforth's cartoon about the sinking of the *Lusitania* 'Lower Than Barbarism' (1915), was - with Raemaekers' 'Remember Louvain' and Partridge's 'Unconquerable' (see Chapter 7) - one of the best known cartoons of the First World War.

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[196] I am grateful to Diana Willis, daughter of the cartoonist H.M.Bateman, for lending me this rare publication.

His first political cartoon appeared in the paper on Tuesday 11 October 1921, signed 'L.G.Illingworth'. [197]

2. From the Western Mail *(1921-7) until the* Daily Mail *(1939)*

When Staniforth died on 17 December 1921 (earning personal obituaries by Prime Minister Lloyd George and others), Illingworth took over and began to work on the paper (three months after his 19th birthday), then edited by Sir William Davies, at the sum of £6 a week.

He continued to study and live in London but by the time he was 20 he was earning the then high sum of £1000 a year (his father, who had a senior and responsible clerical job, had only been earning c.£360 p.a. in 1920)[198] from the *Western Mail* and other work and so gave up his studies and returned to Wales to live with his parents and sister at 'Arnside', Gileston, near St Athan (c.1922-5),[199] cycling and later driving in to Cardiff each day. He eventually drew one political cartoon plus a children's cartoon each day ('Aunt Betty's' cartoon) for the paper as well as a weekly cartoon for the Saturday *Weekly Mail* and sundry illustrations. In addition, between March 1922 (when it was launched) and February 1924 he drew 21 caricatures of musical personalities for the Welsh-language monthly music magazine *Y Cerddor Newydd* (The New Musician) published by Hughes & Son of Wrexham and in 1922-23 also illustrated at least three books published by the same company.[200]

In November 1923, while Illingworth was still at the *Western Mail*, Owen Aves, himself a cartoonist and at that time Art Editor of the humorous weekly *Passing Show,* sent him a joke featuring pigs to illustrate and subsequently invited him to

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[197] In fact it was a joke about the weather: '*Jove* (catching the Clerk of the Weather asleep at his post): May I drink the Styx if I don't get a new clerk; that's the second time this year he has left the hot weather tap running." '

[198] Indeed, as late as 1937 his brother Vivian and his wife were described as 'comfortably off' and employed a live-in maid when Vivian's salary was only £475 p.a. (Richard Illingworth, op cit., p.37).

[199] Exactly when he gave up his studies altogether is not clear. To have met Ravilious and others he must have still been attending the college for at least the first term of 1922 and Illingworth himself is recorded as saying that he was there for five months (Smilby Tapes).

[200] Two of these were by the novelist and children's writer E.Tegla Davies (including *Gwr Pen Y Bryn*, [Wrexham, 1923]) and one by the novelist and poet Lewis Davies. I am indebted to Tegwyn Jones for this information.

submit work by post.[201] Then when Aves left the magazine and set up as an artists' agent in June 1924 he took on Illingworth and as a result he later worked for *London Opinion*, the *Humorist, Pearson's*, *Strand*, *Nash's, Good Housekeeping, London Life*, *Red Magazine*, *Wills' Magazine*, *Answers*, *Tit-Bits, Everybody's* (e.g. 'The Darling Buds of May') and others.[202]

POOR OLD FATHER CHRISTMAS !

Fig.3. 'Poor Old Father Christmas!', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Western Mail*, 24 December 1927.

Illingworth's last cartoon for the *Western Mail* before travelling to France and the USA. Though it suffers from an excess of labels, by the age of 25 his drawing style has been established. The portrait of Churchill (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1924-9) is recognisable and even in this daily cartoon drawn to tight deadlines he has managed to find time for a remarkable amount of detail in the quilt on the bed on the right.

Later the same year he returned to London to study (briefly) part-time at the Slade School of Art, London University, under Henry Tonks (who had been an Official

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[201] Fenn Sherie, 'The Art of Illingworth', *Strand Magazine*, January 1941, p.202. This may well be the *Passing Show* cartoon reproduced on the first page of Sherie's article - *Doctor* (on urgent call): 'Which is the nearest way to Stockton?' *Farmer*: 'Follow them pigs; they be goin' there!'

War Artist in the First World War) while still drawing for the *Western Mail* and producing freelance work for Aves. [203] However, he returned to live in Wales in 1925 when the family moved about two miles from Gileston to the more spacious Picketston Cottage, near Picketston House (and Farm), outside St Athan, working from a studio above their garage in a converted barn.[204] During the General Strike of 1926 he continued to work for the paper, producing his own plates when the print department refused to make them. But the following year he resigned, his last cartoon being published on Saturday 24 December 1927 (Fig. 3).[205]

According to Sir Robert Webber[206] 'he was given a cheque and six months' leave of absence to tour the art schools of France and America, finally leaving Salt Lake City to resume his cartoons with the *Western Mail*. Eventually he asked to be released in order to take up illustrative work and in this branch of art he soon was amongst the top flight of British artists.'

The reasons for his final resignation are not clear but are discussed later in this chapter. He certainly no longer needed the job financially (by this point he was making a good living from his freelance work alone - 'Prices for illustrations being twice those of the *Western Mail*')[207] and did not need the added pressures of a daily cartoon. Also, money and politics apart, according to his former schoolfriend and neighbour Harold Wrightson[208] he had by this time become ill from overwork and threw in the job after returning from a holiday in Grindelwald, Switzerland (Illingworth had also tried to encourage Wrightson, himself an artist, to take on the job of daily political cartoonist).

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[202] Other cartoonists Aves represented included A.C.Barrett, G.S.Sherwood and Clive Uptton.
[203] According to the Smilby Tapes Illingworth took three months off from the *Western Mail* at a time when he was earning £10 a week from the paper. However, I have since discovered that he also drew cartoons for the *Evening Express* for the week beginning 1 July 1924, briefly replacing its regular political cartoonist, W.A.Howells.
[204] The view of 'Starling Down' from this studio (designed by his brother) can be seen in Illingworth's *Punch* cartoon for 4 November 1935 (Smilby Tapes).
[205] His immediate successor was 'BUKE' whose first cartoon was published on 31 December 1927.
[206] *Western Mail* archive document cited earlier.
[207] Keith Mackenzie, op.cit., p.95.
[208] Harold Wrightson, 'Some Memories of My Friend, Leslie Illingworth' (Illingworth Papers).

After leaving the *Western Mail* at the end of 1927 Illingworth moved to Paris - where the devalued franc meant that living was cheap - to continue his art studies. However, not having the required baccalaureate in French for admission to the Ecole des Beaux Arts, he took classes at the Académie Julian (where his former RCA head William Rothenstein had studied). At first he stayed briefly in a hotel on the Rue St Hyacinth near the Académie Julian with his father and then moved to a £3-a-week two-bedroom flat in the Rue Chervet, near l'Opera. Here he was looked after by his mother and supported them both (earning c.£30 a week, then still a considerable sum)[209] by continuing to produce freelance illustrations, cartoons and advertising work arranged by Aves and dispatched to London by air (there were at this time in Britain some 16 or more magazines which regularly commissioned story illustration work from freelancers). [210]

In 1927, he had been invited to America by the political cartoonist Dorman H. Smith of the syndication agency NEA,[211] and went to stay with him for three weeks in Maplewood, New Jersey, USA, in 1928. He took his sister Phyllis with him on the Cunard liner *Alaunia*, sailing from Liverpool, and worked for three months as a political cartoonist for Hearst newspapers in New York (Hearst owned the British magazines *Good Housekeeping* and *Nash's* to which Illingworth had been a regular contributor). He also drew for *Life* - then still the leading humorous magazine in the USA (the *New Yorker* had only been founded in 1925) and at the time was owned and edited by the famous American cartoonist, illustrator and creator of the 'Gibson Girl', Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944) - and other magazines. [212] He then bought a

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[209] Especially when one considers that his annual starting salary at the *Daily Mail* was only £1500 some 13 years later (see below).

[210] There is some confusion about when Illingworth arrived in Paris and exactly how long he stayed there. An article in the *Western Mail* dated 28 January 1928 talks of Illingworth, 'the *Western Mail* cartoonist' being at art school in Paris as part of a 'holiday tour in Europe' with the intention of then going to the USA. This fits in with Sir Robert Webber's account that he originally left the *Mail* to have a holiday and study art and then just decided not to come back. However, some reports say he was there for two years (1926-7) but this cannot be the case as his last cartoon for the *Mail* was at the end of December 1927 and thus puts his dates in Paris a year later. Also his subsequent travels seem to imply that he only stayed in Paris for a few months.

[211] Illingworth describes him as a pen-friend, though how they originally met is not clear. Dorman H. Smith (1892-1956) became chief editorial cartoonist for the Newspaper Enterprise Association in 1921 and in 1927 moved to Hearst Newspapers, drawing for outlets in New York (e.g. *New York American*). Chicago and San Francisco. He won the National Headliners Club Award for his work in 1950.

[212] Another British cartoonist, H.M.Bateman, had had 13 full-page cartoons published in *Life* in 1923.

car and drove with his sister to the West Coast before returning with her to his parents' house in Wales. Soon afterwards he moved to St John's Wood, London, to study briefly again at the Slade (1928-9) under Henry Tonks.

Then in 1929 he finally returned to his parents' house in Picketston and took up freelancing once more, producing advertisements for the 'Beer is Best' campaign and for such clients as Winsor & Newton, Kraft Cheese, Grey's Cigarettes, Symingtons Soups, Eiffel Tower Lemonade and Wolsey Underwear and drawing

Indulgent Mother: *'How much do your balloons cost? My little boy would like to prick them with a pin.'*

Fig.4. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch*, 27 May 1931.

Illingworth's first cartoon for *Punch*, illustrating an idea supplied to him. The man bears some similarity to Illingworth himself and on a number of occasions he included himself as a background figure in his drawings. Reproduced here actual size, it was published in the centre of the page, breaking into two columns of type.

illustrations for short stories in magazines such as the *Strand* for 75 guineas a time.[213] By 1937 *The Artist* would describe him as 'among the half-dozen most eminent magazine artists of our day'.[214]

At about this time he also began to draw cartoons for *Punch*. However, his claim that his first work for the magazine was in 1927 seems to be mistaken as his own description of this first cartoon (an illustration for someone else's joke about a boy bursting a balloon-seller's balloons) exactly fits the magazine's first indexed entry for a cartoon under his name which was published on 27 May 1931 (Fig. 4).

Illingworth produced four more non-political cartoons for the magazine in 1931, three of which - 19 August, 2 September and 2 November - were full-page drawings).[215] His first 'big cut' or whole-page political cartoon for *Punch* was published on 21 April 1937 ('The Line of Least Resistance')[216] during the Editorship of E.V.Knox (Fig.5).[217]

He went on to draw seven more full-page political cartoons in 1937, six in 1938 and 11 in 1939, alternating as Second Cartoonist with E.H.Shepard (of *Winnie the Pooh* fame) when the main cartoonist, Sir Bernard Partridge, stopped coming to London with the outbreak of war. (When Partridge died in 1945, Illingworth, who was by then seen as a better political cartoonist than Shepard, took over the main cartoon altogether.)[218]

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[213] He returned to the USA in 1930 (again with his sister Phyllis).

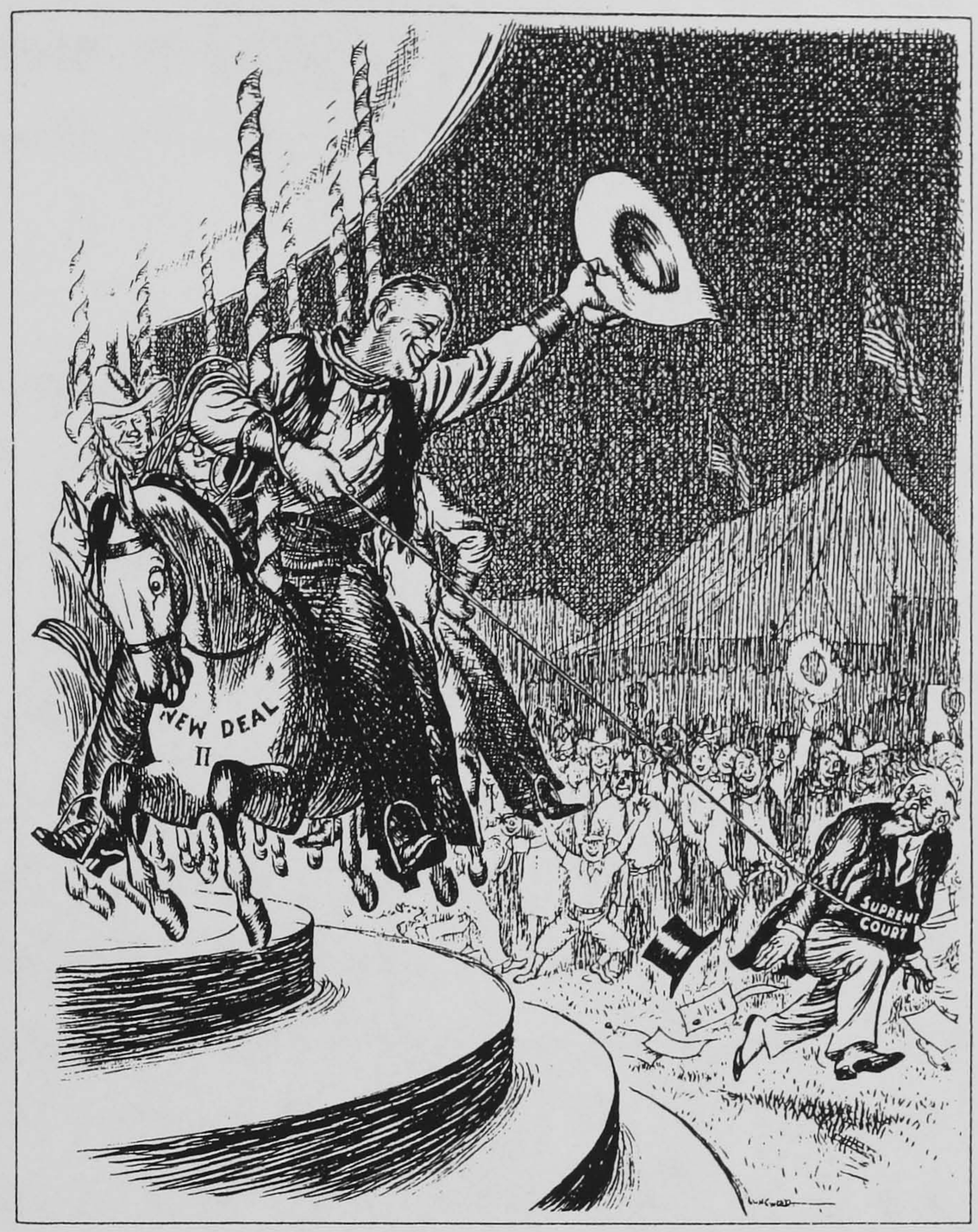
[214] Herbert B. Grimsditch, 'Artists of Note: Number 34, L.G.Illingworth', *The Artist*, December 1937, p.122.

[215] Many of these drawings from the 1930s were country scenes and close observers of the cartoon for 14 May 1934 ('Village Cricket') will spot Illingworth's initials and two entwined hearts labelled L and E (for Leslie and Enid [Ratcliff] - see later) carved on the tree trunk in the bottom-left corner.

[216] He recalls he was paid £26 full a full-page *Punch* cartoon in the 1920s (Smilby Tapes). The ideas for the cartoon were hammered out at the Wednesday *Punch* lunch and the cartoon produced within 36 hours for publication the following Wednesday.

[217] Editor 1932-49.

[218] According to R.G.G.Price: 'In 1935 Raven Hill was succeeded as second cartoonist by Ernest Shepard, who was rather wasted on the work. Partridge had been anxious to retire but in response to urgent entreaties by the proprietors and the Editor [E.V.Knox] he carried on until his death in 1945, when L.G.Illingworth took over. Illingworth was a superb draughtsman in a job that needed one.' (*A History of Punch* [London, 1957], p.285.) Illingworth remained as the main cartoonist on *Punch* until he himself retired in 1969.



THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Fig.5. 'The Line of Least Resistance', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch*, 21 April 1937.

Illingworth's first full-page political cartoon for *Punch*, and his first political cartoon of any kind since leaving the *Western Mail* in 1927, almost exactly 10 years earlier. Delighted at having beaten resistance by the members of the Supreme Court is US President Franklin D. Roosevelt who has just pushed through his 'New Deal II' economic measures.

In 1936 he answered an advertisement in *The Times* for a flat to let at 53 Queensborough Terrace, Bayswater (where he stayed until c.1940) and returned to London (the move coincided with the building of an RAF aerodrome next door to the Picketston house which may have hastened his departure). It was at Queensborough Terrace that he met his lifetime companion Enid Ratcliff (whom he called Ratty), who leased him the flat for 37s.6d. a week.[219] When Illingworth moved to another flat above the Scotch House at 14 Park Mansions, Knightsbridge,

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[219] 'The house belonged to... the Vicar of Burton-on-Trent. He let it because he had two boys to put through Oxford' (Enid Ratcliff quoted in Valerie Jenkins [Grove] Notes, Illingworth Papers). Enid Ratcliff's father owned a fish shop in Richmond (Illingworth sometimes called her 'Jones the Fish'). She became a Land Army girl when the war started and later worked for the art agency, Clement Danes, where she became Illingworth's agent after Owen Aves died. Illingworth's flat, No.5, was on the first floor.

SW7 (c.1940-c.1963) Enid came too and they later also moved in to The White Bungalow, Povey Cross, Horley, Sussex (c.1940-46) originally bought as a home for evacuee children from London by Enid with an inheritance when her father died.[220]

When the long-serving political cartoonist 'Poy'[221] retired from the *Daily Mail* in 1938, the paper advertised for a cartoonist and Aves suggested that Illingworth should apply for the job after Illingworth's illustrator friend Clive Uptton (also agented by Aves) had been turned down through lack of experience as a political cartoonist.[222] Illingworth asked Aves to submit two of his cartoons along with some by a group of 'unknown' artists. They were drawn in a simpler style than that which he had used for *Punch* and his illustration work and he used the pseudonym 'MacGregor' (his mother's maiden name) in the belief that his (by then well known) work for *Punch* and other magazines would count against him in Fleet Street. His ruse was detected by the Deputy Editor (then Gordon Beckles according to fellow *Daily Mail* journalist Pat Murphy, who shared an office with Illingworth)[223] but he got the job - his first drawing 'Feeding Time' appearing on Monday 30 October 1939 (Fig.6) - and he settled in to work at the *Daily Mail*'s offices in Northcliffe House, just off Fleet Street.

He was paid at first £1500 a year (rising to £2000 after three months - he never had a contract) [224] and remained as Political Cartoonist through eight editors[225] (ending with Arthur Brittenden) until 1969 when he retired (his last cartoon 'They're Off' was published on 22 December that year), being succeeded by Wally Fawkes

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[220] Illingworth was always very generous with his rooms and amongst many others allowed Czech Jewish refugees to stay in the Knightsbridge flat, including the political cartoonist Stephen Roth, who was then drawing sports cartoons for the *Daily Mail* (Smilby Tapes).

[221] Percy Fearon (1874-1949). Poy, like Illingworth, was also a bachelor and also known as a very good draughtsman. His cartoons during the First World War had had considerable impact (see Chapter 2). Though retired, Poy drew three cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in September 1939.

[222] Uptton Tapes. However, according to Harold Wrightson (op.cit.), Uptton was told that he was turned down because his name was too well known, which fits better with Illingworth's own account and explains why Illingworth used a pseudonym when applying for the job.

[223] Pat Murphy, 'Illinsworth' [sic] (Illingworth Papers). The official records put the editor as being Robert Prew (1939-44) - though there seems to be a gap from 1938 (when A.L.Cranfield left) until 1939 when Prew started. Gordon Beckles (1901-54) was Assistant and Deputy Editor 1938-40.

[224] In 1966 he was earning £7000 a year from the *Mail*, £1000 from *Punch* plus more from book illustrations etc (Michael Bateman, *Funny Way to Earn a Living* [London, 1966], p.15).

(Trog). He drew four cartoons a week for the *Daily Mail* (Monday to Thursday,[226] alternating after 1957 with Emmwood and sometimes Chrys)[227] as well as

FEEDING TIME

Fig.6. 'Feeding Time', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 30 October 1939.

Illingworth's first cartoon for the *Daily Mail*, in which bureacrats are seen herding blindfolded businessmen into the clutches of the monocled Rt Hon. Pool Octopus ('Petrol' has already succumbed), appeared on page 6 of the paper. It very much reflects the comments in the nearby leader column condemning the government's system of universal control where everything is 'pooled' in the interest of the war effort. Even the image of the octopus is supplied in the journalist's text: 'How many controllers are damming the flow of trade? How many committees are telling businessmen how to run business? What is the cost to the country of this bloated octopus? What is the effect on prices?'

contributing occasional journalism and illustrating his own international travel pieces (e.g. 'Illingworth at Large' in the 1960s) - and later worked for a short time as Political Cartoonist on the weekly *Sunday Dispatch* (part of the same group), until the paper closed in 1961 and was absorbed by its rival, the *Sunday Express*.

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[225] And nine editorships.

[226] Friday and Saturday afternoons were spent on book and commercial work

[227] 'Emmwood' was John Bertram Musgrave Wood (1915-99), and 'Chrys' was George Fraser Chrystal (1921-72).

(Illingworth later came out of retirement to work at the *Sun* [briefly] and *News of the World* [1974-6].)

Figure 7 shows Illingworth in his studio at the *Daily Mail.* His small private office was Room 60 on the fourth floor of Northcliffe House on the corner of Whitefriars Street and Tudor Street (in which *Punch* was situated) and close to Temple Chambers in the Temple complex where he kept a room to draw his *Punch* cartoon.

His daily routine was much the same during the war as it was 30 years later:

> 'Illingworth's day starts when he listens to the early morning's news and studies all the morning's papers. By the time he arrives at Northcliffe House several possibilities are taking shape in his head. Before lunch a number of linear roughs are presented to the editor and the chosen idea and appropriate shape decided upon. With a roughly pencilled design on a virgin sheet of board, the real work starts after lunch when the situation, likeness and background will be rapidly drawn in with a fine pen, strengthened by brush, chalk, mechanical tint or wash. He doesn't use photographic reference much; like all good draughtsmen he draws things well because he "knows" them, whether it is Harold Wilson's expression, De Gaulle's nose, a steamroller or a windmill. Corrections and deletions being completed with Process White and razor blade, the drawing will then be ready for the Process Department from whom will emerge a line block ready for printing to the six million or so *Daily Mail* readers the following morning.'[228]

A contemporary account of his wartime routine also appeared in *London Opinion* in December 1941 where Percy V.Bradshaw explained that the secret of how Illingworth could turn from the 'leisurely character drawing' of his illustration work

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[228] Keith Mackenzie, op.cit., p.95. This is confirmed by a wartime (1941) article in the *Strand Magazine*: 'There [in his Fleet Street office], in a top-floor room, regardless of sirens and roof-spotters, he spends his mornings turning out, perhaps, half a dozen rough sketches for discussion at the midday conference, and returns in the afternoon to produce, in a couple of hours, one of the finely finished cartoons that provide daily delight for a vast public.' (Fenn Sherie, op.cit. p.205.)

to the 'swift comment' of the daily newspaper political cartoonist was 'a combination of great artistic ability - and a talent for doing without sleep':

> 'Illingworth's toughest period of the week begins usually on those Thursday mornings, when he has a *Punch* cartoon and two *Daily Mail* cartoons to produce before Saturday.
>
> When you go to bed on Thursday night, you might like to give a thought to Illingworth, busy in his room at the *Daily Mail*. When you wake up on Friday morning he will still be working, and, with intervals for a breakfast at a Fleet Street milk bar and lunch - perhaps - at the Savoy, he will continue to dispense with sleep all through the day.
>
> During the "Blitz" periods the nightly programme was interrupted by helping to put out incendiaries on the *Daily Mail* roof - and, perhaps, by the need to scrap a cartoon owing to a sudden change in the world's news.
>
> Does all this sound like a grim and ghastly life? Believe me, Illingworth doesn't think so. He revels in it. [...] He loves the excitement of a newspaper office, the thrill of being in the centre of things. It seems to keep him fresh and young, fit and happy.'[229]

It took approximately four hours to complete his daily drawing - 'Shortly before or after the 7.30 deadline for the *Daily Mail*'s Scottish edition, the work was completed.'[230]

The routine for his weekly *Punch* work was slightly different. The *Punch* table met on Wednesdays and after their deliberations Illingworth had 36 hours to produce his drawing in time to be sent to the press on Friday for the following Wednesday's issue:

> 'On this he like to spend a full day's work. The idea was discussed over the table at the *Punch* lunch where ideas were passed round and one

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[229] Percy V. Bradshaw, ' They Make Us Smile: Illingworth', *London Opinion*, December 1941, p.51.

Fig 7. (Photograph of Leslie Illingworth), Ministry of Information, 15 May 1944.

This portrait of Illingworth in his studio at the *Daily Mail* is labelled on the back 'British Official Photograph: Distributed by the Ministry of Information. No.D.20495' and is part of a series 'The Makings of a Modern Newspaper'. The MOI blurb goes on to say: 'A leader in *The Times* for February 6, 1852, declared "For us, with whom publicity and truth are the air and light of existence, there can be no greater disgrace than to recoil from the frank and accurate disclosure of facts as they are. We are bound to tell the truth as we find it, without fear of consequences...For to what, after all, are the Statesmen of England to look for strength and national power, if injuries and offences rise against us, but to the enlightened resolution of the people of England to uphold the principles on which our own policy and independence are founded?". As a justification of a free press, the statement holds good today.' [231] As the cartoon Illingworth is working on is 'Here He Comes!' (15 May 1944) featuring Eisenhower as the bowler, Hitler as the batsman and Stalin as the wicket keeper, it is safe to assume that the photo was taken either that day (a Monday) or the day before (unless of course he is merely posed with an old cartoon).

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[230] Draper Hill, *Illingworth on Target* (Boston, 1970), pp. 21-2.

[231] It continued: 'The British newspaper was born with the Civil War and the political strife that led up to it. Its struggle for freedom coincided with the struggle of the British people for political freedom and was not won without a long and hard fight. Throughout the Eighteenth Century, the newspaper was improving its means of obtaining news, and fighting for the right to print the news it obtained, and from November 29th, 1814, when *The Times* was first printed by steam press, the technique of newspaper production has been gradually brought to its present pitch. The first penny paper was the *Daily Telegraph* in 1855; the first of the modern popular newspapers was the *Daily Mail*, published by Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, and his brother Harold (Lord Rothmere [sic]) in 1896. They and their successors catered for the new reading public brought into being by universal education. Today, a free and independent press is regarded as more than a great industry. It is the means by which a free people, living together in democracy, can keep itself informed of events and safeguard its liberties. These photographs were taken in the London Office of the *Daily Mail*. They show how a British national newspaper is edited, printed and published.'

> finally chosen. He then settled down in his small room in Temple Chambers to devote the time and care which is not normally possible on the day-to-day drawings of the National Daily's deadline.'[232]

Often a 'nocturnal affair' in his garret flat, it was 'Thought out before supper, pencilled in before retiring and executed as dawn crept up behind the dominant silhouette of St Paul's which filled the window.' [233] Indeed such was his devotion to his *Punch* work that he sometimes finished his weekly cartoon in the *Daily Mail*'s office.[234]

3. Why Did Illingworth Become a Cartoonist?

Having looked briefly at his career up to 1939 when the Second World War broke out and he started work at the *Daily Mail*, an examination will now be made of Illingworth's view of himself, both as a political thinker and as an artist. But first some details of the context of his personal and social life will also be explored in an attempt to shed some light on his work and his motivations as a cartoonist and, in particular, as a political cartoonist in wartime.

The first question to ask is why did Illingworth become a cartoonist at all? As has been seen, Illingworth said that he had always wanted to be a cartoonist, and that if he had not become a cartoonist he would have liked to have been an animal painter. But why become an artist of any kind?

The reason for this seems to reside in his personal make-up and his own perception of his apparent lack of ability in other fields. For him, as he often said, art is an

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[232] Keith Mackenzie, op cit., p.95.
[233] Draper Hill, op cit., p.21.
[234] Illingworth also had immense patience. As fellow *Daily Mail* journalist Pat Murphy recalled, on one occasion he had nearly completed a scraperboard drawing for *Punch* with a theme based on Shelley's poem 'The Cloud' and illustrating the line 'like a swarm of golden bees...' when disaster struck. 'He had drawn about 650 bees with their four wings and six legs and a dense complicated countryside background. Suddenly a gust of wind whipped the drawing off his easel and out of the window. He walked over to the balustrade and peered down, muttering: "I bet it goes face down." It not only went face down but a *Daily Mail* van drove over it, destroying the six or seven hours' work, for it was nearly finished....Leslie pulled out a another huge board from his quiver of them and saying: "Oh! Aye, start all over again" began to do exactly that.' (Pat Murphy, op.cit., p.3.)

'instead of".[235] By this he meant that it was something you did when you were unable to do anything else. Despite winning a scholarship to secondary school[236] he felt he had not been very bright academically, was not particularly good at sport [237] or music, and had no talent for business etc., so drawing was what he concentrated on.

He was also not a great wordsmith or public speaker[238] and later complained bitterly when an editor forced him and two competing cartoonists to talk about their ideas for the day's drawing in full conference before choosing which of them got the job:[239]

> 'I hate to speak in public. I am not at ease with words. I forget the names and I am a man who thinks with pictures not words and so to sit among a gaggle of people who know how to express themselves and expect me to speak. It was awful.' [240]

In addition he had a very low opinion of his appearance and never thought himself attractive. He was of medium height, with a stocky build, a very large head, almost no neck and an undershot jaw. In his youth he had bright red hair which later turned white and increasingly large bushy eyebrows spread above his blue eyes. [241]

The following drawing by Joss is very different to Illingworth's pictures of himself (Figs 8).

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[235] Smilby Tapes.

[236] Where he matriculated in the Senior Certificate exams with one distinction.

[237] Though his heavy build made him a useful rugby player and he was a keen skiier thoughout his life and had a golf handicap of 13.

[238] He spoke very softly with a strong Welsh accent. However, despite his claims about his lack of writing ability, his travel articles for the *Daily Mail* in the 1960s read well.

[239] These were 'Chrys and another one, a Yorkshire man, not a good cartoonist, but the editor was a Yorkshire man and so he favoured him' (Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.5). This must have been 'Emmwood' (John Musgrave-Wood) who was born in Leeds.

[240] Rosette Glaser, op.cit, p.5.

[241] He also wore glasses when drawing. Basil Boothroyd (Assistant Editor of *Punch* in the 1950s) described him as having 'the lineaments of an immensely genial monkey, with eyebrows like hedges and a radiant prognathous grin' (Basil Boothroyd, *A Shoulder to Laugh On* [London. 1987]. p.103).

Fig 8A (left). (Untitled caricature of Illingworth), Frederick Joss (c.1909-1967) in A.H.Heighway (ed.) *Inky Way Annual* (1948).
Fig 8B (right). (Untitled self-caricature), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), c.1930.

The sympathetic portrait by Fredrick Joss (c.1909-67), who from 1934 was political cartoonist and then caricaturist for the *Star*, emphasises Illingworth's good humour and his bushy eyebrows whereas, by contrast, Illingworth's rather more lugubrious version of himself gives most weight to his underhung jaw and his shyness.

Always a shy man, this may have been partly induced by his looks but also partly no doubt by his reactions to his (by all accounts) rather gruff father and handsome, successful elder brother. He had a close relationship with his mother (who looked after him in Paris) and sister (who accompanied him to the USA) but, though fond of women, he never married, calling himself 'an optimistic bachelor'. This again may have been due to an early rejection. As he later recalled:

> 'I'm not a misogynist...I knew a delightful girl, born in Hawaii. She was delightful, she lived on a lovely farm in Wales, I adored her. She was five. I was fifteen. I'd made up my mind. When she was 17 and I was 27 I asked her. And she said "no".'[242]

As he got older he relaxed more with women, who in their turn became increasingly fond of him and treated him like a sort of genial uncle. His relationship with Enid

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[242] Quoted in Michael Bateman, op.cit., p.16.

Ratcliff may appear to others to be rather incomplete, and yet in many ways her role as mother, housekeeper, confidante and friend was perhaps all that he really needed in a female partner. This seems to be suggested in an interview with Valerie Jenkins (later Valerie Grove) in the 1970s:

> 'We never quarrel, never at all. Not a bit like the state of matrimony. No sexual connections. I'm not the breeding type. They'd all come out with undershot jaws and two long arms. And I would say I'm cluttered with people anyway.' [243]

This attitude to women also comes through in his art, as he refused to caricature them in his cartoons and, if at all, tended to draw them very realistically, preferring to paint them in oils after the model of Sir Peter Lely whose works he had seen in the St Athan rectory in his youth.

It was thus his drawing ability that was not only to give him the direction for his career but would also, it would appear, be directly and indirectly instrumental in producing the joy in his life. Art was, for him (initially) 'instead of' being a good practitioner in the fields of, say, commerce, athletics or jazz . But it also became increasingly 'instead of' having a normal family life, sexual relations and children. [244] These were all sublimated through his drawings. Also because of his considerable ability and his inherent 'venality' he was able to make a lot of money from his work which allowed him to buy the means to make lots of friends: a big house and flats where people stayed, big cars to impress women and men alike,[245] a bulging wallet that paid for drinks at Fleet Street's El Vino and the Mucky Duck,[246] and holidays abroad where he could make even more friends. He was also a member of the Toby Club, the Chelsea Arts Club and the Royal Automobile Club and, such was his status

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[243] Valerie Jenkins, op.cit.

[244] He was very fond of children and at one time the two daughters of his close friend, the distinguished *Daily Mail* political journalist Henry Fairlie, lived with him and Enid for some months during their parents' divorce.

[245] He had owned at various times a Bentley, a Daimler and a Mercedes Benz, for example.

[246] Two well known journalistic hangouts. El Vino wine bar still flourishes in Fleet Street but the 'Mucky Duck' (the White Swan Tavern), which was in the same block as Northcliffe House on the corner of Bouverie St and Tudor St was demolished along with the *Daily Mail's* offices in 1999-2000

as the finest artist and the best-loved figure in Fleet Street, that he was the obvious choice as the first- ever President of the British Cartoonists' Association when it was founded in 1966.

So much for the general psychology behind Illingworth's work as a whole. It now remains to be seen how much further insight into his work can be gleaned from an examination of his political views. The two main issues that seem to hold the key to his political outlook in this formative period are the reasons why he left the right-wing *Western Mail* soon after the General Strike and why he decided to become a war cartoonist on the right-wing *Daily Mail* in 1939.

4. Why Did Illingworth Leave the Western Mail?

As with most people, many of Illingworth's early attitudes were formed at home - typically in conformity with or as a reaction against his parents' views - and amongst his peer group, whether middle-class like his own family or working-class like the mining and dockside community around him. This extract from an interview with Rosette Glaser in 1976 sets the scene:

> 'Well, my old man was really Conservative. When I was young I read Marx and even Engels. I read everything I could. I was very interested in politics. Where I come from in Wales they are very political. It's near the coal area. They were in the big strikes. But now, I have got a strong feeling, from a lot of reading about politics, that there has been more unhappiness in the world caused by people who believe in political affairs, that believed in say, communism or feudalism, or anything that favoured them to be in power. And they killed and tortured and it's a tragedy to find people that believed in these things so much that they should forget man. It's a wrong thing. I believe in local politics, which has to do with drains, the cost of food and that sort of thing. The local councils, or towns. But once you get into the romantic sort of politics you always start killing in the end, and it's bad, bad. I am against that. I was not when I was young. I used to think

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(though the façade was preserved). Illingworth knew his hospitality at such venues was often abused but he didn't seem to mind.

> that some people had money, some had little and they starved and that it was wrong. I gave up thinking so when I was about 25 or so.' [247]

It would have been at about this point, when he was aged 'about 25 or so' (i.e.in 1927) that he left the *Western Mail* so it is reasonably fair to assume that the socialist views he held at the time were one reason for quitting the right-wing paper.[248] The *Western Mail*'s uncompromising editorial stance attacking the miners - especially their leader A.J.Cook, who coined the phrase 'Not a minute on the day, not a penny off the pay' - must have been difficult for him. And no doubt there would have been personal attacks on him by work colleagues, old school and college friends and local miners' families for continuing to draw for the paper: 'It was war, you know. I was a blackleg...'[249] He even made his own plates for reproduction when the process department went on strike. But by the same token he knew what he was doing and later admitted that he always cut his cloth, as it were, to suit the job. 'I am very venal' was a perennial favourite phrase of his - he did it for the money. As he later recalled:

> 'Nobody suggested ideas when I started in the *Western Mail*; I knew very well what the politics of the paper were, and I knew which side of my bread was buttered. The cartoonist must have a pragmatic approach.'[250]

It is also to be remembered that he was still living with his parents and younger sister at this stage (he did not leave home for good until 1936 when, aged 34, he set up house with Enid Ratcliff), and ultimately - whether it was through pangs of

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[247] Rosette Glaser, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

[248] In an interview with Valerie Jenkins (op. cit.), Enid Ratcliff recalled that Illingworth still held strong left-wing political views even as late as 1936 when she first met him in Queensborough Terrace:

> Enid: 'He was a Socialist in those days'
> Leslie: 'Communist!'
> Enid: 'No, I don't think you were ever a Communist.'

And one commentator in 1946 said that 'Illingworth felt that he was not the man to defend the Welsh coalowners; he was not quite sure just *what* he himself was; a Radical, probably' (Gordon Beckles, op.cit., p.10).

[249] Quoted in Keith Mackenzie, op.cit. p.95.

conscience, the increasingly hostile situation which may have threatened his entire family or, as suggested earlier, just pure exhaustion and the desire to travel, he gave it all up.[251]

One thing he was certainly not was a man of great structured ideological commitment, both for the reasons given above ('once you get into the romantic sort of politics you always start killing in the end, and it's bad, bad') and because of the limitations that pinning your colours to a single mast impose on a cartoonist's creativity.[252] He was also very aware of the potential power of the pictorial image as a means of mass communication and felt that his message, at root, should always be a humanitarian one:

> 'I think cartooning has got this first image thing; it can communicate that to anybody, all the readers of the newspaper. I think that they can apprehend the cartoon quicker than any editorial, and it might have a bigger effect because it is close to what they feel, to the reality of things. People do not need words; like animals they are aware of things, it is in them. If it comes to the surface, it comes as a visual impression... literary people may think with words, but I am very suspicious of it. Words are a late thing. Basic communication does not need words. Feelings do not need words. Animals communicate with each other. You cannot say they have not got feelings, and even a basic sense of politics, and yet they cannot think. I sincerely believe we are all brothers and anybody who tries to put people against each other - that's cartoonists too - is doing the wrong thing.'[253]

Another phrase of which Illingworth was fond throughout his life was: 'I'm not a zealot in any way at all'.[254] He once even went so far as to say of another political

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[250] Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.2.

[251] His contemporary Joe Lee (1902-74), a committed Socialist, had resigned from the *Sunday Express* during the General Strike.

[252] Illingworth was later able to admire both Bevan and Macmillan, to draw a highly controversial anti-Churchill cartoon (albeit in *Punch* during the radical Muggeridge editorship) and to accuse Harold Wilson of being a Tory.

[253] Rosette Glaser, op.cit., pp.7-8.

[254] Smilby Tapes. This didn't mean that he did not hold strong views on certain issues. For example, despite his earlier Marxist enthusiasms, he was later strongly anti-Communist. 'I am against

cartoonist: 'He's sincere. He's zealous, yes. And that's why he's an utter clot.'[255] The danger, however, is to extrapolate from such pronouncements and regard this attitude as being one of complete cynicism. Indeed, in 1966 Alexander Frater remarked that,

> 'His own attitude to politics tends to be cynical. He stands at the opposite end of the spectrum from, say, Vicky, whose passionate involvement with Westminster and its habitués became a Fleet Street legend. Illingworth, perhaps for the sake of perspective, prefers to see things from a distance; he views the political scene with the dispassionate expertise of a mechanic dismantling an engine.' [256]

But to define a lack of 'passionate involvement' as cynicism would be a mistake. His standpoint seems to be more one based on an eclectic attitude to politics mixed with a large measure of scepticism learnt from hard experience together with an innate humanitarian outlook. (After all it should not be forgotten that even the widely admired David Low worked at first for the Liberal *Star*, then the Tory *Evening Standard*, and the Labour *Daily Herald* as well as the left-wing *Guardian* - so it would seem that Illingworth's view that 'The cartoonist must have a pragmatic approach' was held by others too.)[257] The one truth Frater does seem to have hit on is the element of 'perspective' - Illingworth tried, as far as possible, to be objective in his depiction of people and events, and passion - as Low once said of malice - all too frequently 'clouds the judgement'.[258]

Though part of the reason for Illingworth's slightly detached attitude may have had to do with his view of the act of communication between the artist and his readers and his desire not to 'put people against each other', other aspects included the

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communism...because I don't think it's a good thing. Because I think that life out here is better.' (Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.5.) Though it is interesting to note that even on this issue his reasons are not strictly ideological, just practical.

[255] Quoted in Michael Bateman, op.cit., p.15.

[256] Alexander Frater, 'Punch Artists in Profile: Illingworth', *Punch*, 27 April 1966, p. 615.

[257] Indeed it could also be added that the highly committed left-wing cartoonist Vicky worked at first for the Liberal *News Chronicle*, the centre-left *Daily Mirror* and the right-wing *Evening Standard*, and James Friell ('Gabriel') also worked for the Communist *Daily Worker* and the right-wing *Standard*.

[258] David Low, *Ye Madde Designer* (London, 1935), pp.11-12.

makeup of the readership of the newspaper itself and the role of the cartoonist as a pictorial political journalist on its staff. As Illingworth says:

> 'I think you must be one with the people you are drawing for, I am lower middle class and I was drawing for lower-middle-class people and it is a good thing because I was in touch with them.'[259]

However, by the same token, readers (even on a right-wing paper) have varied political viewpoints and the cartoonist, like the editor and staff of any large national newspaper, is aware of this. Unfortunately, this can also dilute the power of the cartoons to such an extent that they become, as Illingworth thought, just 'a little froth on the surface of politics'.

> ' ...when you draw for a national daily, you draw for such a large crowd that you cannot do it properly. But once you have a small thing - like Low had in the *Standard* - a restricted audience, you can be all the more powerful. Low drew for the people at Westminster and I think he did have an effect on them. But on the whole, I do not think a cartoonist has a large influence on the public.'[260]

He later added: 'If a cartoon is for everybody, you cannot do anything except a bland thing...'[261]

5. Why Did Illingworth Join the Daily Mail*?*

What had made Illingworth take up his political cartoonist's pen after over nearly 13 years' absence? It is true to say that he had begun drawing political cartoons for *Punch* in 1937 and had perhaps got a taste for it again, but why be a political cartoonist at all, why for a daily morning newspaper and why the *Daily Mail*?

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[259] Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.8.
[260] Ibid., p.3.

The answer to the first question is not immediately obvious. To be sure. the illustration market had dried up so Illingworth had to find other work. As Keith Mackenzie has said: 'The war virtually killed off the magazine market by reasons of economy and the pressure to find artists for propaganda and politics.' [262] But, as an illustrator of some repute by this time, Illingworth could presumably have been called up as an Official War Artist. His former head at the RCA had been one in the First World War and three of his student colleagues (see above) were to be commissioned in 1940 so he did not lack contacts. However, though Sir Kenneth Clark submitted plans for the scheme to the Treasury on the first day of the war, the War Artists' Advisory Committee did not meet for the first time until 23 November 1939 and commissions did not take place until later. [263] So perhaps Illingworth thought this would all be too late. Also, the annual salary was only £650 a year (a third of what he would be paid on the *Daily Mail*) so perhaps his venal streak entered again.

Added to all this, Illingworth's diffidence even extended to the belief that he was not actually any good as a cartoonist. He knew he could draw but did not think he ever succeeded as a cartoonist except by accident. [264] Talking in 1976 to Rosette Glaser about one of his more famous wartime cartoons he said:

> 'I am not a good cartoonist...The cartoons I liked best were those I liked drawing. For instance, the one...about the cats and the goldfish.[265] I think the drawing is very good....I should have been an illustrator...I

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[261] Ibid. He went on to say that 'Biting, trenchant, bitter cartoons are no longer with us. Cartoons are an extension of politics and I think politics are finished now.' (This is a curious statement to make in 1976 during the heyday of artists such as Scarfe, Steadman and Steve Bell.)

[262] Unpublished notes, Keith Mackenzie Papers.

[263] Alan Ross, *Colours of War* (London, 1983). That cartoonists were considered as Official War Artists is evidenced in Ross's book where the Minutes of the Committee for 7 February 1940 reveal: '122 artists considered, 96 rejected as unsuitable. Among six recommended, the names of David Low and Henry Moore. Put on Reserve list, Bomberg, Buhler, Lowry' (p.28). *Punch* cartoonist Harold Hailstone and his brother Bernard were both Official War Artists, as was John Nash who was also known for his cartoon work. And in the First World War Dyson was an Official War Artist for Australia.

[264] He held this view until the end of his life despite being voted Political & Social Cartoonist of the Year by the Cartoonists' Club of Great Britain in 1962 and given a Special Award for Distinguished Services to Cartooning in 1965 (held in the Dorchester Hotel with Prime Minister Harold Wilson as guest of honour). In addition he was made an Hon. D.Litt for his work by the University of Kent (1975).

[265] See Figure 9.

would not select any cartoon as representative of my best work - only drawings - I was not a good cartoonist.'[266]

'What me? I never touch *goldfish!'*

Fig. 9. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 17 November 1939.

This is one of Illingworth's most succesful and best known political war cartoons. Published shortly after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, which divided up Poland between the two totalitarian regimes, Hitler and Stalin are the two smug cats watching the nervous goldfish marked with the names of the Balkan states which they are contemplating eating next. According to Illingworth, the design of the cartoon was completely accidental: 'I was fiddling, doing little drawings of cats, goldfish and bowls, and suddenly there it was. I was not thinking of them at all. I was thinking of a little girl for whom I wanted to draw the cats and goldfish.' (Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.8.)

Also, the pressures of working on a daily cartoon meant that he was never satisfied with the final version - and from a purely technical point of view he much preferred the *Punch* work which gave him more time. [267] This attitude stayed with him throughout his life as Keith Mackenzie later observed: 'By a curious quirk, once

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[266] Rosette Glaser, op.cit., p.9.

[267] Basil Boothroyd said that, sometimes, 'as an expression of private dissatisfaction he would leave off his signature', even for his *Punch* work (Basil Boothroyd, op.cit., p.103).

the drawing is out of his hands he never wants to see it in print and cannot bear to open the paper with his drawing in it.'[268]

It may also explain why, unlike his contemporaries Strube, Low, Vicky - even Neb - no collection of his drawings was ever made, either during the war or afterwards.[269] He also had very few solo exhibitions of his work, the first being held during the war at Lewis's Stores, Glasgow (1943).[270]

Bearing all these factors in mind, why did Illingworth want to go to Fleet Street in 1939 to work as a political cartoonist? Part of the reason, it is fair to assume, was traditional British patriotism - he wanted to 'do his bit' for the war effort. But an equally large part, and he is quite open about this, was because he did not want to be called up to serve as 'cannon fodder' in the army and was looking for a safe 'desk job'.[271] Being a staff cartoonist in wartime was, to a certain extent, a reserved occupation and hence likely to be out of the firing line. So he applied for the job and as he later said, 'Thank God I succeeded.'[272]

This attitude - though not particularly praiseworthy - was fairly widespread and may also have been additionally influenced in Illingworth's case by conversations with Dai John, the cartoonist friend of his *Western Mail* days, who had suffered greatly in the First World War and lost the use of his right hand. It may also have been a reaction, in part, against the evident pleasure that military life held for his elder brother Vivian - a great success professionally and no doubt the apple of his father's eye. Though exempted as a railway employee, Vivian had eagerly volunteered for the army in the First World War (achieving a commission in 1919) and had then been keen enough to join the Army Supplementary Reserve in peacetime, and

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[268] Keith Mackenzie, *The Artist*, June 1969, p.95.
[269] However, 71 of his *Daily Mail* drawings were published in *400 Famous Cartoons from the Daily Mail, Evening News, Sunday Dispatch* (1944) - which also included work by Moon, Neb, Lee and Gittins.
[270] See also Chapter 7.
[271] Though, by the time war broke out he would have been 37 and therefore not eligible for the first wave of recruitment, there was no telling how long the war would last (and after all his brother had been called up in September 1939 at the age of 40). Also, interviewed by Katharine Whitehorn in 1962 he said he joined the paper 'for nothing but cowardly reasons - I didn't want to go into the Army' (Katharine Whitehorn, 'Six of the Best', *Queen*, 12 June 1962).
[272] Smilby Tapes.

despite his age at the outbreak of the Second World War quickly attained high rank - though he later sadly died while on active service.

However, in fairness, having got his safe job on the *Daily Mail*, Illingworth then made strenuous attempts to get involved with the war effort from the Home Front. In the daytime, as well as working for the *Daily Mail* and *Punch* and others, he produced propaganda drawings for various government ministries (see Chapter 7) and in the evenings he served in the Home Guard (see Fig. 10).

But why be a political cartoonist? One reason may well have been that, unlike the strains of party politics and all that went with it when he was at the *Western Mail*, during wartime the underlying principles of the cartoonist's job were apparently more straightforward - you just attacked the enemy and supported your own side, as Low said in the quotation at the beginning of this thesis. Illingworth certainly saw this aspect, as he himself said later: 'It was absolutely easy - there's no doubt about it. We were against Hitler, against Mussolini, against Stalin to start with and then for him immediately as soon as he came in.' [273]

In addition he liked the fact that the political cartoonist was always right at the cutting edge of the day's news: 'Being a cartoonist is the only job for me...It's like being on the admiral's bridge: you know what's going on and you're in the middle of it. You can't influence the battle but you can take the mickey.' [274]

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[273] Quoted in Keith Mackenzie, op.cit., p.95.
[274] In 'The Devastating Doodles of Illingworth'. *Observer*, 23 August 1970.

Fig. 10. 'Lament for the Stand-Down', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), (unpublished), 1944.

After working in the daytime at the *Daily Mail* Illingworth served in the Home Guard during the London Blitz. He was first attached to the Local Defence Volunteers and later (1942-4) was on night duty as an anti-aircraft gunner stationed in Hyde Park, near his home in Bayswater. Also, according to some sources (including his old schoolfriend Harold Wrightson), he drove a taxi.[275] This nostalgic and at the same time ironic cartoon shows Illingworth carrying out his duties as a night-time anti-aircraft gunner in Home Guard Battery Z (a rocket battery) (1942-4) before it was disbanded, or stood down, in 1944. He performed this work regularly during the London Blitz after drawing his cartoon for the *Daily Mail* each day.

He also had a head start on his contemporaries in that, unlike most of the cartoonists of his day he had actually seen many of the Nazi leaders at close quarters in the 1930s when he had visited Garmisch, the winter sports centre near Munich. As he later recalled:

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[275] Harold Wrightson, op.cit.

> 'Hitler, in particular, seemed peculiarly repulsive, with his pasty, flabby face and a certain effiminacy about his movements.... The only one for whom I did not feel an instinctive dislike was Goebbels; perhaps it was because his features, though ugly enough, revealed a redeeming sense of humour - though it has since turned out to be a sardonic one.'[276]

Added to which he believed that drawing ability was what counted most in wartime cartooning and that his personal knowledge of the enemy meant that he could depict them well.

But given that, in a sense, it was a good time to be a political cartoonist, he enjoyed the thrill of the chase, and that he was better equipped than most to do the job by dint of his outstanding skill and his knowledge of the subject, another question remains: why the *Daily Mail*? If he was so friendly with his old *Western Mail* colleague Percy Cudlipp, why did he not apply for Will Dyson's old job at the *Daily Herald*, [277] where Cudlipp was now editorial manager and had some influence (indeed Cudlipp became Editor in 1940)? One reason may have been that he saw the paper as too left-wing (it was co-owned by the trade unions, the Labour Party and Odhams Press). Another is the possibility that he disagreed with Dyson's politics - though he cannot have failed to have been impressed by his draughtsmanship.[278]

Presumably he did not fancy returning to the *Western Mail* itself - though this would have been convenient for living with his parents again (but perhaps his relationship with Enid would have made such an arrangement difficult)[279] - not only for its bad memories but also because the coal-mining area around Cardiff would be a prime target for enemy bombers. Also, knowing Illingworth's 'venal' streak it probably paid a lot less than a national daily. And anyway someone else now had the job so it was not free.

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[276] Quoted in Fenn Sherie, op.cit., p.204.
[277] Dyson had died on 21 January 1938.
[278] In the event the job went to the 51-year-old George Whitelaw (1887-1957) - Vicky, Hynes and Sherriffs, amongst others, having been turned down .
[279] She certainly would not have appreciated the outside earth closet described in Richard Illingworth, op.cit., p.28 (Illingworth's father refused to have a WC installed).

But other jobs were free. Immediately before the war the *Daily Sketch* did not have a political cartoonist[280] and neither did the *Daily Mirror.*[281] Perhaps the *Daily Mail* had approached the Owen Aves agency exclusively to suggest artists and the opportunity was too good to miss? Possibly also the fact that Illingworth's old school friend Neb was already working for the paper had some influence. Unfortunately we will never know for sure as the *Daily Mail*'s files were destroyed long ago.

Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of Illingworth's own personal 'road to war'? To summarise the basic evidence, it has been seen, first of all, that he was born into a stable, reasonably well-to-do middle class family living in a fairly prosperous boom-town environment in South Wales centred around the coal industry at the turn of the 20th century. This was at a time when coal was still an essential international commodity for electricity- and gas-generating power stations, mills, ships and other industrial enterprises long before the widespread introduction of oil, natural gas and nuclear power which eventually supplanted it, and a quarter of a century before the labour unrest that led to the 1926 General Strike and progressive pit closures.

He was also by all accounts a bright boy who showed a talent for art from a very young age which was encouraged by his parents, especially when he was able to win scholarships to secondary school, Cardiff Art School and the Royal College of Art (winning prizes on the way). He also quickly acquired cartooning skills with help from his uncle who had been published in *Punch* and through his apprenticeship at the *Western Mail*, the national newspaper of Wales. In addition, because of the area in which he lived he was politically aware - not only because of the situation of the miners but also because as he was becoming intellectually of age a Welshman, Lloyd George, became Prime Minister (1916-22). Also during the First World War Wales became a focus for cartoons with the increasing celebrity of Staniforth - one of Britain's first ever daily political cartoonists (albeit on a regional paper) - and the

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[280] Clive Uptton, having been turned down for the *Daily Mail* job, did not become daily political cartoonist on the *Daily Sketch* until the first weeks of 1940.

widespread publication of one of the most famous cartoons of the conflict drawn by another Welshman, Bert Thomas MBE.

He also became a cartoonist because from a very early age he wanted to be one - art was an essential part of Illingworth's being. It was not just a nine-to-five job for him but, consciously and subconsciously, expressed a deep part of his soul. Added to which, his sharp perception of human conflict and the inner workings of man - along with his compassion for nature as a whole - gave his cartoons (including his wartime drawings) a special force. His timidity in company and his awkwardness with words made drawing his main means of communication.

Thus, in conclusion, Illingworth would seem to be a fairly typical example of a wartime political cartoonist for a number of reasons. He was a classically trained artist at a time when draughtsmanship was still an essential component of the art form. He was motivated by largely patriotic feelings to 'do his bit' for the war effort. He fitted in with the views of his newspaper and was happy to discuss ideas with colleagues. He lived in London and worked in the *Daily Mail*'s offices. He was an accomplished communicator in picture-politics for a mass market and had drawn daily political cartoons in peacetime. He could capture a likeness with ease and had seen the Nazi leaders at close quarters. The style of his drawings (almost without exception in line) caused no problems for reproduction on war-economy cheap newsprint paper. His consummate skills meant that he could meet the strict wartime deadlines. His political ideas were sound and his natural good-humour made him easy to work with - especially in times of great stress.[282]

It now remains to be seen what kind of drawings a typical wartime political cartoonist produces and this will be discussed using the examples of Illingworth's work from the *Daily Mail* (with some reference to his cartoons in *Punch* and elsewhere) in the next few chapters.

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[281] When Basil Nicholson joined the *Daily Mirror* as Features Editor in 1939 he invited Philip Zec, an old colleague from his advertising days, to be cartoonist.

[282] Added to which it has been remarked by many that Illingworth was able to work amongst enormous distractions - his office was constantly filled with people passing the time of day and yet he would still keep drawing.

Chapter 4

A Statistical Analysis of Illingworth's War Cartoons, 1939-45

'Graphic art can be a political weapon. As such, it becomes more intense in tone and simpler in content at moments of crisis. It tends towards the basic, atavistic human desire to shout aloud – or at least to the radical reduction of ideologies to slogans.'

(Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* [Oxford, 1982], p.278)

Introduction

Up till now this thesis has examined the general context of a British political cartoonist working on a daily national newspaper in wartime. The history of the genre has been studied, the position war cartoonists have on a particular paper (in this case the *Daily Mail*) has been examined and, in the last chapter, the situation of one individual cartoonist - Leslie Illingworth - has been looked at both from the chronological and psychological perspective. Before coming to any sort of conclusions about the work of the political cartoonist in wartime in general it is now important to look at what exactly it is that makes up a war cartoon in the Second World War - what are its component parts, what artistic traditions does it relate to, how if at all does it change over the course of a war, who (or what) are the main characters featured in it and so forth.

In an attempt to answer some of these questions this chapter will look at the basic statistics of Illingworth's cartoon production - focussing in particular on the number of appearances of certain historical figures such as Churchill and Hitler - and the following chapter (Chapter 5) will examine his use of symbolism and metaphor.

This chapter, then, will study Illingworth's actual cartoons published for the *Daily Mail* during the years 1939-45 and will also draw comparisons where relevant with those of his drawings published in *Punch*. As far as can be established these two sources comprise his entire political cartoon output in the British daily and weekly national press during the Second World War. It should also be noted that only the political war cartoons will be studied (portraits, illustrations and other pictorial

fillers by Illingworth will not be considered).[283] His work for the Ministry of Information and other government departments will not be discussed here as this thesis is primarily about the work of political cartoonists working for the British national daily press in wartime (however, some mention of this will be made in Chapter 7, especially in so far as Illingworth's political press cartoons were reproduced in British propaganda leaflets etc. for domestic, allied and enemy consumption).

The main object of this analysis of Illingworth's cartoons from this period is to reveal the total number of drawings he produced each year, how many of these were political cartoons (as opposed to illustrations etc), how many were domestic/international, the frequency of their publication (how many he drew per week), their position in the newspaper and on the page and their relative size and format (i.e. single cartoon or strip/multiframe). Further details will include a discussion of how many figures appeared in the cartoons, when certain personalities were first drawn, how the dialogue was laid out (in speech balloons etc), how many relied on quotations from public speeches, how many had explanations added for the reader and who were the most drawn characters each year. Where possible there will also be a study of how much the cartoon followed the adjoining leader or the previous day's headlines, and how often a side-issue was combined with the news to point up the political message. The development of Illingworth's drawing style in his depiction of characters will not be discussed here as this will be studied in Chapter 6, as will influences by other artists on his individual characterisations (or Illingworth's influence on them). However, there will be some discussion of his political cartoons immediately prior to the Second World War in so far as this has a bearing on his wartime work.

The results of these investigations as a whole will then, it is hoped, give a better idea of what the overall workload of a political cartoonist in wartime is and who or what is the main focus of his attacks, at home and abroad.

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[283] Amassing this information has been a tremendous amount of work as there do not exist any personal scrapbooks or office bandbooks of press cuttings of Illingworth's work so everything has been gleaned by laboriously going through reels of microfilm, page by page.

1. Illingworth's pre-Daily Mail *Political Cartoons*

After leaving the *Western Mail* in December 1927, and prior to joining the *Daily Mail* in October 1939, Illingworth produced very few political cartoons. Thus (unlike long-standing 1920s and 1930s political artists such as Low, Partridge, Strube et al.) he did not have much practice at drawing the rise of the Nazis or reflecting the mood of the nation. As no press-cuttings albums of Illingworth's work exist, it is difficult to track down his work for other magazines and periodicals during this pre-war period but (as has been seen in Chapter 3) his first *Punch* cartoon (a single quarter-page social joke) was published on 27 May 1931. Apart from another single quarter-page social joke all his cartoons for *Punch* were either full-page (sometimes double-page) single cartoons or multiframe drawings, mostly in pen and ink, in line (no halftone or mechanical tints added) but sometimes (especially in almanacks and special numbers) in ink and wash or colour, with occasionally some in scraperboard (e.g. 'The Sceptics', 4 November 1935, and 'The Pot and the Kettle', 31 January 1940 – both of them night scenes). He also drew colour covers of non-political rural scenes for the 1937 Summer Number (7 June 1937), the 1938 Almanack (1 November 1937) and the 1939 Autumn Number (27 September 1939).

His first political cartoon was also his first cartoon featuring a recognisable portrait caricature. It appeared in *Punch* on 21 April 1937 and featured F.D.Roosevelt on the topic of his Second New Deal economic policy (see Chapter 3, Fig.6). His first ever cartoon alluding to the coming war was in *Punch* on 7 October 1936 and showed a retired colonel introducing para-military training to his farm staff. The first political cartoons featuring caricatures of members of the British government - or indeed any recognisable British celebrity - which alluded to the coming war were 'The Serious Season', 1 September 1937 (a pun on 'the silly season' when Parliament is not sitting and the press come up with bizarre stories) - featuring Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on Mediterranean piracy - and 'Boys of the New Brigade', 8 September 1937 (featuring Leslie Hore-Belisha, Secretary of State for War, 1937-40, in the guise of a recruiting officer and alluding to the raising of the enlistment age to 28). These, then, seem to have been

Illingworth's first political war cartoons and his first political cartoons of any kind outside his work for the *Western Mail* a decade earlier.

What appears to have been Illingworth's first ever published portrait of an Axis figure, Adolf Hitler (in the guise of Dickens' Mr Micawber from *David Copperfield*)

TWO HEARTS THAT BEAT AS ONE

FRAU GERMANIA. "IT IS EVIDENT TO ME THAT COLONIES ARE THE LEGITIMATE SPHERE OF ACTION FOR HERR MICAWBER."

Frau Germania: *'It is evident to me that colonies are the legitimate sphere of action for Herr Micawber.'*

Fig.1. 'Two Hearts That Beat as One', Leslie Illingworth *Punch*, 15 September 1937.

This *Punch* cartoon, which was the first one by Illingworth in any publication to feature Adolf Hitler, has the dictator in the guise of Dickens' mercurial and impecunious character Mr Micawber from *David Copperfield*. Portraits of Hitler were hung in homes around Germany and Frau Germania (Hitler was very popular with women) is seen reading approvingly (to the apparent amazement of her dog) a copy of his latest 'Nuremberg Speeches' (given at the annual Nazi Nuremberg Rally in the historic Bavarian town held every September from 1933 to 1938). The famous film version of David Copperfield, directed by George Cukor with W.C.Fields in a classic interpretation of Mr Micawber, had been released in 1935 and was still very much in the consciousness of the British public.

with Germania (and a dachshund) was printed as a full-page cartoon in *Punch* on 15 September 1937 (Fig.1).

His first Japanese figures appeared in the magazine on 3 November 1937 and on 23 August 1939. Excluding his earlier work for the *Western Mail*, Illingworth's first John Bull character (as a national stereotype) of this pre-war period appeared on 1 September 1937, his first services versions of John Bull and Britannia were published on 1 February 1939 and his first British Lion (actually a Scottish one) on 4 May 1938. Other first occurrences of this period - all from *Punch* - are as follows: Marianne (5 April 1939), Mars God of War (30 August 1939), Clement Attlee (in opposition, 13 October 1937), W.S.Morrison (Minister of Food, 27 October 1937), Sir John Simon (Chancellor 1937-40, 9 March 1938), Sir John Anderson (Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, 1939-40, Lord President of the Council 1940, Chancellor 1943-5, 11 January 1939), Sir Stafford Cripps (anti-appeaser expelled from the Labour Party, later Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the Commons 1942, Air Minister 1942-5, 8 February 1939).

The important 'Peace in Our Time' cartoon 'Still Hope'[284] - with Chamberlain drawn as a dove returning from talks with Hitler in Munich - was published in *Punch* on 21 September 1938 and the first appearance of Illingworth's version of Poy's 'John Citizen' man (though not labelled as such) was on 22 February 1939. However, in all Illingworth only produced a dozen or so political war cartoons for *Punch* from 1931 when he first began to be published in the magazine until war broke out on 3 September 1939 and none whatsoever between then and when he joined the *Daily Mail* on 30 October 1939. And these, though he was not the main cartoonist for the magazine at the time, would no doubt - in traditional *Punch* style - have been drawn up from ideas given to him by the editor (E.V.Knox), Art Editor (George Morrow and then from 1937 Fougasse) and members of the *Punch* Table at its weekly meeting. Thus prior to the outbreak of the Second World War and his appointment at the *Daily Mail*, Illingworth had little recent practical experience of daily newspaper political cartoons or drawing caricatures of the leading personalities of the day. Also,

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[284] See Chapter 6, Fig.8A.

having been too young for the First World War, he had no experience at all of daily war cartooning.[285]

Thus, having looked briefly at the background to his wartime work, the next stage is to examine what Illingworth actually drew as a (daily and weekly) political war cartoonist for the *Daily Mail* and *Punch* from 1939 to 1945. However, before analysing the cartoons themselves it will be useful first to look at their basic design features and how they fitted into the layout of the paper.

2. Specifications of Illingworth's Daily Mail *Cartoons*

In the *Daily Mail* Illingworth's cartoon usually occupied a rectangle at the top of the leader page (usually page 6) to the right of the leader itself and with its right edge ranged right on the newspaper's right textual margins. At first it normally extended three columns in width (roughly 7 inches wide by 5 inches deep) above a series of regular feature articles written by *Mail* staffers (e.g. 'I See Life' by Charles Graves, 'Lane-Norcott's War Fare' , 'Down on the Farm' by Pat Murphy or special reports by guest freelancers) and between the cartoon and the leader there was usually a feature commenting on the leader or the day's international news (e.g 'The Way the War is Going' by the *Daily Mail*'s Diplomatic Correspondent, Wilson Broadbent). Thus the cartoon was very closely linked to the content of the texts around it - especially the leader and the adjoining political commentary column - indeed, as has been seen, in Illingworth's very first cartoon for the *Daily Mail* ('Feeding Time', Monday 30 October 1939), which featured a drawing of a monocled octopus labelled 'Rt Hon Pool Octopus' there is a reference to 'this bloated octopus' of red tape in the leader that day (see Chapter 3, Fig.6).

At first (for his first six published drawings in the *Daily Mail*) Illingworth's cartoons were boxed and headed by the words 'Cartoon by Illingworth' in bold seriffed italic capitals with the caption (usually in smaller sans serif capitals) set below the cartoon. But in November 1939 the caption became bold and 'Cartoon by

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[285] As has been seen in Chapter 3, he did not join the *Western Mail* until 1921 and there is no evidence of his having ever been a pictorial commentator on later conflicts such as the Spanish Civil War.


2 ADVERTISEMENTS.

BALLET

COLISEUM, Oxf. St. ... 2 and 7 p.m. ALADDIN. Tom. 2 and 7 p.m. ALADDIN.

THEATRES

PALACE, Cam. Circ. ... 2.30 and 8.30. A DATE WITH DESTINY.

PRINCE OF WALES, ... 2.30 and 8.30. PRINCE CHARLIE.

GAIETY, Alwych. ... 2.30 and 8.30. ROYAL, Kingsway. ... 2.30 and 8.30.

SAVOY, Tem. ... 2.30 and 8.30. ARMCHAIR THEATRE.

CINEMAS

GAUMONT, Haymarket. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

NEW GALLERY, Regent-st. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

PLAZA, Piccadilly. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

PRINCE OF WALES. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

REGAL, Marble Arch. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

STRAND, Gen. 3456. ... 2.30, 5.30, 8.30.

PITMAN'S CENTRAL COLLEGE

NEW GOLDFIELDS OF VENEZUELA

At the annual meeting held yesterday, Mr. W. H. Grebe, M.Inst.M.M. (the chairman), said that they were only now beginning to be in a position to adjust matters to meet present conditions, more particularly in view of the heavy additional burdens of taxation, which, as they were faced. As shareholders knew, it had been necessary for many years to put back into the property a considerable portion of the profits earned, and the year's dividends had been unexceptionally heavy.

Development had increased by 3,438ft. to a total of 13,319ft., of which 12 per cent. had proved payable, averaging 11.58dwt. per ton. The tonnage milled had been a record, but the recovery of 91,748 ounces of fine gold was down from last year's record owing to the lower grade of ore treated. The ore reserve at 30th June, 1940, was estimated at 440,200 tons of an average value of 8.64dwt.

The report was adopted.

Daily Mail

NORTHCLIFFE HOUSE, LONDON, E.C.4.

Telephone: CENtral 6000.

December 31st, 1940. 306th Day.

FIRE!

FIRE and destruction sweep the City of London, rained down by a remorseless enemy overhead. Architectural gems beyond price, buildings steeped in the history and traditions of our people, and great commercial properties are destroyed in the flames.

The enemy's aim was clearly sheer destruction. The myth of attacks on military objectives is dead for ever.

Need this thing have been? We answer emphatically "No!" The damage wrought by the Hun on Sunday night could have been cut down by more than two-thirds. How?

If irresponsible property-owners had not left their buildings deserted, unguarded by fire-watchers.

If our authorities, in their timid, and pathetic appeals for volunteers to reinforce our fire-fighting forces, had not publicised this weakness to a cunning enemy.

If, instead, the Governments had the courage and the foresight to use the compulsory powers they possess to give the fire-fighting services the men they need.

Once again, on a grand scale, we have an example of that heartbreaking and seemingly inherent weakness that has dogged our footsteps since the war began—that paralysis that refuses to act until the emergency is upon us.

Compel Them

THE early days of the great blitz on London, the following tragedies of Coventry, Birmingham, Southampton, Bristol, Sheffield, and Manchester—all have held their lessons, and the lessons have either not been learned at all or have been only half learned.

We have had the spectacle of weary A.R.P. and A.F.S. men struggling on, exhausted, on their feet hour after hour for lack of reinforcement.

In each of the great provincial centres mentioned there was one tremendous weakness —the vast numbers of deserted buildings left to their fate by their owners, so endangering the properties of wiser men.

Sunday night's City raid drives the lesson home—drives it deep down our throats.

Property-owners must be made to employ fire-watchers. This must apply to all—not, as at present, only to those employing 30 or more men. All buildings should be guarded, whether empty or not.

Ministers Must Act

BEVIN, our Labour Minister, and MORRISON, our Minister for Home Security, must pluck up the courage to use the weapon of compulsion.

Do not tell us, gentlemen, that you have no specific power to conscript man for Civil Defence purposes. We commend to your attention Paragraph 58A of the Defence Regulations:

"The Minister of Labour and National Service . . . may direct any person in the United Kingdom to perform such services in the United Kingdom . . . being services which that person is, in the opinion of the Minister, capable of performing."

This is specific enough. Among our hundreds of thousands of workless there must be men capable of acting as fire-fighters.

Saved by Others

NOR is this a case for "early consideration." It is a case for the swiftest action.

As for the people who leave their buildings unprotected, they must be made to realise that they are endangering not only their own property, but the property and also the lives of others.

Many spotters, after extinguishing the incendiaries on their own roof, climbed to the roofs of deserted buildings, with bombs falling, and saved them too.

Had they been sailors, saving a deserted ship afloat, they would have been paid heavy salvage; because they were mere civilians saving deserted properties ashore, they will be fortunate if they are even thanked.

TUESDAY, The Daily Mail, DECEMBER 31, 1940.

ORDEAL by FIRE

EMRYS JONES

writes of historic London that Nazi fire bombs have ravaged—of proud history they cannot touch

"The Germans tried to destroy the Empire by burning out its heart"

(Picture shows damage at the Guildhall)

GUILTY of the crime of destroying the ancient library of Louvain, the Cloth Hall at Ypres, and the cathedral of Rheims, now the "Great Arsonists" of the world destroy in a night much of the evidence in London stone and mortar of English history.

Yet another dreadful chapter is added to the sombre saga of German barbarism.

The smoke-laden atmosphere east of Temple Bar this day is a new reminder of whence we came; and an inspiration for the future we strive for. The Second Fire of London is, after all, a prelude to another glorious period such as that which followed the first.

The Guildhall is damaged—the centre of the civic life of the City of London.

Why do not know the date of the old Guildhall possibly the present one, which dates from the 15th century, or its master, though, that have survived the strength of the citizens of London—that strength which made them powerful enough to make terms with the Norman invader. He treated the Charters but he still had to contend with the spirit of the people, as Hitler would if his pipe dream came true.

Here came the King after his victory in Agincourt on Crispin's Day to be entertained.

Here Richard Whittington intervening lent the five pounds given by the King, worth £48,000, and hence King Henry's exclamation, "Happy is the City to have such a citizen!" and Whittington's reply and "Happier the subject to have such a King."

Here came Jack Cade, the people's champion, to hold much trials in the Guildhall, and here met the Common Council for the purpose of aiding Henry of Monmouth's new military enterprise—and here Henry V accepted the Duke of York's title to the crown.

Royal Visitors

THE path to the Guildhall is a procession of our history.

There to the Eighth Henry, as a boy of seven, receiving from the citizens a pair of gilt gauntlets; and as a man in 1539 on the first of the processions of Succession on "Mayor's Day." Among the guests then is Sir Thomas Boleyn, whose daughter Anne is soon to share that tragic queenship.

In the same hall is arraigned Anne Askew for "speaking against the sacrament of the altar," and sentenced to be burnt alive; and at the same time worthy citizens petition the floor to be considered sufficient for setting-up schools for the advancement of learning.

Not all who left the Guildhall left merely with praises in their ears. The Protector Somerset borrowed cartloads of books and never returned them; he was then furnishing his house in the Strand.

The poorest pauper to Elizabeth when the Guildhall is the meeting-place of merchant adventurers, and Sir Thomas Gresham is busy in carrying out his father's ideas for the founding of an Exchange. John Hawkins is there, so is Walter Raleigh.

Early in 1642 the Common Council meet with troubled minds but courageous hearts, because England's hour of destiny has arrived—the Armada. They equip ships, and go to church as "that humble and hearty prayers might be offered."

Its first fire

THE procession marches. As the chimes give truly to Good Queen Bess to repel the foreigner, as they quarrel with the arbitrary Misserly. To Charles I, the Mayor says: "It is not to you that I have to give an account for the government of this City"; thus the City upholds the rights of the people.

Then to the Guildhall came declarations from both Houses of Parliament, including Cromwell, with messages of thanks, appeals for assistance in money, and more too.

In the Fire of London the roof is fleeting, but "the horrid, malicious, bloody flame," as Pepys describes it, burns without great damage to the walls. The Council, however, move to temporary quarters in Gresham House in Bishopsgate-street.

The Guildhall recovers its old significance and we see the Prime Minister's successor, Marlborough, frequently entertained there, and we see, too, the 38 Standards and 62 Colours taken at the battle of Ramillies attached to the walls.

The procession marches. The Guildhall warns the Government against their policy towards the American Colonists, but the Council support their claims. The Government do not listen, and so finally the United States are born.

They praise Pitt for his courage in counteracting the unwise plans of Napoleon, and at a Banquet they hail him as "the Saviour of Europe," which they may well have to do for Ancient Prime Minister in the future.

They do not support the Government when an M.P. is sent to the Tower for questioning the right of the House to send a man to prison for proposing to discuss in a debate anything the proceedings of the House. They fight for the Press and rebuilt by Wren; and the people is still the Nation of Wren's.

They are fools

IN the old church we buried Lawrence Jewin in the new Samuel Richardson. The registers tell of the baptism of Samuel Pepys, and Isaak Walton was a Aldermen there.

Above all, it was our church.

Forgive me if I make special mention of places, but I must tell of Dr. Johnson's house in Gough-square. That, too, received the attention of the "Great Arsonists." There lived the Doctor when he was engaged in the writing of "The Rambler," and in the production of his famous "Dictionary."

In this house, presented to the nation by Lord Harmsworth, Johnson was overjoyed with his six amanuenses in the large attic to produce the "Dictionary," to adorn the language that binds the English-speaking races in these solemn but majestic days.

What does all this amount to? The Germans tried to destroy the Empire by burning out its heart.

Johnson might have said: "Sir, they are fools."

Lane-Norcott's WAR FARE

To-day's Quotation

"In the proverbial days the Poet, the poor philosopher, is a person forgotten by all, but when the war comes he is hailed as a great hero by them in authority, and there are many patriotic mandarins who will gladly lay down his life for their country."

From "The Scourge of the Pen," Ryerson Press, 6s.

VOTE FOR LIEUTENANT CHARLES SHADWELL HEARTY BRITISH CHEERS COMICS FOR PAID RADIO

Answer to Correspondent

Agnes Mann (Acton).—If the dress boy you met in the Agnes Maud, had really had a commission in the Scots Guards we scarcely think that he would have played his mouthorgan over your shoulder while kissing you good-night outside his home. Certainly he wouldn't have played "Horst..."

Conversation Piece

"I assure, Miss Ryerson, that it is not authorised for us even to...ecrat the Germans in Wales in order to prevent the Germans from debasing us in battle. We must now put our war aims into exact words. What are your war aims, sir?"

"I want to be left alone."

"But the Germans are constitutionally incapable of leaving anyone alone, Miss Ryerson. They are a race of believers slavery and will follow any theatrical rant, as long as it sounds loudly enough."

"Oh, well, in that case I'll address my war aim, there."

"You mean, sir, you're prepared to endure being messed about by the advancing Germans for ever and ever?"

"Certainly not! I mean, I think we ought to go on crushing them over their dark devils until we have them, without telling them why we're doing it."

"And when they're crushed, Miss Ryerson, how would you treat them?"

"I'd leave them alone."

"You wouldn't try to reconcile them until the pips squeaked or any such nonsense?"

"No, I'd leave them strictly alone."

"And what would your peace terms be, Miss Ryerson?"

"That they leave ME strictly alone."

"Is that all, sir?"

"Yes, that's all."

I SEE LIFE

Charles Graves

gives a picture of THE 'COMPOSITE' FIGHTER PILOT

TWO leading artists are now drawing or painting the portraits of our ace pilots and other R.A.F. celebrities. They are Cuthbert Orde and Eric Kennington.

Cuthbert Orde, who was in the R.A.F. in the last war, has just completed his 12th drawing, after having visited ten stations and 32 squadrons. His sitter was Squadron-Leader Malan, D.S.O., D.F.C. and Bar, on whom Eric Kennington is likely to start work to-day.

Both artists have done Pilot Officer Stephen, D.S.O., D.F.C. and Bar, and Flight Lieutenant Mungo Park, D.F.C.

KENNINGTON has been at work only a short time on his R.A.F. portraits and he was unable to consider what Orde says are regular facial characteristics to a very high percentage of fighter pilots.

"In fact," Orde was telling me yesterday, "I would be extraordinarily easy to do a composite portrait of a modern fighter pilot."

This is his recipe: Deep-set eyes, a good nose "with the bone showing in it," a large mouth, a square jaw with a cleft in it, boyish and frequently untidy hair. I asked him whether he had noticed surprising physical in the way of figure. "Oh, yes," he said, "They have all got a touch of shape and size, but the type shows out in the face."

HE then showed me a large number of his drawings, and there was no doubt that, so far as regards the faces of them, there was a definite family likeness. Imagine the lodging by the parsimony Hurricanes Mr. Jack Jones, Spitfires Colonel Malan, Flight Lieutenant Mungo Park, and Pilot Officer Stephen, there must be a set in what he says.

He added that there was nothing in the colour of the eyes or hair on which to generalise, but would not recall a single fighter pilot with a depressed nose.

Pilot Officer Stephen, by the way, is on seven days' leave in Scotland. (Remember, brother he will tell his family how he got his D.S.O.) Actually, his exploit—including the shooting down of an enemy aircraft (shared by Flight-Lieutenant Mungo Park) at over 30,000ft., when I believe it is a record altitude for this.

Pilot Officer Stephen, incidentally, is a believable conception to Orde's generalisation about deep-set eyes, as I noticed at the May Fair where he brought Miss Margaret McGrath to hear Jack and Daphne Barbey in their new "Flippit" programme.

ALTERED but urgent voice on the telephone woke me up yesterday morning. The speaker was Major Sir Jocelyn Lucas, M.P., who had been out all night on his fire brigade duties.

"For goodness' sake urge the public, sir, to repair the owners of all buildings in London, to have fire appliances," he said. "It is the astonishing opinion of all the police and members of the fire brigades on duty last night that the damage from fire would have been quite negligible if there had been fire appliances." I have already telephoned to Herbert Morrison to see what he can do about it."

Sir Jocelyn then proceeded to name numbers of buildings including a garage, a branch of a music store and shops which could easily have been served if fire appliances had been present and were available for the A.F.S. and the men of the fire services. As it was, the fires previously three or four minutes were allowed to go to waste.

You, Mr. Herbert Morrison will either have to make fire spotting compulsory, or else we will have to persuade Captain Margesson to lend him troops for that purpose. It is one thing or the other.

FOLLOWING my reference to the number of generals of Irish extraction serving with distinction in this war, it has occurred to me that there are several officers of high rank of French extraction who are almost equally well known.

They include the Chief of the Air Staff, Sir Charles Portal (being of Huguenot stock like bankers for his many treasures); Air Vice-Marshal Sir Philip Joubert (and the new Chief of the Royal Armoured Corps, Major-General Le G. Martel.

P.S.—I hear with regret that Sir Walter Monckton, the new Director-General of the Ministry of Information, has gone down suddenly with 'flu and has to cancel all his immediate engagements. Mr. Duff Cooper, the Minister of Information, who got 'flu ten days ago, is now slowly recovering.

Fig 2. (Leader page), *Daily Mail*, 31 December 1940.

This illustration shows how the *Daily Mail*'s leader page was laid out and how Illingworth's cartoon fitted in with it. In fact, this is a rather unusual example as it is the New Year's Eve edition for 1940 and obviously Illingworth's cartoon 'Jolly Good Show' has not been affected by recent news. This issue of the *Daily Mail* is the one featuring the famous photo of St Paul's amidst the flames of the Blitz by H.A.Mason which occupied most of the front page. Illingworth's cartoon, by contrast to the leader and the article by Emrys Jones on this page, as well as most of the front page, the whole of page 3 and the back page (which had two more huge photos of the destruction of London) - and it should be noted that the paper was only six pages long - comments on Britain's and Churchill's successes of the year in 'Winston's Band Waggon' (an allusion to the popular BBC Radio comedy featuring Arthur Askey and Richard Murdoch). Illingworth's cartoon is also not very deep but conversely is five columns wide and the leader is on page 2 in this edition affected by government paper restrictions.

Illingworth' - still in capitals but smaller and not bold - was set beneath this in a separate box (11 cartoons) and then 'Cartoon by Illingworth' was reduced further. set in upper and lower case italics and placed inside the frame next to the caption. From 1 January 1940 this was reduced simply to '- by Illingworth' and this became the standard usage throughout the rest of the war years.

One of the reasons for having such a label at all was no doubt partly because Illingworth's signature was very small and unobtrusive and thus difficult to read[286] and both Illingworth and the *Daily Mail* wanted readers to know the name of their artist (though it is surprising to note that no announcement was made in the *Daily Mail* either in the days prior to his appointment or even thereafter about Illingworth becoming cartoonist or indeed who he was, unlike when Poy, Low and later Vicky moved papers which was headline news...).[287] The cartoons later lost their top rule and were framed at the top by the newspaper's date and title (both of which were underlined).

In Illingworth's *Punch* cartoons dialogue never intrudes on the drawing itself and is always set as a caption beneath the cartoon.[288] Only occasionally do words appear in the drawings and then only as labels, signposts, posters, letters etc. Yet characters do have open mouths (right from his first *Punch* cartoon in 1931, casting doubt on David Langdon's claim to have invented this device). The only time spoken words appear in his *Punch* cartoons is in voices coming from a radio on 22 February 1939 and these are part of the design and set in waves curving over the back of a chair with the radio's speaker grille drawn like a mouth. For *Daily Mail* work he mostly used balloonless words (usually handwritten bold caps or neat seriffed upper and lower case) for dialogue, written near the characters' heads (Fig. 3). Balloons seem mostly to have been added when the text needs to be set against a black background or where there is a commentary within the cartoon and hence balloons are needed to differentiate speech (an example of this can be seen in the cartoon from 18 December 1939, 'Just a Temporary Competitor'). Occasionally *Punch*-style dialogue

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[286] Curiously, though Illingworth's drawing style was neat and precise, his handwriting was very loose and disorganised, frequently bumping up against the right-hand side of letters he wrote to friends.
[287] When Poy joined the *Evening News*, newsstand posters proclaimed 'Poy Cartoon Today' and when Low joined the *Evening Standard* the paper devoted half the front page to him.

also appears under the cartoon. On very rare occasions (e.g. 10 July 1940) one character in the cartoon speaks with the other character's reply printed under the cartoon.

The upshot of all this seems to be that the paper took considerable care to present Illingworth's work in the best possible way within the design of the paper: his cartoon was placed in a significant part of the newspaper (next to the leader and political commentary but away from the headline news itself on page 1, but equally not relegated to the entertainment pages along with the children's strips and

Fig.3. 'The Order of the Silver Scuttle', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 20 December 1939.

An example of the most commonly used form of internal speech in an Illingworth cartoon, with the text ranged around the speaker's head without a balloon. This drawing - featuring Hitler, Hermann Goering (who had been appointed to the top position of Reichsmarschall and Hitler's successor earlier in the year) and Admiral Raeder (Commander in Chief of German naval forces) - comments on the Battle of the River Plate when the famous German battleship the *Graf Spee* was scuttled by its captain outside Montevideo harbour, Uruguay, in the mistaken belief that it was facing a hugely superior British naval force.

crossword puzzles). It also acted as part of the page make-up, aligning as it usually did with the right-hard margin and, in true advertising manual style, was positioned

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[288] This is normal *Punch* house style.

to the right of text to which it was in some way connected.[289] Added to which, it was boxed to make it stand out from the surrounding text and the typography used for its captions matched the artist's style (Low tended to calligraph his own captions). As will be seen later (Chapter 6) these features largely held true of the design element of all British daily political newspaper cartoons in the Second World War.

3. Illingworth's Daily Political War Cartoons, 1939-45

It is now time to turn to the political cartoons Illingworth drew for the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War itself. In the year-by-year analyses which follow, a breakdown of the number of cartoons produced each year is given, specifiying on which days of the week they were drawn and whether they were single or multiframe in format. Also presented are: the basic subject-matter of the cartoons (home affairs or international issues), how many figures are contained in each drawing, how the accompanying text is given (internal speech bubble or external caption), how many new characters are introduced (whether real people or stereotypes), and which of these are most frequently drawn. In addition, and by contrast, the number of weekly *Punch* cartoons Illingworth produced each year, and on what subjects, is also noted. This latter comparison is of particular interest in regard to the extent that Illingworth's choice of subject matter and depiction of characters in the *Daily Mail* was or was not influenced by his work for *Punch* (and of course vice-versa).

i) *Political War Cartoons of 1939*

The statistics for Illingworth's annual war cartoon production for 1939 are naturally somewhat distorted as the war did not start until in September of that year and a maximum of only four months' work could be presented in total. However, as he did not actually start work at the *Daily Mail* until 30 October, in reality this is considerably less - effectively two months' worth of drawings altogether. In fact, in the nine weeks from when he started (30 October, nearly two months after the war

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[289] Psychologists of advertising techniques say that the picture of the product being sold should always be placed to the right of the text selling it so that when the potential consumer has finished

began) until the end of the year (31 December), Illingworth drew only 27 daily cartoons for the *Daily Mail*. Apart from the first week during which four cartoons were published (Monday/Tuesday/ Thursday/Saturday) three cartoons were printed each week, and of these 12 were printed on Monday/Wednesday/Friday and six on Tuesday/Thursday/Saturday. There is no obvious reason why these sequences should hold, nor indeed why there were not five or even six cartoons a week (the *Daily Mail* group's Sunday sister paper the *Weekly Dispatch* already had an editorial/political cartoonist, Sidney Moon, so presumably Illingworth had no need to work for this paper as well).[290] However, it should also be pointed out here that though a newspaper's regular editorial/political cartoons are usually drawn a day ahead (thus Monday's cartoon is drawn on a Sunday and hence the artist is rewarded with a day off during the week in lieu of this loss of a rest day) in time of war they had to be drawn against much tighter schedules and often in very awkward circumstances - cramped space, bad lighting (especially with blackout restrictions) and often inferior quality tools. The upshot of this was that - unless you were a superb and rapid draughtsman, with a sharp political brain and a unique visual memory (especially in the case of caricatures of celebrities) - both the idea and the drawing had to be very simple indeed in order for it just to be physically possible to complete it in time to reach the presses for the northern editions.

So, to return to the drawings themselves. Of the 27 Illingworth produced in 1939, 62% (17) were on international aspects of the war and 37% (10) on domestic issues. This seems to be an unsurprising result during this so-called 'Phoney War' period as the general public would have been far more interested in information to allay their fears and anxieties about the growing overseas situtation rather than any (by comparison) petty domestic issues such as taxation.

During this period Illingworth drew no multiframe cartoons at all and of those featuring dialogue 10 had it incorporated in the cartoon without balloons, three had balloons and in seven the dialogue was in the caption beneath the cartoon. None of the cartoons are dependent on a quotation from a public speech etc for their sense

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reading the copy they are immediately confronted by the product itself.

and two have explanations added (for the 15 November cartoon a piece of newsprint is actually stuck on the cartoon to make its point). Most of the cartoons are drawn with many figures but two have a single figure and three have only two figures.

Again these variations do not appear to be surprising and show all the signs of an artist (and his editor/art editor and other newspaper colleagues) settling in to a style of presentation for the editorial/political drawing. Various alternative approaches are being tried out.

Characters introduced by Illingworth into the *dramatis personae* of his cartoon stock company in 1939 - possibly for the first time ever (for him) and certainly for his work on the *Daily Mail* - are Stalin (4 November 1939), Goering (Reich Commissioner for Air and from 1940 Marshal of the Reich, 2 November 1939), Rudolf Hess (Nazi Deputy Leader, 13 November 1939), Joseph Goebbels (Propaganda Minister, 15 November 1939), Winston Churchill (as 1st Lord of Admiralty 1939-4, 25 November 1939), Von Ribbentrop (German Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Britain 1938-45, 2 November 1939), Himmler (SS chief and 1943 Minister of Interior and 1944 C-in-C Home Forces, 2 December 1939), Sir Kingsley Wood (Secretary of State for Air, 1938-40, Chancellor 1940-43, 2 December 1939), Edouard Daladier (French Prime Minister 1938-40, 2 December 1939), Lord Halifax (Foreign Secretary 1938-40, 2 December 1939), Viachislav Molotov (Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs 1939-52, 4 December 1939) and Erich Raeder (Grand Admiral of German Navy 1939-45, 20 December 1939).

Symbolic stereotypes and other characters introduced in 1939 were the Blackout (a negro, who only ever appeared five times - 21 November 1939, 8 December 1939, 18 January 1940, 25 January 1940 and 12 December 1942), the Russian Bear (30 November 1939) and Uncle Sam (29 November 1939). In the case of the Russian Bear - or for that matter of Stalin - it is significant that it/he never appears in a truly negative light, even after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, implying that the Allies - or at least

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[290] Current practice at the *Daily Mail* today (2002, and over the past 30 years) has been to publish four editorial/political cartoons a week (MAC's cartoons appear on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, with a gap on Wednesdays and another cartoonist's work on Saturdays).

Illingworth and the *Daily Mail* - never really saw the Soviet Union as one of the Axis powers.

The characters most frequently drawn by Illingworth in 1939 were Hitler (11), Goering (7) and Stalin (6) with Goebbels and the Chancellor Sir John Simon both depicted three times, and Ribbentrop, Hess, Churchill and Molotov appearing twice. Perhaps surprisingly, British Prime Minister Chamberlain only appears once in this two-month period (as does French Prime Minister Daladier) and there are no cartoons featuring the Polish, Belgian, Dutch, Norwegian, Finnish, Czech etc leaders at all, nor any identifiable military figures apart from Admiral Raeder. the German Navy Chief.

Only three *Punch* cartoons by Illingworth were published this year after he joined the *Daily Mail*, all for the Almanack for 1940 (6 November 1939). One was a full-page social joke, another a full-page domestic wartime joke on the blackout and the third the important and very powerful double-page colour politically symbolic drawing 'The Combat' (Fig. 4).

However, he also drew colour covers for the magazine depicting rural scenes with a wartime overtone. The 1940 Spring Number (13 March 1940) has a bird nesting in a steel helmet and the 1942 Summer Number (18 May 1942) shows a blue-tit pecking at wheat being used as camouflage in the helmet of Mr Punch dressed as an armed soldier.

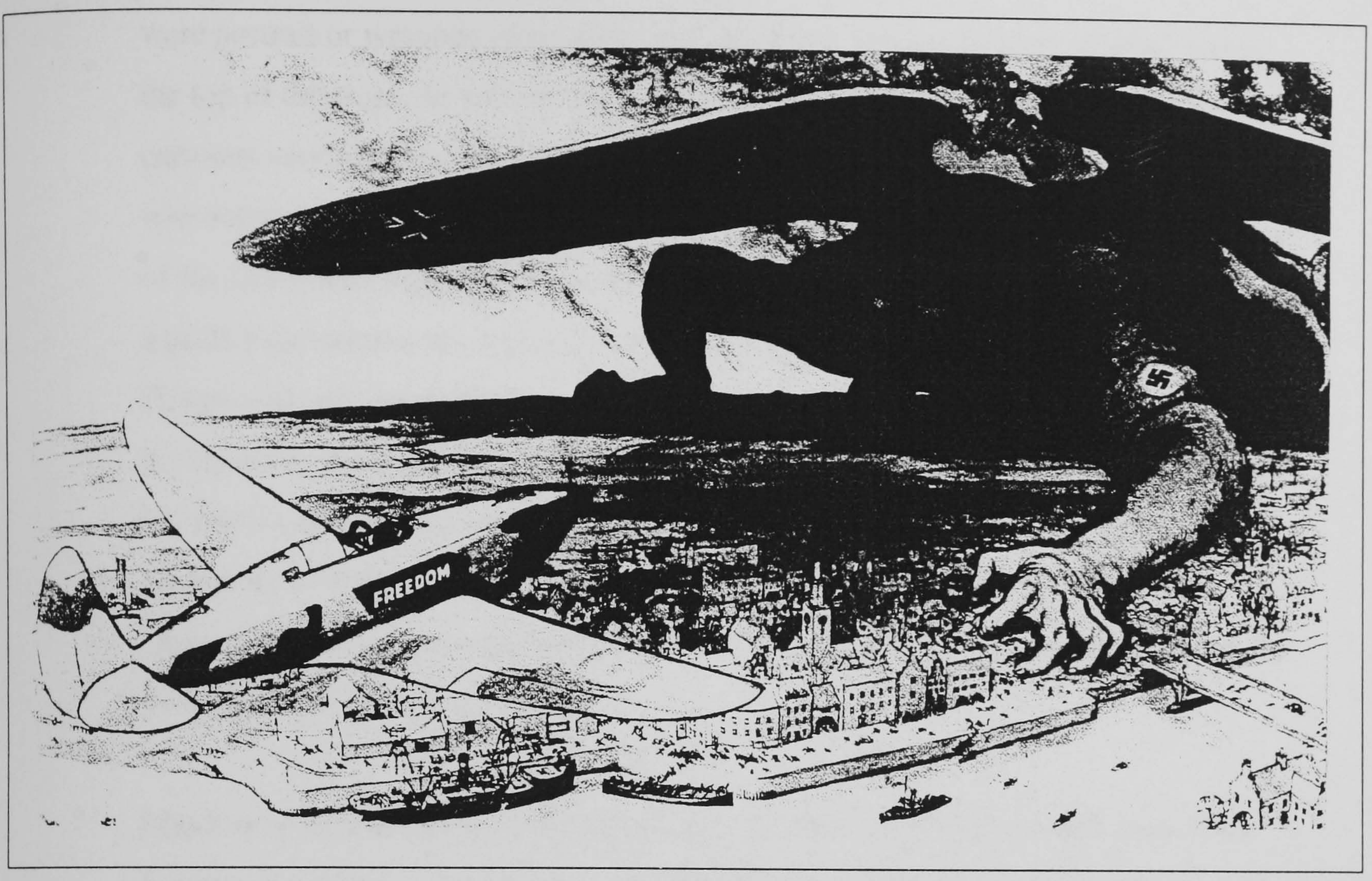

Fig. 4. 'The Combat', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch Almanack*, 6 November 1939.

This celebrated watercolour cartoon was called by US political cartoonist, art historian and biographer of Gillray, Draper Hill, 'this magnificent conception, in its way the spiritual equal of Gillray's *Plumb-pudding in Danger*, can probably be regarded as the ultimate and final expression of the "grand manner" in the evolution of English graphic satire.'[291] Published after the invasion of Poland and while King Leopold of the Belgians and Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands were holding urgent talks after rumours that Hitler planned to invade their countries within days, it features a British Spitfire pilot (with a halo-like aura around his head). His plane, with 'Freedom' painted on its side, is about to engage a huge winged Nazi monster wearing a gas-mask and helmet and crawling towards a Dutch/Belgian port, wreaking havoc as he goes. (This is also the first appearance in Illingworth's cartoons of the Nazi monster as a figure.)

ii) *Political War Cartoons of 1940*

During the 53 weeks of 1940 Illingworth drew 181 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* of which 66% (120) were on the international situation and 33% (61) on domestic issues. Again, a pattern formed in that he drew either three or four cartoons a week (rarely five) with the most common sequences being Monday/Wednesday/Friday/ Saturday or Monday/Tuesday/Thursday/Saturday - Monday, Wednesday and Saturday being the days he drew on most regularly (NB his *Punch* cartoon appeared on Wednesdays). On seven occasions the cartoon featured a single figure, 41 had two figures but otherwise all were multifigure cartoons. Usually the cartoons followed the three-column rectangular landscape format though sometimes they

were portrait or wrapped around text and on one or two occasions extended across the top of the page. As well as the single cartoons there were also 16 multiframe cartoons varying from two frames to a maximum of nine and often telling a story without words in the Caran D'Ache/Bateman style - but also reflecting the technique of the *Daily Mail*'s sports cartoonist Tom Webster. (It could well be that as sports and strip cartoons were progressively dropped from the paper during wartime, Illingworth may have deliberately used this technique on occasion - perhaps prompted by his editor or art editor - to fill the gap, as it were, for the reader.) Innovative compositions from this period include a magnifying-glass effect (19 December 1940) and a double image (5 September 1940). Also there was one cartoon that would have reproduced better had it been drawn in scaperboard (a night-bomber scene, 28 August 1940).

Major new figures caricatured for the first time this year by Illingworth were King George VI (*Punch* 3 January 40 - his only drawing of the King throughout the war in *Punch* or the *Daily Mail*), King Leopold III (29 May 1940), King Carol II of Rumania (26 July 1940), Ernest Bevin (Minister of Labour & National Service, 2 May 1940), Lord Beaverbrook (Air Minister, 7 August 1940, *Punch* 23 January 40), William Mackenzie King (Prime Minister of Canada 1940-45, 26 August 1940), Pierre Laval (10 July 1940), De Valera (Irish Prime Minister, neutral in the Second World War and always depicted riding an ass/donkey; 6 July 1940, 9 November 1940), successive Ministers of Information Sir John Reith (25 January 1940) and Duff Cooper (12 July 1940), Pétain (French President, 26 June 1940), Mussolini (5 February 1940 and *Punch* 7 February 1940), Himmler (29 March 1940), General Weygand (who succeeded Gamelin as Supreme Allied Commander in 1939, and was later imprisoned by the Vichy French, 23 May 1940), Italian Chief of Staff Field Marshal Badoglio (9 December 1940), Franco (3 October 1940), Woolton (W.S.Morrison's successor at the Food Ministry, 12 December 1940).

As to the frequency of figures drawn, the vast majority were of leaders of the enemy's forces in Europe. Hitler appears more times than anyone else (65), and twice

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[291] Draper Hill, op.cit., p.13.

as many times as Illingworth's next most drawn figure Mussolini (30), followed by Goering (23), Goebbels and Stalin (both 13 and it should be noted that Stalin is Germany's ally at this stage). Prime Minister Chamberlain has a miserable showing (8), easily outstripped by Churchill (23) - though it should be remembered that Hitler still appears more than three times as often as Churchill (Fig. 5).

Other figures beginning to appear with some regularity are Chancellor Sir John Simon, Nazi Foreign Secretary and British Ambassador Ribbentrop, President Roosevelt (8), French President Pétain (6) and his deputy and Foreign Minister

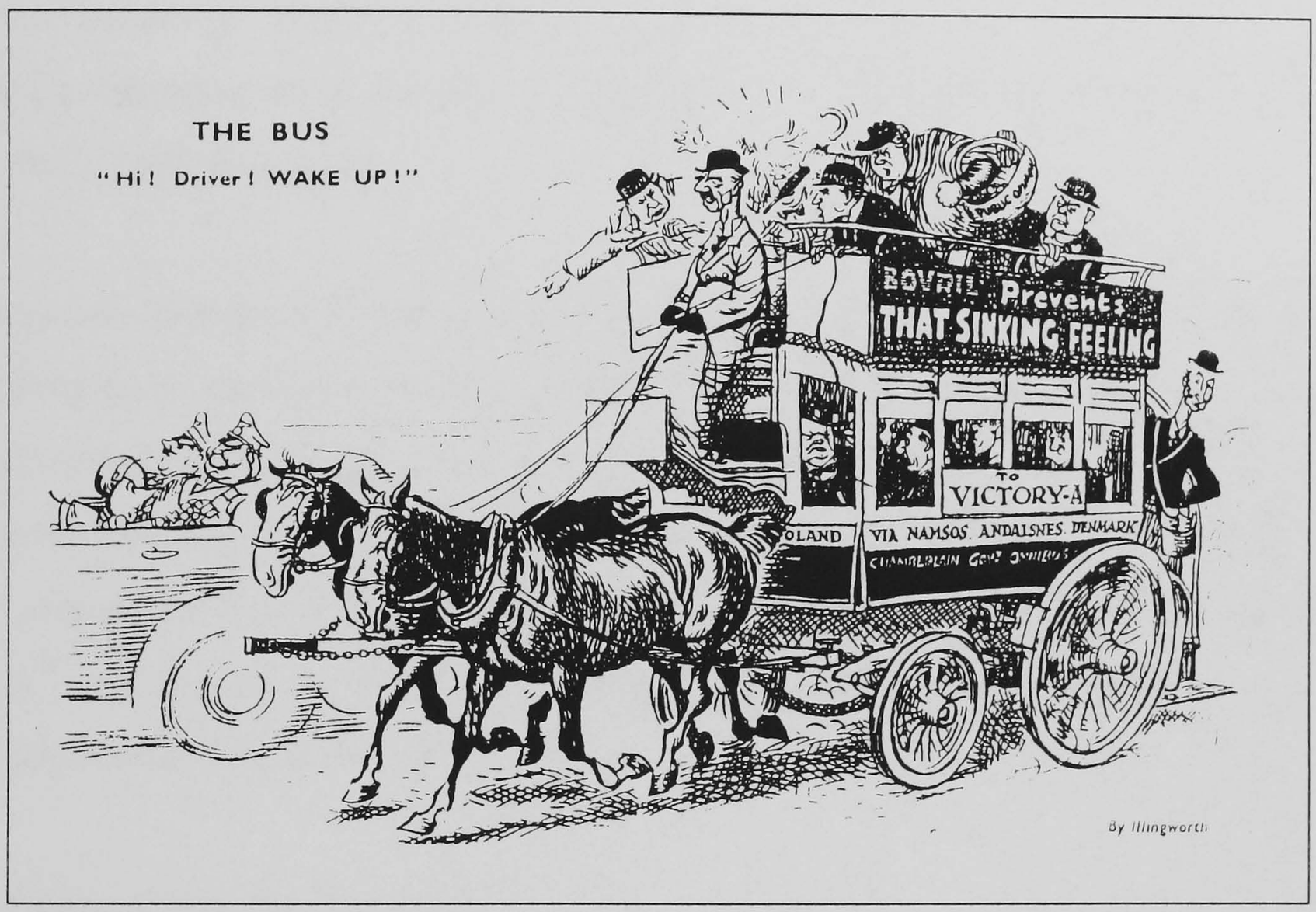

Fig.5. 'The Bus', Leslie Illingworth, *Daily Mail*, 7 May 1940.

This cartoon has been described by Draper Hill as 'One of the most famous cartoons of World War II' [292] and is one of the relatively few drawings Illingworth made for the *Daily Mail* featuring Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The allusion is to a speech Chamberlain made to a Conservative Party meeting on 5 April 1940, the day after the Germans invaded Denmark and Norway. In a remarkably buoyant mood he claimed that 'One thing is certain. Hitler has missed the bus' and later continued 'Hitler has very little margin of strength still to call upon'. Events over the following weeks proved otherwise and Illingworth's cartoon appeared only hours before a two-day House of Commons debate on the conduct of the war during which the matter of 'the bus' was mentioned a number of times. Chamberlain resigned on 10 May.

In Illingworth's drawing, Hitler and Goering, chauffeur-driven in a powerful modern car, overtake the ancient horse-driven omnibus with Chamberlain at the reins. Public Opinion tells him to wake up and various Cabinet ministers join the harangue (Namsos and Andalsnes were unsuccessful Anglo-French landings in Norway).

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[292] Draper Hill, op.cit, p.42.

Pierre Laval. Very few military leaders appear apart from Admiral Raeder, Field Marshal Von Brauchitsch, Badoglio, Weygand, and the newly appointed British Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal (1940-45). On the whole, by 1940 Illingworth's caricatures of all the major players had been established for the *Daily Mail*'s readership and there was little need for labels, though it is curious that Attlee and Bevin (2 May 1940), Roosevelt (22 June), Weygand (23 May) and Laval (28 October and 16 December) still occasionally need labels at this stage.

In 1940 there are 11 instances of Illingworth's cartoon being a direct consequence of a public quotation, mostly from war leaders and communiqués but also nursery rhymes and songs. There were also 30 occasions when Illingworth or his editor added a subtext under the caption to explain what the subject of the cartoon was for the *Daily Mail* readership.

Illingworth only drew 17 cartoons for *Punch* this year. All of them were full-page and notably by contrast *none* were of Hitler. Indeed, there were no Nazi caricatures at all, though there is a giant Nazi vulture attacking shipping and a giant Soviet monster invading Finland. Despite Peter Mellini's views to the contrary, it would thus appear that *Punch* was more pro-Appeasement than the *Daily Mail* even at this stage.[293] (Alternatively, of course, it could be that Shepard's main cartoon had already focussed on these figures.)

iii) *Political War Cartoons of 1941*

Of the 54 weeks Illingworth drew for the *Daily Mail* in 1941, in only one week did he draw one cartoon (Monday 26 May 1941). Again the trend seems to be to draw usually either three or four cartoons a week (minimum one, maximum five) with the balance this year in favour of four per week. There are 10 three-cartoon weeks and 29 four-cartoon ones, and six occasions when he drew five a week. However, the cartoons are frequently larger than hitherto with a considerable number taking up four columns and some even taking up six columns, which seems to indicate their increased importance in the paper. In all he drew 191 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in 1941 of which 72% (138) were on the international scene and 25% (48) on domestic

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[293] Peter Mellini. 'Not the Guilty Men? *Punch* and Appeasement', *History Today*, May 1996.

issues. On 16 occasions he drew single-figure cartoons and there were 42 two-figure cartoons, the rest being multifigure. There are also 10 multiframe cartoons with the largest taking up nine frames (27 February 1941). The close-up circle/magnifying glass effect is used again on two occasions (17 March and 2 April). Again words without balloons have been preferred - of 106 cartoons with dialogue, 71 have plain words, 27 have words in speech balloons and eight have dialogue set as captions under the cartoons. Only nine cartoons have explanations underneath and only five use quotations from public speeches etc to make their point.

New major characters drawn by Illingworth for the first time in the *Daily Mail* and *Punch* this year are: Field Marshal Wavell (C-in-C Middle East and North Africa 1939-41, and Allied Supreme Commander against the Japanese 1941-2, 6 January 1941; *Punch* 12 February 1941), Admiral Darlan (C-in-C French Navy and Deputy President to Pétain, 1941-2, *Daily Mail* 6 February 1941), Emperor Haile Selassie (15 January 1941; *Punch* 28 May 1941), Marshal Antonescu (Romanian dictator, only twice drawn by Illingworth in the Second World War, 12 February 1941, 16 May 1942), King Boris of Bulgaria (ditto, 12 February 1941), Rashif Ali of Iraq (ditto, 5 May 1941), the Shah of Iran (only once drawn by Illingworth in the Second World War, 17 September 1941), Matsuoaka (Japanese Foreign Minister 1940-1, 29 March 1941; *Punch* 16 April 1941), Quisling (only twice drawn by Illingworth in the Second World War, 29 August 1941), Herbert Morrison (*Punch* 12 March 1941), Kingsley Wood (Chancellor 1940-43, 8 April 1941, *Punch* 8 January 1941), Rommel (28 November 1941), Auchinleck (27 December 1941). Again Hitler is by far the most drawn character (71 times) with Mussolini next (24) and Churchill third (20). Other significantly large appearances are Goering (15), Roosevelt (13), a Japanese figure (13), Goebbels and Stalin (both 11), Bevin (by now Minister of Labour (10) followed by Ribbentrop (7). Petain (6) and Laval (5) also appear regularly and there are also appearances by a number of military leaders such as Wavell (3), Darlan (6), General Nye (Vice CIGS), Freyberg, Raeder, Rommel (3) and Auchinleck.

Illingworth drew 25 cartoons for *Punch* in 1941, all full-page, of which only 6 featured the Axis powers, two particularly striking ones being Hitler, Goering and Goebbels as devils (2 July 1941) and a Nazi monster (23 April 1941).

iv) *Political War Cartoons of 1942*

During the 52 weeks which Illingworth drew cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in 1942 (he had a week off 17-22 August), his most common rate of production was four cartoons per week (26 weeks). For 10 weeks he drew three per week, for a further eight weeks he drew five per week and only once did he draw one cartoon in a week (14 January 1942). Of these, 13 were multiframe cartoons to a maximum of eight frames (17 March 1942) and an innovative double-frame idea was used on two occasions (13 June and 18 November 1942). Once again the width of the cartoon varied considerably.

During 1942 he drew a total of 184 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* of which 70% (130) were on international issues and 23% (43) were on domestic matters. On 24 occasions the cartoons contain a single figure, and in 40 cartoons there are two figures but mostly they are multifigure drawings. Interestingly, 53 of the cartoons (not including the strip/multiframe cartoons) - nearly 30% - are completely captionless. Dialogue in the drawings again is usually balloonless (52 cases), with 28 featuring speech balloons and two with the dialogue in the caption beneath the drawing. Only four of the cartoons need explanations added under the captions (12 May 1942 has newsprint stuck to the cartoon) and only three are derived from quotations from speeches etc.

New major characters introduced for the first time into Illingworth's cartoons this year are: Soviet General Timoshenko (who makes only three appearances in Illingworth's cartoons in the whole of the Second World War - 23 May 1942, 26 November 1942 and 5 January 1943), Deputy Chief of Gestapo Heydrich (the only drawing of him by Illingworth in the war, 29 May 1942), Gandhi (16 July 1942), Montgomery (28 October 1942), Beveridge (23 November 1942), MacArthur (portrait 10 March 1942, cartoon 19 March 1942), Nehru (only two appearances in Illingworth's drawings in the Second World War 6 April 1942, 10 August 1942), and

Eisenhower (22/24 December 1942). Hitler is again the most drawn character (47) and Mussolini has now slipped to fourth place (17) behind the Japanese figure - which appears 24 times - and Churchill (18). Goering is much less evident (7) as are Goebbels (4) and Ribbentrop (2), but Laval is high (9) and Pétain scores five. Roosevelt is also surprisingly low (3) with Stalin (6) and 1941 has the first significant appearance of Gandhi (3). However, apart from five appearances each by Sir Kingsley Wood and Sir Stafford Cripps it is the generals who feature most, primarily Rommel (8) and Montgomery (6) but also MacArthur (2), Raeder (1), Timoshenko (2), Von Bock (2), Auchinleck (1) and Eisenhower (2).

Illingworth only drew 12 cartoons for *Punch* this year, all of them full-page and all of them political.

v) *Political War Cartoons of 1943*

Of the 51 weeks for which Illingworth drew a cartoon for the *Daily Mail* in 1943 (he had a week off 11-16 January), for 18 weeks he produced four per week, for 23 weeks he drew three per week and for five weeks he drew five per week. Of these 15 were multiframe cartoons to a maximum of 11 frames in one cartoon (8 July 1943) and he again used the close-up magnifying circle technique for two (4 May and 1 December 1943), repeating his own earlier cartoon in an updated version on 17 May 1943. The width of the cartoon varies again. In all he drew 179 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in 1943 of which 70% (127) are on international themes and 20% (36) on domestic issues. Only 10 cartoons contain only one figure with 24 containing two but the vast majority are multifigure drawings. 51 of the cartoons are completely captionless and only one (18 September 1943) has an explanation attached (stuck over the cartoon). Also, only five derived directly from public quotations etc. Of the dialogue drawings, 52 have handwritten balloonless speech, 11 have balloons and 11 have speech underneath the drawing as a caption.

New major characters drawn by Illingworth this year include Marshal Zhukov (his only appearance in Illingworth's wartime cartoons, 5 January 1943), De Gaulle (9 January 1943), Alexander (portrait only, 10 May 1943), Hess (15 March 1943), Chiang Kai-Shek (his only two appearances in Illingworth's war cartoons, 2

December 1943 and 24 April 1945), Cordell Hull (US Secretary of State, 28 January 1943). Hitler continues to be the most drawn character (64 times), with Goebbels second (31), Churchill third (27), Mussolini fourth (23) and Stalin and Roosevelt both fifth (16). Goering is well out of the picture (9). The Japanese feature very little this year (7). Chiang Kai-Shek and De Gaulle both make a single appearance, Bevin (9), Anthony Eden (Foreign Secretary 1940-45) and Herbert Morrison (Home Secretary) both appear five times, and again military figures are depicted, such as Timoshenko, Zhukov, Von Paulus, Rommel (6), Montgomery (2), Von Arnim (2), Tedder, MacArthur and Badoglio (2).

Illingworth only drew five cartoons for *Punch* this year, all full-page and, apart from one on strikers, all on the war.

vi) *Political War Cartoons of 1944*

Of the 51 weeks for which he drew cartoons in 1944 (he had a week off 23-26 October), Illingworth produced four cartoons a week for 16 weeks, three per week for 23 weeks, five per week for three weeks and two per week for seven weeks. Of these, 12 are multiframe cartoons to a maximum of 12 frames (e.g. 31 December - an almanac - and 25 November 1944), and 17 are completely captionless. Of those using speech and dialogue 37 have it written on the cartoon without balloons, 11 have balloons and three have the speech as the caption. Only one cartoon (20 June 1944) uses a quotation as its theme and only three have explanations beneath the caption (17 November has it stuck on the drawing itself). Eight drawings have a single figure in them with 20 featuring just two figures but most are multifigure drawings. Illingworth drew 163 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in 1944 of which 60% (99) were on international subjects and 30% (50) were on domestic issues.

New major characters drawn for the first time by Illingworth this year include Bomber Harris (11 February 1944), Peter Fraser (New Zealand's Prime Minister, 29 April 1944), John Curtin (Australian Prime Minister, 29 April 1944), Jan Smuts (South African Prime Minister, 29 April 1944), Kesselring (29 May 1944) and Patton (6 September 1944), both the latter only making one appearance in

Illingworth's drawings during the whole of the Second World War. With regard to the most popular character in the cartoons, Hitler still comes out on top but with a much reduced presence (38). Indeed military and political leaders have a much smaller showing this year. In descending order they are: Churchill (18), Stalin (13), Himmler - for the first time a big showing (12) - Goebbels (8), Goering (5), Bevin (5) Roosevelt, Eden and De Gaulle (4), Japanese figure (2) and Mussolini only three. Montgomery is much in evidence (9) but others are less so: Eisenhower (3), Kesselring (3) with Rommel, Manstein, von Runstedt, Patton and General Dempsey one showing each.

Illingworth drew 13 cartoons for *Punch* this year, all full-page and mostly on the war.

vii) *Political War Cartoons of 1945*

In 1945 (up until the war ended officially on 2 September) Illingworth drew 102 cartoons for the *Daily Mail*. Of these only 21% (22) were international while 66% (68), the vast majority, were on domestic issues. This obviously reflects the change of focus brought about by the ending of the war against Germany on 8 May and against Japan on 2 September. Of the 35 weeks covered until 2 September 1945 (he had a week off 5-12 February) Illingworth's weekly rate of political cartoons also decreased: eight weeks at three per week, seven at four per week, five at five per week and 12 at two per week. Also during this period there were no multiframe cartoons at all. Again most cartoons had many figures in them but four featured single figures and 11 had two figures. Captionless cartoons numbered 10 and of those with speech, 17 have dialogue written on the drawing, five have it in speech balloons and in four the speech appears in the caption itself. Of all this year's cartoons five have explanations underneath them (19 March is actually a collage

ight passes . . . and the Evil Things depart

Fig.6. 'Night Passes...and the Evil Things Depart', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 8 May 1945.

This wonderfully apocalyptic drawing, one of Illingworth's most powerful and dramatic creations of the war, was reproduced across six columns of the *Daily Mail* and appeared above a long article entitled 'After the Storm...' by Lord Vansittart, former Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Government (1938-41). Recognisable amongst the bats, ghouls, ghostly horsemen, V1 flying-bombs, Nazi generals and executioners fleeing the light of a new dawn are Lord Haw-Haw (with donkey head, bottom left), Propaganda Minister Goebbels (centre, still holding a microphone)[294] and Heinrich Himmler. Hitler can be seen lying dead in the foreground.

incorporating a page from *Life* magazine - a publication incidentally which Illingworth worked for)[295] and six get their point from a quotation, notably 'Night Passes...' (8 May 1945), which may possibly be seen as Illingworth's greatest cartoon of the war (Fig. 6). In addition, for the first time Illingworth drew three 'pictogram' tabular drawings featuring very small cartoon characters (e.g. 5 March 1945).

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[294] Though it should be noted that by this time Goebbels was in fact dead (he committed suicide on 1 May 1945) - news which perhaps had not reached Britain officially at this stage.

[295] See Chapter 3.

New major characters introduced by Illingworth for the first time this year are Tito (26 January 1945), King Peter II of Yugoslavia (26 January 1945), Lloyd George (portrait on his death, 27 March 1945), Truman (24 April 1945), Admiral Doenitz (5 May 1945) and Harold Laski (20 June 1945). The order of frequency of characters in Illingworth's cartoons changes dramatically in this last year of the war. Churchill (33) is now way ahead with Morrison (18), Bevin (16) and Attlee (14) all ahead of Hitler (13). The only other notable figures are Stalin (9), Laski and Goebbels (both 6), Eden and Roosevelt (both 5), Himmler, Japanese figure and Beaverbrook (all 4) with Montgomery and Eisenhower both on three.

By this time Illingworth had taken over from both Partridge (who died in 1945) and his deputy E.H. Shepard as chief political cartoonist on *Punch* and this is recognised in the number of cartoons (25, all full page) which he drew for the magazine this year up to 6 September. Of these, 16 were on domestic issues and nine on foreign affairs.

Summary

In all, Illingworth drew 1018 cartoons for the *Daily Mail* in the Second World War from 30 October 1939 when he began at the paper until 2 September 1945 when the war finally ended. In addition he drew 100 cartoons for *Punch* during this period. Of his total *Daily Mail* work during the war 63% (653 cartoons) was on the international scene and only 26% (270 cartoons) on the domestic front though, as has been seen, the yearly percentages were reversed in the last year of the war as the focus became increasingly on the domestic situation.

He drew for 305 weeks during the war years and had no extended time off from 1939 to 1941 but, if the absence of cartoons is anything to go by had a week off each year thereafter, but always at a different time of year (Jan, Feb, Aug and Oct). It is assumed that he had in fact two weeks' holiday entitlement and that some of the short weeks he worked were evidence of days taken individually (though unfortunately there are no *Daily Mail* employment records to confirm this either way). So producing 1018 cartoons over 305 weeks gives an average of 3.33 cartoons per week, which fits well with the assumption stated earlier that he seemed

normally to draw Monday/Wednesday/Friday plus Saturday (though sometimes Tuesday/Thursday/Friday/Saturday and sometimes five days a week).

A statistical analysis of all the days on which he drew seems to bear this out with Monday being the most common day (23%) and Monday, Wednesday (19%) and Saturday (19%) combined giving 61% of the total (see Table 1 below). However. as can also be seen from the table, it appears that Saturdays were largely dropped in 1945. The least likely day for him to draw was a Tuesday (10%).

TABLE 1

Days on which Illingworth's Cartoons Appeared in the Daily Mail, *1939-45*

	1939	**1940**	**1941**	**1942**	**1943**	**1944**	**1945**	**Total**	**%**
Mon	5	44	41	37	45	39	24	235	23%
Tues	4	15	17	22	18	16	17	109	10%
Wed	6	34	35	36	34	32	22	199	19%
Thurs	3	23	28	22	19	19	15	129	12%
Fri	5	25	24	25	28	27	18	152	14%
Sat	4	39	44	42	33	27	5	194	19%
								1018	

The character he drew most - head and shoulders above the rest - was Hitler (309 times). He drew Churchill less than half as often (141) and Roosevelt falls well behind Mussolini (96), Goebbels (76), Stalin (74) and Goering (66) and only just above Bevin (44). The most popular military figures were Montgomery (20) and Rommel (18), with all others hardly featuring at all. A complete list of those figures drawn more than 10 times during 1939-45 follows in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Most Drawn Characters in Illingworth's Cartoons, in the Daily Mail, *1939-45*

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
Hitler	11	65	71	47	64	38	13	309
Churchill	2	23	20	18	27	18	33	141
Mussolini	0	30	24	17	23	3	0	96
Goebbels	3	13	11	4	31	8	6	76
Stalin	6	13	11	6	16	13	9	74
Goering	7	23	15	7	9	5	0	66
Roosevelt	0	8	13	3	16	4	5	49
Japanese Figure	0	0	13	24	7	2	4	46

Grouped by country, these characters produce some interesting results with the Germans showing the highest number of occurrences (524) - almost double their nearest rivals the British (298) - with Italy (96), USSR (85), USA (49), France (39) and Japan (37) well behind. China (Chiang Kai-Shek) appears only twice in the whole war! An Axis v. Allies comparison is less easy because of the changing positions of the USSR and Italy, but if Germany, Italy and Japan are lumped together this produces a strong bias towards the Axis powers with Axis (657) and Allies (471).

What is also significant is how few personalities are selected by Illingworth for inclusion in his cartoons. King George VI never appears in a *Daily Mail* cartoon (and only once in *Punch*) and the former Edward VIII not at all; the Empire/ Commonwealth heads of government have a very poor showing; very few monarchs, presidents, prime ministers or foreign secretaries of allied countries appear (no Wilhelmina of Holland, Lebrun/Bonnet/Reynaud of France, Sikorski of Poland etc): and surprisingly few military leaders on either side - not even British CinC Lord Gort let alone Germany's Guderian, Soviet and US figures etc (Eisenhower, Patton, MacArthur et al. have little showing). And the fact that Germans appear 15 times

more often than Japanese says a lot about how much interest that theatre of war had for Illingworth and the *Daily Mail* readers - Burma, Singapore and the Pacific and Chinese wars are hardly mentioned at all.

The personalities chosen at any particular time naturally reflect the progess of the war itself. Mussolini is almost completely out of the picture by 1944 having been the second most drawn figure in 1940 and 1941, but the Japanese character (a national stereotype rather than a recognisable individual) never really dominates and only achieves a significant presence in 1942, reflecting Japanese gains in 1941-2. In the early part of the war it is Goering who features most amongst Hitler's henchmen, presumably reflecting the success of the Luftwaffe of which he was chief, but by 1943 Goebbels is the more dominant figure, being briefly overtaken by Himmler in 1944 after the bomb-plot on Hitler. Stalin and Roosevelt are both surprisingly under-represented in Illingworth's cartoons but Churchill has a powerful showing albeit much less than the Axis leaders, though his count makes up half of all the British personal images in the war, Chamberlain hardly featuring at all.

On the Home Front there is also little on the contribution of women to the war, such as the Land Army, though women are depicted as various kinds of Goddess (Peace, Statue of Liberty, etc) and as national figures (Germania, Britannia, Marianne etc). (See also Chapter 4.) In addition, pro-Nazi elements in the allies - such as Oswald Mosley, the Cliveden Set, Charles Lindbergh and US ambassador Joe Kennedy - are rarely mentioned.

Conclusions

So what can be concluded from all this? Part of the reason for the choice of subject for Illingworth's cartoons must of course be the editorial line of the *Daily Mail* and the interest of the general public in Britain at large (it will be revealing in this respect to see who and what other cartoonists of the period were drawing at the same time - see Chapter 6). But another part must be to do with Illingworth's own personal preference for drawing some characters rather than others and obviously Hitler with his toothbrush moustache and quiff of hair was a gift to cartoonists. Exactly how he and other characters are drawn and how this varies over time will be discussed in

Chapter 5 but it is interesting to note here that, after Hitler and Churchill, Illingworth's most drawn character seems to be Mussolini who is almost always shown as a complete buffoon and never as a seriously threatening character (unlike the Nazis and Stalin), and the Japanese - though sometimes demonised - are usually seen as pigmy-sized mischievous monkeys (and incidentally are rarely differentiated - all seem to wear glasses and have small moustaches).

On the frequency of Illingworth's cartoons and their size in the paper it is significant to note that even when the *Daily Mail* was reduced to eight pages because of paper rationing his cartoons stayed the same size and appeared just as often - if not more so - as in the early part of the war, moving from roughly three cartoons a week to four or even five. This would seem to show the importance of the political cartoon in the paper, especially when others (such as the 'Teddy Tail' and 'Nipper' children's strips) were dropped as the conflict progressed.The fact that a small but significant number of his cartoons (66 = 6.5%) were multiframe and told a story (often a Home Front tale) - and also employed strip-style speech bubbles - may perhaps have been a deliberate move to fill the gap left from the absence of strips, especially as these could be newsworthy whereas strips traditionally tend to be drawn many weeks in advance of publication.

The general lack of explanatory lines under cartoons (except at the beginning of the war, e.g. 30 in 1940 alone) and lack of labels on characters also shows not only Illingworth's increasing confidence in communicating to the reader but also the *Daily Mail*'s own confidence that its readership is aware of every aspect of the news from radio and other sources and has become familiar not only with personalities but also with how Illingworth draws them. This is particularly strong when cartoons appear without any caption at all or with a simple quotation from a public speech and suchlike.

It is also revealing to see how many cartoons feature only one or two characters (237 = 23%; this percentage would be much higher if raised to three characters or simply dominant characters). Indeed in 1940, 1941 and 1942 Illingworth consistently drew around 50-60 of these 1/2-character cartoons a year (48, 58, 64, of which the bulk -

41, 42, 40 - were 2-character), i.e. at least one a week, or one in every three cartoons. This not only shows Illingworth's increasing confidence in getting a powerful message across (Zec rarely used more than a single character in a massive in-your-face propaganda technique derived from poster art) but also perhaps reflects on the urgency of daily newspaper deadlines and the necessity to get the message across as quickly as possible (Zec himself said that he was under huge pressure to produce a simple, strong message in very little time).[296] However, as his sometimes hugely peopled and densely detailed non-political cartoons for *Punch* frequently bear witness, Illingworth loved drawing and given the opportunity he would show off his skills to the full. It is perhaps significant that arguably his best and most dramatic *Daily Mail* drawing 'Night passes...' from 8 May 1945, printed across six columns and tied in to a large feature on the end of the war by Lord Vansittart, is heavily peopled. However, by the same token this was probably drawn well in advance and thus he had more time to work on it. Ironically, undoubtedly his most powerful *Punch* cartoon of the period was 'The Combat' drawn in colour for the 1940 Almanack, which is much less detailed than some of his *Punch* work and features one huge figure. It too was reproduced larger than normal, this time over two complete pages of the magazine.

His *Punch* work was obviously affected by the pressures of work for the *Daily Mail* and it is significant that his only three drawings for the magazine in 1939 were all for the Almanack and were all on general themes and featured no war characters at all. (Another low point was in 1944 when he only drew five cartoons for the magazine but the appointment of Illingworth as the magazine's main cartoonist on the death of Bernard Partridge in 1945 coincided with a let-up in his work for the *Daily Mail* and is reflected in the fact that he drew 25 cartoons for *Punch* up to September 1945 alone.) However, it is interesting to note the cross-fertilisation techniques that Illingworth used in his characterisation of individuals in the two publications. Often a character that has been 'roughed out' in a *Daily Mail* drawing gets detailed treatment in the less hurried and finely executed *Punch* version, and conversely a *Punch* creation is then reduced to a short-hand version for the *Daily Mail*.

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[296] Zec Tape.

Linked to Illingworth's use of pictorial images of the prime Allied and Axis leaders in his cartoons during the war period is his use of symbols and allusions - and the thesis that individual national leaders had, by the Second World War, generally (but not exclusively) replaced the public's sense of nationhood formerly occupied by Britannia, John Bull et al. It is this aspect of his work that will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Symbolism and Metaphor in Illingworth's War Cartoons, 1939-45

'Satirical iconography is sustained by its topicality. It exploits the froth of sensational events, people who hit the news, and spectacular accidents. Exhibiting a marked preference for representation of people, it never shrinks from making the most of natural physical incongruities, but succeeds in bringing these to the fore.'
(Robert Philippe, *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* [Oxford, 1982], p.16)

'If you ask him [Illingworth] how he works, he will tell you that he reads the newspapers and creates concrete symbols of the news. His trouble, he says, is that he doesn't think in words, and he just can't do snappy captions.' (Charles Grave in *Daily Mail*, 14 March 1941)

Introduction

This chapter will continue to look at Illingworth's political war cartoons by focussing on his use of symbolism and metaphor (which, as can be seen from the second quotation at the top of this page, was something of conscious interest to him). To this end it will briefly examine the general history and evolution of the political cartoonist's use of personifications, national symbols, stereotypes, stock characters etc - what Gombrich calls the 'Cartoonist's Armoury'[297] - and then see how many of these 'weapons' were still in use by Illingworth during his period as political war cartoonist on the *Daily Mail* (as well as occasional references to his work for *Punch* during the same period). In addition there will be an analysis of literary and fine art allusions, graphic interpretations of verbal metaphors and suchlike. There will also be a statistical analysis of the guises in which Allied and Axis leaders are depicted. The results of this survey and the one conducted in Chapter 4 will then be compared with a brief analysis of the work of other Fleet Street cartoonists during the Second World War in Chapter 6.

1. Early Use of Symbols by Cartoonists

In their use of symbolism, political cartoonists can be seen as heirs to the tradition of symbolic art that flourished in particular in the Middle Ages where the Church used images to teach the illiterate the message of the Scriptures. These later became

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[297] In E.H.Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1963), pp.127-42.

secular, with illustrations to proverbs and fables, then satirical prints and hence the modern political cartoon. with its visual codes and metaphorical echoes. was born.

Gombrich traces the origins of pictorial symbolism back further still. According to him, 'It was the peculiar attitude of the Greek mind towards language which disposed the ancient world to personify abstract concepts in terms of living presences...' [298] Thus Nike, Goddess of Victory, was worshipped and had a temple on the Acropolis in Athens, and likewise the figure of Liberty can be seen on Roman coins from at least AD 97. The natural world also had its personifications with figures such as Thor, the Scandinavian god of Thunder, and later such familiar images as General Winter, Jack Frost, Old Father Time, the New Year Baby, the Grim Reaper, Father Christmas etc. However, recent discoveries of Ancient Egyptian scarab-shaped tablets of hieroglyphics from the period of Amenhotep III (1390-53 BC) place this tradition even further back. The tablets, all identical, were used to bring news of wars and conquests thoughout the Pharaoh's kingdom and thus can be seen as being not only the first examples of war journalism (and effectively the first newspapers) but also, because the language is made up of hieroglyphics – where words are represented by pictures - the first war drawings. Hence it could even be argued that war cartoons existed before anything was written about anything in words, if we take 'word' in the modern sense to mean a collection of non-pictorial symbols used in written language. This would also confirm Illingworth's own strongly held belief that pictures precede language (see Chapter 3).

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As noted in Chapter 1, though Hogarth is generally credited as being the father of the modern cartoon it was James Gillray (1756-1815) who is seen as the first political cartoonist in Britain and also thereby the first political war cartoonist, commenting on the Napoleonic Wars against revolutionary France. And from the very beginning he and his contemporaries and immediate successors - notably Rowlandson and George Cruikshank - began to use the symbols, metaphors and allusions that would over the centuries become the stock-in-trade of cartoonists in general and political war cartoonists in particular.

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[298] E.H. Gombrich, op.cit., p.129.

The kinds of symbols used include the classical personification (e.g. Mars, God of War), the national figure (e.g. Britannia), the national stereotype (e.g. John Bull), the heraldic beast (e.g. the British lion and bulldog), the heraldic plant (e.g. the English rose, the Welsh leek), the national flag and/or insignia (e.g. the Union Jack), national dress (e.g. the Scottish kilt), and so forth. All of these images come value-laden and have meanings for their viewers that are accessible to all without interpretation.

So it can be seen that the tradition of symbolism and allusion in political cartoons - both in peacetime and war - had established itself some 150 years or so before Illingworth came on the scene. But what of Illingworth's own contribution to the genre? How much did he use these sort of symbols and did he use some kinds more than others? The simplest solution to these questions is to count up the numbers of each type of symbol and allusion Illingworth actually employed over the wartime period and analyse the resulting figures.

The kinds of traditional symbolism can be broadly grouped into three categories: *human* (or 'personified'), *animal* and *non-animal* imagery and what follows will be a study of these and how much (or how little) they feature in Illingworth's work. This will be succeeded in turn by an examination of Illingworth's use of *allusions* (e.g. literary, historical, fine art, advertising, film, radio and song), *associations* (including an examination of his use of graphic interpretation of verbal metaphors, e.g. sitting on the fence) and his use of *scale, form* and *colour symbolism*. Finally - following on from the detailed statistical breakdown of the frequency of the appearance of wartime individuals in his cartoons in the Second World War in Chapter 4 - there will be a brief look at how much Illingworth used *metamorphosis* of Allied and Axis leaders in his wartime drawings, as well as *tabs of identity* (e.g. Hitler's moustache) as another kind of visual shorthand.

2. Illingworth's Use of Personified Symbolism

The first kind of symbol to be examined is that of personified symbolism. By this is meant those symbols which are in some sense human or in the form of human beings.

i) *Gods and Goddesses*. As a group of symbols used by cartoonists, gods and goddesses had begun to fade considerably by the beginning of the 20th century and thus it is revealing to see how much, if at all, Illingworth used these. Table 1 presents a breakdown of pseudo-human figures in the form of gods and goddesses used by Illingworth in his *Daily Mail* work from 1939 to 1945.

TABLE 1

Gods and Goddesses as Symbols in Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

God/Goddess	
Mars, God of War	8
Goddess/Statue of Liberty	6
Goddess of Peace	4
Goddess of Spring	2
Goddess of Justice	1
Goddess of Science	1
Poseidon, God of the Sea	1
Eros, God of Love	1
	24

As can be seen from the table, Mars the God of War (Fig. 1) and the Goddess of Liberty appear more frequently than those of Peace or Justice, highlighting the importance of the fight for freedom as the paramount factor in Illingworth's drawings and hence in the national outlook. However, more significant still is the tiny size of the sample - out of 1018 cartoons drawn by Illingworth over the war period, only 24 (2%) feature gods and goddesses.

ii) *Classical National Figures.* The use of pseudo-human classical national figures as symbols in wartime goes back a long way. Always female, they were thereby the literal embodiment of the phrase 'the mother country' and had their roots in the

THE STARTER'S PISTOL

Fig.1. 'The Starter's Pistol', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 10 April 1940.

A typical example of Illingworth's depiction of Mars, God of War. In all versions he appears wearing classical armour and helmet and usually carrying a spear and sword, but in some cases (as here) he also has anachronistic items such as a pistol and watch. After the surrender of Finland to the USSR in March 1940, the invasion of Denmark and Norway by Germany on 9 April is seen as a preliminary to a major conflict on the Western Front between Germany and the allied forces of France and Britain. The symbolism of the starter's gun before a race and time running out before war begins is very powerful.

ancient world. A stone relief commemorating a 4th century BC treaty between Athens and Samos shows Athena and Hera (goddesses who were also themselves individual city symbols) clasping hands. Likewise the female figures of Gallia (representing France) and Belgia (Belgium) appear on a French medal from Louis XIV's era.

The British classical national figure, *Britannia*, was first used by Romans on the reverse side of a coin minted in AD 119-122 during the Emperor Hadrian's reign and commemorated the subjugation of Britain by the Roman Empire. The basic design of the image has remained virtually unchanged since that time. It features a woman seated in three-quarter view facing left and holding a spear in her left hand with her right arm resting on a shield. Thus, though female, she is portrayed as well armed, representing a warrior nation. During George III's reign the spear was replaced with Neptune's trident (symbolising Britain's rule of the sea) and a plumed helmet was added. Her actual physiognomy dates from coins struck during the reign of Charles

II for which the model was one of his favourites, Frances Stewart (La Belle Stewart).[299]

Britannia - as the personification of the nation (cf Germania, Columbia, et al.) - began to appear in British political cartoons almost from the beginning of the genre. As has been mentioned, it was Hogarth's successor James Gillray who established himself as being the first major professional *political* cartoonist, and at the end of the 18th century Britannia appears in at least three of his drawings, including a very early (unsigned) one 'Argus' (15 May 1780) - which also features a sleeping and chained British lion - and (Fig. 2) 'St George and the Dragon' (2 August 1805).

However, though the classical national figure of Britannia dates from the beginnings of political cartoons it was only really used widely from the middle of the 19th century onwards. And it is significant that her image was also defined for the public at large by cartoonists (not painters or illustrators) such as John Leech (1817-64) and John Tenniel (1820-1914) who portrayed her as a matronly Graeco-Roman goddess figure.[300] She also represented Truth and other alleged British virtues (which had formerly been drawn as separate goddesses) and was later conflated with images of Queen Victoria herself.

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[299] The image of the French national stereotype Marianne (as opposed to the now little-used national figure Gallia) is even more strictly controlled with a particular model being chosen regularly to be her embodiment - which may account for why she always looks the same in Illingworth's drawings of her.

Fig. 2. 'St George and the Dragon', James Gillray (1757-1815), print by Hannah Humphrey, 2 August 1805.

In this black-and-white print it is George III, in the role of England's patron saint, who rescues Britannia - who has dropped her spear, helmet and Union Jack shield and appears totally defenceless - from the fire-breathing Napoleon monster whose crown he has already cut in two.

After the First World War, however, the classical national figure largely faded away from cartoons. Indeed the use of national female symbols as a whole was attacked by Low who described them as 'those statuesque females in Greek nightgowns... who symbolised the imperialisms of our fathers...RIP to all the Britannia stodge, I say.'[301] None the less Illingworth still used her occasionally during the Second World War, as is seen below (Fig. 3).

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[300] A good example of a Victorian Britannia by Tenniel can be seen in Chapter 1, Fig. 4B ('Too Late').
[301] David Low, 'The Cartoonist's Job in War', *Listener*, 2 November 1939, p.845.

Fig. 3. 'Cutting Out the Frills', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 6 July 1942.

In this cartoon, Illingworth's Britannia looks quite happy to have Hugh Dalton (Minister for Economic Warfare [1940] and President of the Board of Trade [1942]) convert her dress to the new 'Utility' style introduced as fabrics became scarce and the Government 'Make Do and Mend' campaign was introduced. The elimination of pleats and frills also led to the raising of hemlines. (Unusually Illingworth has reversed out Dalton's words: 'A Utility dress will suit you better just now.')

Another classical national figure occasionally used symbolically in cartoons is *St George*, as the patron saint of England. However, apart from being dressed in medieval armour and sharing many visual characteristics of Richard the Lionheart and the Knights of the Round Table (riding a white charger and wielding a double-handed straight sword, for example) there is very little to define his appearance in the same way as Britannia. And this - added to the fact that he is only ever seen vanquishing a dragon to save a maiden in distress - makes his use as a national symbol by cartoonists very limited. An early example by Gillray has already been shown (Fig.2). Here, by comparison are two versions by Illingworth (Figs 4).

Hurry up with the armour for St. George! —*by Illingworth.*

"Therefore, he resolved to venture and hold his ground."

Fig 4A. 'Hurry up with the Armour for St George!', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 23 April 1941.
Fig 4B. '"Therefore, he resolved to venture and hold his ground"', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch*, 23 April 1941.

Two Illingworth cartoons featuring St George and the Dragon in wartime, published on the same day, St George's Day 1941. The *Punch* cartoon on the right - with a symbolic tiny St George battling against a huge Nazi dragon - is in fact a double allegory as the quotation beneath is from Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* and thus the knight is also Christian who in Chapter IX of the book encounters the fearsome beast Apollyon who was 'clothed with scales like a fish... had wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, and out of his belly came fire and smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion'. He also threw flaming darts. (The idea for this cartoon would have been decided a week earlier by the *Punch* Table.) In the *Daily Mail* version, the dragon is Hitler whose leg is being bitten by the Royal Navy in the form of the British bulldog and whose eyes are being attacked by the RAF in the form of a seagull. Meanwhile, Churchill as St George is rapidly dressing himself in 'New Armoured Divisions' to finish the monster off on land. (*Punch* had used the image of St George facing the Nazi dragon at least twice before in the war, on 1 January 1941 [by E.H.Shepard with Churchill as St George] and on 29 March 1939 [by Bernard Partridge]. And the image was also used as a popular recruiting poster in the First World War with the phrase 'Britain Needs You at Once').

iii) *Popular National Figures.* Less heroic and less classical Graeco-Roman figures have also represented nations as pseudo-human symbols and amongst these are popular national figures. These are recognisable human types wearing ordinary clothes rather than classical 'nightgowns' and instead of having statuesque figures and being of much the same heroic appearance as each other have a variety of personal and very individual characteristics.

The British national character *John Bull* (cf France's Marianne, the USA's Uncle Sam, and Germany's Michel), first appeared in the early 18th century, again defined

by cartoonists and not painters. At first he was seen as a glutton, who proudly ate the roast beef of England - witness Gillray's 'John Bull taking a Luncheon' (Fig. 5) - and only after the Napoleonic Wars did he became a country squire (as drawn by 'HB', John Doyle, 1797-1868).

He later became defined in the pages of *Punch* by Leech and Tenniel as a stolid bourgeois, who was rarely aggressive but able to bear burdens etc. (But see also Chapter 1, Fig.3, for an aggressive Victorian John Bull stamping out the Afghan scorpion.)

Fig. 5. 'John Bull Taking a Luncheon - or British Cooks Cramming Old Grumble-Gizzard with Bonne Chere', James Gillray (1757-1815), print by Hannah Humphrey, 24 October 1798.

In Gillray's cartoon from the Napoleonic Wars with France (1793-1815), John Bull is seen being stuffed with French frigates (made into fricassee) by Nelson (with hook hand and holding 'Fricassee à la Nelson) and other admirals. Bull protests: 'What? More Frigasees? Why you sons of bitches, you. Where do ye think I shall find room to stow all you bring in?'

However, John Bull (and his naval version, jolly Jack Tar) began to fade from use by cartoonists after the First World War and by 1939 Low was again on the attack: 'John Bull, that symbol of smug and narrow patriotism...who bears no resemblance

inside or out, to the modern, educated, fit Briton'.[302] (None the less, Illingworth drew him 16 times in the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War [Fig. 6]). Winston Churchill offered an explanation for this change of image:

> 'The change is due to post-War mentality. The exhausted nation weighed down by taxation, harried by Socialists; its trade declining, its doles expanding; the trident of the sea already gone, and the sceptre in the East about to fall! For such situations the careworn face of Strube's Litte Man and Poy's haggard paterfamilias are well-suited.'[303]

Fig. 6. 'Promise of Spring', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 2 March 1942.

In this gloomy winter landscape, symbolising not just the weather but also the bleak outlook in the war for the Allies, Illingworth's classically dressed John Bull (with an added neckscarf to emphasise the cold) is delighted to see the first ray of hope in the symbolic form of the first daffodil of spring. The small but bright plant, marked 'The Paratroop Raid' refers to a daring raid on 28 February by British officers of the Parachute Regiment who jumped at night into snow at Bruneval, near Le Havre, France, and stole top-secret German radar equipment from a German base.

John Bull's replacement was an Everyman, 'Joe Bloggs' figure, sometimes named - as in Poy's original 'John Citizen' for the *Daily Mail* and Strube's 'Little Man' in the

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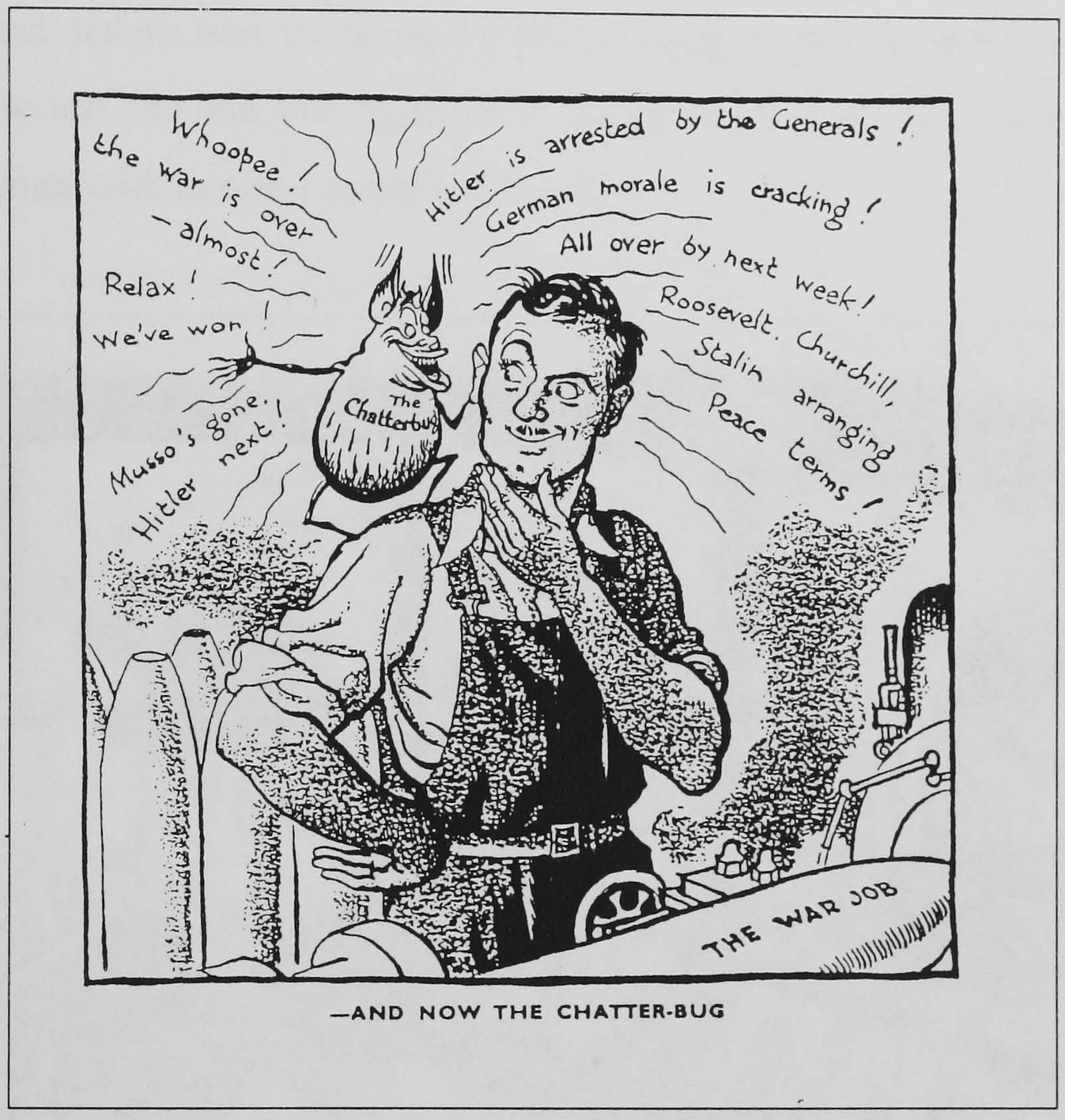
[302] David Low, op.cit., p.845.
[303] Winston Churchill, 'Cartoons and Cartoonists' in *Thoughts and Adventures* (London, 1932), p.34.

Daily Express - sometimes not. John Citizen is seen as the modern John Bull, and is usually a long-suffering middle-class character. Illingworth himself, as Poy's successor in 1939, reintroduced a John Citizen character during the Second World War (Fig. 7). In Illingworth's version he is usually depicted as a middle-aged man left at home during the war but who does his best for the war effort by working in factories and on an allotment growing food. He is always depicted as clean-shaven,



—AND NOW THE CHATTER-BUG

Fig. 7. '- And now the Chatter-bug', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 11 August 1943.

In this particular example of Illingworth's version of John Citizen he is seen as a munitions worker doing 'The War Job'. The creature labelled 'The Chatterbug' is an allusion to the government propaganda cartoon character 'The Squander Bug'. Created by the poster artist Philip Boydell[304] for the National Savings Committee it was originally called 'The Money Grub' and later the hairs on its body were replaced by swastikas. The Squander Bug was drawn by many cartoonists and warned against wastage.[305] Likewise Illingworth's cartoon warns against listening to overly optimistic chatter.

but sports a small moustache, has short hair, and wears a trilby hat and mac or

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[304] By coincidence Boydell (b.1896) was also a student at the Royal College of Art at about the same time as Illingworth, beginning his studies there in 1919.

[305] These artists included Neb. J.C.Walker, Lee, Whitelaw, Strube, Horrabin, Grimes, Wilkinson, White, Giles, Vicky, Zec, Butterworth and Greenall but not, apparently, Illingworth.

working overalls with rolled-up sleeves. Fit-looking (and only rarely wearing glasses) and not at all comical (unlike Strube's 'Little Man'), it is assumed that he is a father or genial uncle figure with a son or nephew at the war (yet he rarely appears with a family or wife).

The German equivalent of the John Citizen character in wartime, as drawn by British and Allied cartoonists - including Illingworth - tends to be the fat *Burger* wearing a Tyrolean hat and lederhosen, smoking a pipe, drinking from a beerstein, eating sausages and sauerkraut and accompanied by a dachshund and with a wife wearing a dirndl and often with her hair in plaits (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8. 'Taxi to Moscow', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 1 September 1941.

Illingworth's typical German couple are dressed in traditional clothing and with the man wearing his hair *en brosse*. The driver of the taxi from Germany to Moscow during the Russian campaign - which is costing the couple (representing Germany as a whole) a fortune in German lives - is Hitler himself. The Führer's eyes are kept facing firmly forward on the road ahead despite the cries of the woman and the sweating man. To emphasise Hitler's isolation and single-mindedness, a sign above the meter reads: 'To speak to the Führer is forbidden'.

The Italians again tend to be drawn as fat with stubbly faces and moustaches and a dark complexion, eating spaghetti and ice cream, drinking wine, either singing or watching opera and travelling around in gondolas. The Japanese are depicted

wearing kimonos, bowing a lot, eating with chopsticks, performing the tea ceremony frequently and looking after bonsai trees. and always have pictures of Mount Fuji on their walls.

iv) *Military National Figures*. In the case of Britain the pre-eminent military national stereotype is the soldier *Tommy (Thomas) Atkins* (with his navy and later airforce equivalents). He is usually depicted as clean-shaven, with a rugged jawline and a broad face, and as often as not is represented as a cheeky Cockney (as, for example, in Bert Thomas' First World War cartoon "Arf a Mo', Kaiser'). Less specific Allied foreign equivalents of Tommy Atkins include the French *poilu*, the American doughboy, the Australasian digger (with slouch hat) and the Asian soldier - especially wearing a turban (Sikh) or jungle hat and carrying a kukri knife (Gurkhas etc). As for the enemy, German military types often tend to be portrayed wearing the old-fashioned Prussian-style *pickelhauber* spiked helmet, leather clothes and jack boots, carrying riding whips and with duelling scars on their cheeks, monocles instead of spectacles, *en brosse* cropped hair etc. The Japanese military stereotype is of a simian-like man of short and stocky build, with slit eyes (often with spectacles), cropped hair and a short moustache and lots of teeth. He is frequently seen carrying a samurai ceremonial sword and shouting *'Banzai!'*, committing hara-kiri etc. The Italian, Russian and other enemy military national stereotypes are less distinct (though Russians tend to have fur hats and often appear as Cossacks).

So, the background having been set, it is now time to look at Illingworth's cartoons themselves. An analysis of the 1000 or more drawings from 1939 to 1945 produced a very small sample of less than 200 uses of symbolic figures by Illingworth, as opposed to huge numbers of images of national leaders (as was seen in Chapter 4, Hitler alone appears more than 300 times in Illingworth's wartime cartoons). The results of the survey are summed up in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Most Frequently Used Personal Symbols in Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

Personal Symbol	
John Citizen	30
Uncle Sam (most in 1941)	24
Marianne	19
John Bull	16
Jack Tar	16
Nazi Monster	10
Britannia	10
Germania	7
	132

What is interesting here is how much the British Home Front character 'John Citizen' outstrips all others and completely eclipses both John Bull and Britannia (well down the list). This, and the fact that (as will be seen) the count for national leaders such as Hitler is so high, would seem to substantiate Low's claim that by the Second World War it could be said that 'human personalities are the appropriate symbols of the policies they represent'.[306] In effect, individuals had become national symbols. Thus Hitler, Stalin, Churchill and the other national leaders had almost completely replaced Britannia, John Bull and the other national figures. As a result of the cult of the personality, real people had replaced personified symbols.[307]

The two main exceptions are Uncle Sam and Marianne. The largest number of Uncle Sam images appeared mostly in Illingworth's 1941 cartoons before the USA entered the war and before F.D.Roosevelt was seen as a powerful figure by the British public (after all, he was a cripple and so could not realistically be drawn in strong resolute poses like Churchill). Possibly also it was advantageous to depict the USA as a rich uncle of the UK, which was already lending Britain and the Allies

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306 David Low, op.cit., p.845.

ships and other armaments to help with the war. The reason for the persistence of Marianne as a national symbol, however, is slightly more complicated. During the Second World War there was - to Illingworth's eyes and the eyes of the British nation (if not the world) as a whole - no single powerful individual to represent France (De Gaulle notwithstanding). Indeed, with the country divided into Vichy and German-occupied territories from 1940 onwards, France was suffering from a sort of national schizophrenia during most of the conflict. Hence the continued power of Marianne as a symbol.

Other figures drawn by Illingworth during the war but not represented in this table as their numbers are not significant are 'Mr Thoughtless' (and his wife 'Mrs Thoughtless') who represents people who waste precious resources like coal (also drawn by many cartoonists in the form of the government image of the Squanderbug), the Blackout (drawn as a negro five times, 1939-42), Father Christmas, Italia (and popular, non-classical female figures representing Denmark, Holland and Indo-China), General Winter, Father Time, 'Brass Hats', a Black Marketeer, and the 'Bolshie Bogey' representing the menace of Communism. Illingworth also drew a few cartoons featuring King Canute, Joan of Arc, Napoleon, Caesar and Nelson - especially in ghost form commenting on a particular battle at hand.

3. Illingworth's Use of Animal Symbols

Animals, flowers, objects etc have positive and negative images in the minds of humans and so by association the 'physiognomics'[308] of this comparison, when they are used in a cartoon (or indeed any pictorial image) gives a message to the observer of the drawing in a kind of visual shorthand (for example by drawing a sheep-faced man the artist implies that the man is therefore 'sheepish' - cowardly, unable to make decisions on his own and a potential victim for a 'wolfish' man and so forth).[309]

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[307] This is emphasised by Hess's declarations in a wartime speech that 'Hitler *is* Germany. Germany *is* Hitler.'

[308] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.138.

[309] Cf George Orwell' s *Animal Farm* where the pigs act like humans and at the end of the book become humans.

Taking animals first, before examining Illingworth's own use of zoomorphism in his cartoons it will be useful to analyse the kind of creatures that make up what Gombrich has called the cartoonists' 'Political Bestiary'.[310]

i) *Positive Image Beasts*. Examples of these are national and heraldic creatures such as the British lion and bulldog, the French cockerel, the Russian bear, the American eagle and the Australian kangaroo. These all have a long history and again can be traced back at least to the 18th century and early 19th century works of James

Fig. 9A. 'The Valley of the Shadow of Death', James Gillray (1757-1815), print by Hannah Humphrey, 24 September 1808.

Proof that animal symbolism was very much in evidence from the beginning of the art of the political war cartoon is given by the host of animal imagery in this early Gillray drawing from the Napoleonic Wars against France (1793-1815). As well as the German two-headed eagle, the British lion and the Russian bear, other national animal stereotypes that can be seen are the 'True Royal Spanish Breed' of horse, the Portuguese wolf and the Sicilian terrier, while in the foreground are 'Dutch frogs spitting out their spite', an 'American rattle snake shaking his tail' and a 'Prussian scare-crow attempting to fly', amongst others.

Gillray. Such national animal symbols as the German two-headed eagle, the British lion and Russian bear, for example, all appear in his drawing from 24 September 1808, 'The Valley of the Shadow of Death' (Fig 9A).[311]

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[310] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.136.

Illingworth used all these images plus many others. His version of a Russian Bear is shown below (Fig 9B).

Fig. 9B. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 18 January 1943.

An example of Illingworth's use of national animal symbolism. In this case it is the Russian bear and the drawing was published shortly after a ferocious attack by the Soviet Union on German forces south of Vorozneh, on the Upper Don river. In the cartoon Hitler has his back to the wall and his only defence against the bear, a rifle marked 'Wehrmacht', lies twisted and out of his reach.

Other 'positive-image' beasts include the dove (of peace), the graceful swan, the wise owl and the chicken (hatching a [hopefully good] egg - but also 'chicken and egg situation').

ii) *Negative Image Beasts*. An early example of a negative-image beast is Goya's image of Napoleon as a vulture being kicked out of Spain in his series *Disasters of War* (1810-20). Two more historical drawings are James Gillray's 'The New Administration' (1 April 1783) - with Charles James Fox being drawn as a fox - and Isaac Cruikshank's 'The Political Locust' (1795), attacking British Prime Minister William Pitt for introducing heavy taxes to pay for Britain's war with France. Other

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[311] Though it should be noted that in this case they are all seen as allies attacking Napoleon.

negative-image creatures include the rat, toad, snake, spider, octopus, cockroach, cat, monkey (playing tricks), rabbit (scared), dog (in the sense of cur, see Fig.10), gorilla, shark, pig, turkey, mosquito, wasp, wolf, porcupine, goat, cuckoo, donkey, lizard, parrot, sheep and slug. Also included here are the negative associations of the mad March hare, moths around a flame, ostrich (head in sand) and lemmings.

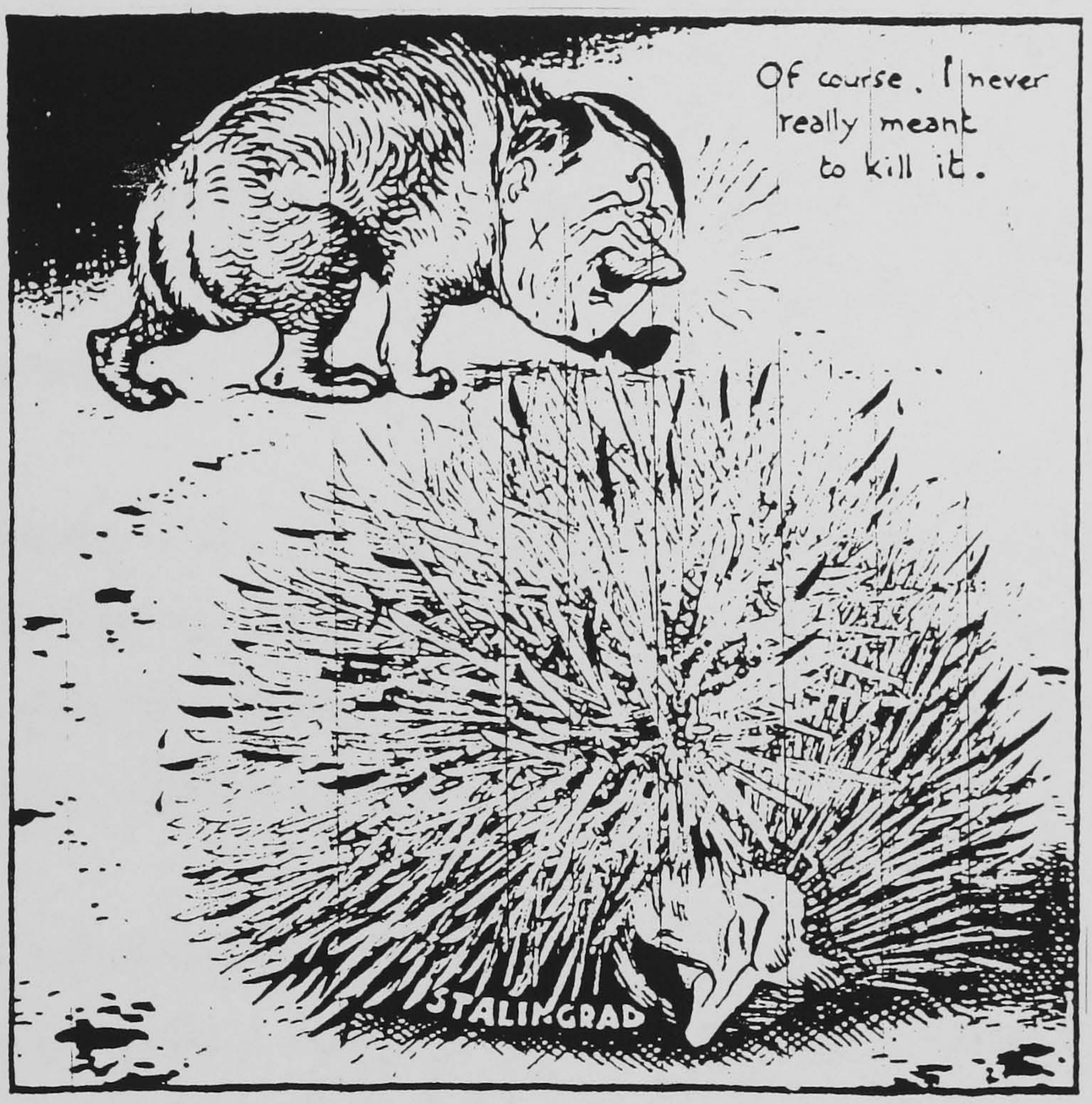

Fig.10. 'Second Thoughts', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 10 October 1942.

In this cartoon there are two negative animal images. Hitler is the small cowardly dog with his tail between his legs, scarred on one cheek, with a sore nose and walking away from defeat at Stalingrad in a trail of blood. Stalin, meanwhile, is the prickly hedgehog rolled into a ball whose bloody spines have caused these injuries.

Subsumed under these two categories of positive- and negative-image beasts are what Gombrich calls 'Ad Hoc' [312] animal symbols. Historical examples of these would be Thomas Nast's creation of the Republican elephant, Low's double-headed Coalition Ass and TUC carthorse, Friell's Second World War centaur with Hitler's head and Mussolini's face on its rear, and Kem's Mussolini donkey. These are less important in Illingworth's work because though he did use animals as a means of caricaturing individuals he did not do so in a regular way to create a particular type which appeared with any frequency in his cartoons. However, of more significance (and these will also be covered under 'Allusions' later) are mythical beasts.

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[312] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.136.

iii) *Mythical Beasts*. These can be further subdivided into *Classical Creatures* (such as the Sphinx and the Trojan Horse), *Unreal Creatures* (e.g. vampires, dragons and ghosts) and *Artificial Creatures* (for example a pantomime horse). Linked to the last two categories must also come *Invented Beasts*, especially Illingworth's creation of the giant gas-mask-wearing winged German monster man and other Nazi chimerae. This extraordinary and very powerful figure appears most memorably in the *Punch* double-page colour cartoon 'The Combat' [313] but also in a number of Illingworth's *Daily Mail* cartoons, crawling over tiny Europe and destroying as it goes.[314] However, as this creature is basically humanoid I have included it in Table 2.

The next two tables (Tables 3 and 4), analyse Illingworth's use of animal symbols. The first (Table 3) gives a basic breakdown of the types of creatures he uses (I have put penguins under birds rather than aquatic creatures, and 'beasts of burden' only includes donkeys, elephants, camels and horses).

Though again it should be noted that, like the gods, goddesses and various human symbols, this is a relatively small sample, when one considers that the total number of animal images drawn by Illingworth in the Second World War was 174[315] - almost 1 in every five cartoons he produced during this period - this shows that animals occur in a substantial number (17.4%) of his drawings.

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[313] See Chapter 4, Fig.4.
[314] See Chapter 6, especially Figs 7.
[315] For simplicity I have only shown the largest groups.

TABLE 3

Animal Symbols in Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

Type of Animal	
Carnivorous Animals	35
Beasts of Burden	33
Birds	24
Aquatic Creatures	20
Mythological Creatures	4
	116

It is also interesting to note that the three highest categories of any single animal are all under 'beasts of burden' and these are horses (15), dogs (13) and donkeys/asses (12) - all well ahead of stinging insects as the next highest category (7). The reason horses are drawn so often appears at first to be unusual, bearing in mind the increased use of mechanised transport by this period. However, it does reflect a great fondness for horses on Illingworth's part going back to his childhood on farms (see Chapter 3), and he always drew them in remarkable detail (Fig. 11).

It is also significant that as a group the carnivorous animals - bears, cats, dogs, lions, panthers, tigers, wolves and foxes - head the list, and their numbers would be almost doubled (increased to 56) if one added crows, eagles, vultures, sharks, octopi, crabs and crocodiles. This then would seem to imply that it is aggressive, man-eating creatures that are most depicted in Illingworth's cartoons, a fact born out by the analysis in Table 4 below which shows that 74 of the total of 174 animal images drawn by Illingworth during the war period - 42.5% - are negative ones.

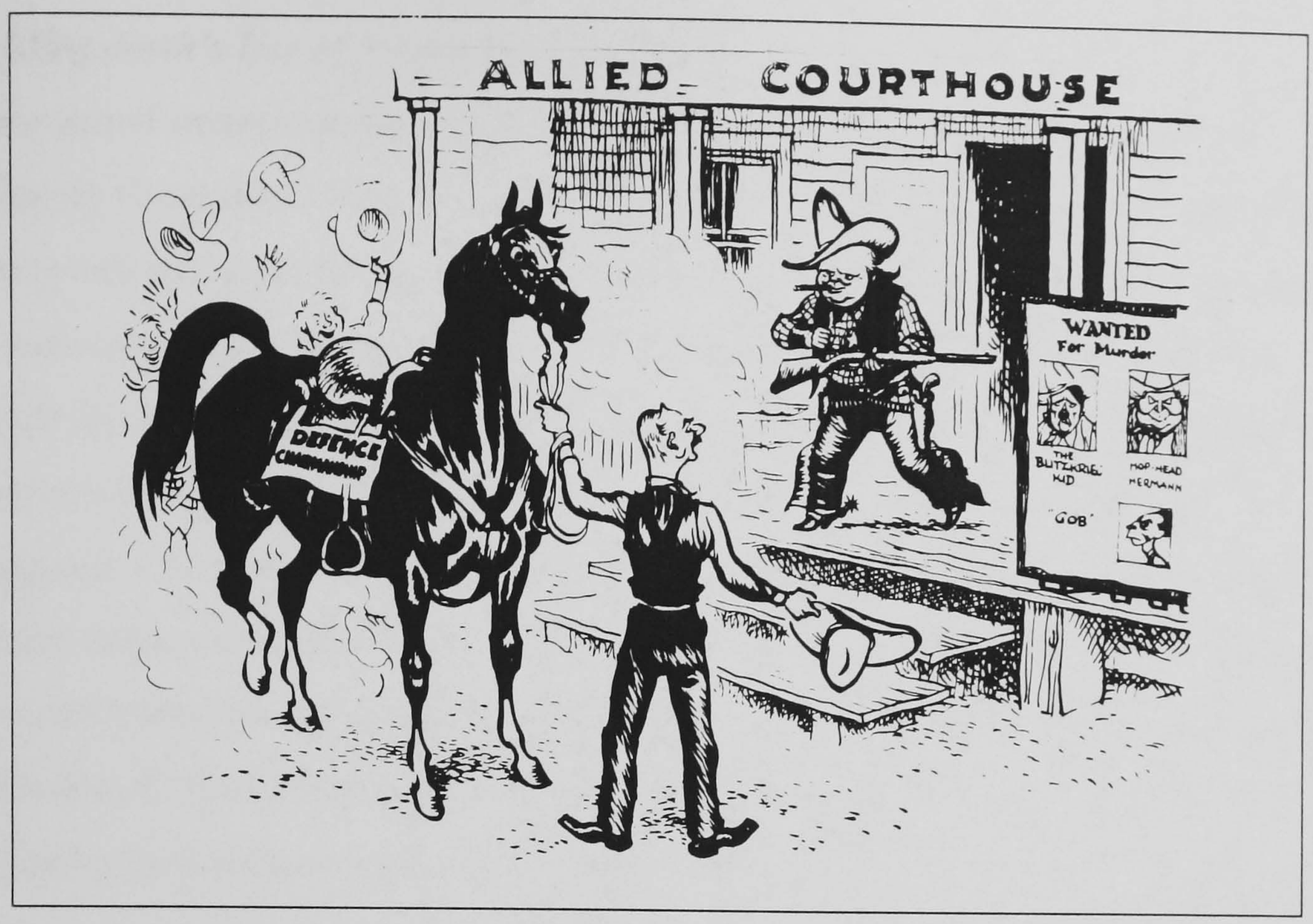

Fig.11. 'Winston Destry Rides Again', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 6 April 1940.

A good example of Illingworth's skill and care when drawing horses (see also Chapter 7). The drawing comments on Winston Churchill's popular appointment as Chairman of the Ministerial Cabinet Defence Committee on 3 April 1940. As Churchill (wearing the badge of a newly appointed sheriff and heavily armed) loads his shotgun outside the Allied Courthouse in this Wild West scene, Prime Minister Chamberlain (who has no weapons at all) takes his hat off to him and holds the spirited horse which is raring to go. The criminals 'Wanted for Murder' are Hitler 'The Blitzkrieg Kid', Goering as 'Hot-Head Hermann' and Goebbels as 'Gob' (also a slang word for 'mouth', alluding to his role as Nazi Propaganda Minister). In the 1939 film *Destry Rides Again*, James Stewart is the sheriff Destry who tames a rowdy town without violence.

TABLE 4

Negative Animal Symbols in
Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

Type of Animal	
Dog	13
Stinging Insect	7
Shark, Cat, Lion, Tiger (each)	20 (5)
Crocodile, Vulture, Irritating Monkeys (each)	12 (4)
Octopus, Bear (each)	6 (3)
Wolf, Crow, Eagle, Rat, Snake (each)	10 (2)
Crab, Panther, Fox, Gorilla, Porcupine/Hedgehog, Spider (each)	6 (1)
	74

4. Illingworth's Use of Non-Animal Images

Non-animal images are also often used to convey impressions in cartoons. For example *Vegetables, Fruit, Trees* etc can convey ideas such as the rotten apple. the strong oak tree and shaking down coconuts. And a historical case in point was the French cartoonist Charles Philipon's depiction of King Louis Philippe as a pear which led to Philipon's imprisonment. It also led to the French government banning all pictorial images of Louis so instead, on 27 February 1831 Philipon's satirical magazine *Charivari* set a whole page of text type in the shape of a pear. (A famous British historical example was Gillray's drawing of Prime Minister William Pitt as a poisonous toadstool growing out of the Crown - 'An Excrescence - A Fungus, Alias a Toadstool Upon a Dunghill' - thereby indirectly calling him a parasite and attacking the corrupt system of royal patronage.)

Heraldic Plants (Welsh leek, English rose, fleur-de-lys etc) can also be used as symbols by cartoonists as can *Flags and National Insignia,* and *Architectural National Images*. Thus we find the Rising Sun (Japan), the swastika (Germany), the Union Jack (Great Britain), the Stars & Stripes (USA), the hammer & sickle and red star (both USSR - the red star being created by Trotsky), and buildings such as the Kremlin, the Eiffel Tower, the Statue of Liberty, the Houses of Parliament and Tower Bridge.

Mechanical Images include the weathercock, ships, boilers, thermometer, barometer, hourglass, steamroller, boomerang, industrial tongs, nutcracker, trap, robot and organ grinder (and monkey). *Uniform Images* include different kinds of helmet (German, French, British etc), French navy pompom hat and kepi, Greek national costume, Scottish kilt, crowns and laurels of victory. In addition there are other kinds of non-animal images such as dog turds, cowpats, mud, blood and dungheaps - all of which have associated values (usually negative in these cases). All these kinds of non-animal images were used by Illingworth.

5. Illingworth's Use of Allusions

In addition to symbols Illingworth followed a long tradition in political cartoons by employing allusions in which the observer of the drawing instantly sees the message

because he or she knows the story, picture or song alluded to already and thus knows who are the good and bad people depicted and what the outcome of the scene drawn will be. These again can be classified into a number of groups.

i) *Literary Allusions.* These go back at least as far as Gillray who drew on Greek myths in 'Midas' (9 March 1797), 'The Fall of Icarus' (20 April 1807) and 'Pandora's Box' (22 February 1809) as well as Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* in 'Lilliputian Substitutes' (28 May 1801) and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in 'The Valley of the Shadow of Death' with (unusually) Napoleon as Christian (24 September 1808).[316] Other traditional sources of inspiration which Illingworth drew on included Shakespeare (e.g. Hamlet), Dickens, [317] Lewis Carroll, Aesop, La Fontaine, nursery rhymes (e.g. 'Old Mother Hubbard'), the Bible (e.g. David and Goliath - see Chapter 7, Fig. 9), *Struwwelpeter*, Cervantes and the *Arabian Nights* (e.g. 'The Old Man of the Sea').

ii) *Historical and Mythical Allusions*.These have been mentioned in passing above with references to St George and the Dragon and the early use by Gillray of this image and later use by Illingworth. Other allusions of this kind include Christians and lions, Joan of Arc, Napoleon (see Chapter 7, Fig.11), Attila the Hun, Caesar and the Sword of Damocles.

iii) *Fine Art and Other Art Allusions*. These also have an ancient history with Gillray's 'The Wierd [sic] Sisters' (23 December 1791) - which springs from Fuseli - and John Doyle's 1846 version of Landseer's 'The Stag at Bay' (with Tory Prime Minister Robert Peel as the stag being attacked by two 'dogs' in his own party. Bentinck and Disraeli), amongst many others. Other works of art often parodied in this way are 'Bubbles', 'Monarch of the Glen', 'Laocoon', the Bayeux Tapestry etc. (see also Chapter 7). Amongst these should also be included *Cartoon Allusions* referring to famous drawings by, for example, Fougasse and Partridge (and NB

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[316] For an example of Illingworth alluding to Bunyan see Fig. 4.
[317] See e.g. *David Copperfield* reference in Chapter 4, Fig. 1.

Illingworth had to pay a fine for infringing Tenniel's copyright in 1961)[318] and cartoon characters such as Colonel Blimp, the Two Types, Old Bill, Jane, Willie & Joe, Pilot Officer Prune and Chad (Fig. 12).

*Fig. 12A (*left*)*. 'Unconquerable', Bernard Partridge (1861-1945), *Punch*, 21 October 1914).
Fig. 12B (right). (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 29 May 1940.

In a conscious tribute to Bernard Partridge's famous First World War cartoon about the valiant Albert I, King of the Belgians, and his resistance to the onslaught of the Kaiser, Illingworth draws a pastiche featuring his son, Leopold III, who surrendered to Hitler after only 18 days to the bewilderment and condemnation of the Allies. In Partridge's cartoon Leopold keeps his sword but in Illingworth's he hands it over to Hitler. There is a double compliment in Illingworth's drawing when one is aware that Partridge (known familiarly as B.P.), though by 1940 elderly and frail, was still officially the main political cartoonist on *Punch* until his death in 1945. (See also Chapter 4.)

In addition art allusion covers *Advertising Art Allusions*, notably highly successful wartime and pre-war pictorial campaigns by Guinness and His Master's Voice, illustrations to such memorable slogans as 'Careless Talk Costs Lives', 'Bovril

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[318] The *Daily Mail* of 11 February 1961 reported: 'His cartoon on Friday last week, unashamedly based on a drawing by Alice-illustrator Tenniel, brought a gentle rebuke, and a bill for five guineas

Prevents that Sinking Feeling', 'Is Your Journey Really Necessary', 'Coughs and Sneezes Spread Diseases' and pastiches of cartoon advertising characters such as The Squanderbug (see Fig.7), Potato Pete and Dr Carrot.

iv) *Film, Radio, Stage and Popular Song Allusions*. Examples here include Frankenstein's monster, 'Keep Smiling Through', *The Mikado*, various Disney films, *Bandwaggon* (see Chapter 4, Fig. 2) and *Destry Rides Again* (see Fig.11).

v) *Contemporary Allusions*. Amongst these would be included references to famous contemporary sayings and broadcasts from Lord Haw-Haw, as well as references to restaurants and places of entertainment in London and elsewhere.

Leaving out historical allusions, an analysis of the remainder of these kind of references in Illingworth's wartime work produced a total of 80 examples divided up as follows: Literary Allusions (40), Film, Radio and Song Allusions (28) and Art Allusions (12). Once again these cannot be seen to represent a huge percentage of Illingworth's cartoons during the war period but this presumably reflects not only his own personal tastes but also those of the readership of the *Daily Mail* at this time, which though traditionally literate (as discussed in Chapter 2) were not necessarily well educated or well read. This is borne out when one further analyses the content of these categories. Of the literary references, for example, 16 (40%) are to the Bible, six are to the *Arabian Nights*/fairytales (Ali Baba, Pied Piper of Hamelin etc), five are to Shakespeare and most of the rest (two each) are to Dickens, Lewis Carroll, Kipling and Swift (*Gulliver's Travels*). Further support comes with the film and radio allusions, most of which are to Disney films and the popular ITMA BBC radio comedy series featuring Tommy Handley, and 15 of the 28 instances cited (53%) are to popular songs.

[...] Ironically, the Prime Minister [Macmillan] was in the cartoon (as the White Rabbit), and the five guineas go to Macmillan and Co. Ltd, the family publishers.'

6. Illingworth's Use of Associations

Associations are probably the oldest kind of visual shorthand used by cartoonists or indeed pictorial satirists of any kind. If you draw someone in the public eye as a burglar you are thereby implying that in some way he is a thief and a bad person. Conversely if you draw him as a policeman then he is seen to be on the side of right and justice and is to be applauded. Again we find Gillray using such images right from the very beginning of the history of British political cartoons with examples such as 'The Political Banditti assailing the Saviours of India' (11 May 1786) with Warren Hastings, Governor-General of British India being attacked by Opposition leaders Burke, North and Fox who sought his impeachment on grounds of corruption. And the metaphor of 'teaching a lesson' is brought out in his 'Westminster School' (4 February 1785), where schoolmaster Fox thrashes 25-year-old Prime Minster Pitt. Other associations commonly used include doctor, nurse, dentist/surgeon/optician, father and children, and waiter/chef/customers in a restaurant.

Also included under this heading are *graphic interpretations of verbal metaphors*, which Gombrich refers to as 'the hardened metaphors of political jargon'.[319] Again we find conspicuously powerful examples dating back to Gillray's time such as metaphors to do with eating including 'Monstrous Craws' (29 May 1787, featuring the Prince of Wales, George III and Queen Charlotte stuffing themselves on 'John Bull's Blood' in the Treasury), 'A Voluptuary under the Horrors of Digestion' (2 July 1792, featuring a bloated Prince of Wales) and 'Temperance enjoying a Frugal Meal' (28 July 1792, featuring George III and Queen Charlotte) and the famous 'The Plumb [sic]-pudding in danger', (26 February 1805), with Pitt and Napoleon carving up the world depicted as a Christmas pudding). Gillray also drew other visual interpretations of verbal metaphors such as 'The Balance of Power' (21 April 1791), with Pitt walking a tightrope and trying to balance the Turkish Sultan Selim II and Catherine the Great of Russia on either end of his pole.

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[319] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.130.

Familiar examples of verbal metaphors which have often been turned into their literal visual equivalent by cartoonists (including Illingworth) are: summit meeting, iron curtain, winds of change, sitting on the fence, arms race, eleventh hour/time running out, falling at the first fence, dropping the pilot, getting married, stabbed in the back, reaping and sowing, hot air, fishing (and a fish out of water), puppet on a string, scapegoat, sacrifice, put that in your pipe and smoke it; behind the mask, pot luck, humble pie, house of cards, IOU, crack, last throw of dice, crystal ball, dreams and nightmares, head in clouds, laurels of victory, crushing (pestle and mortar, large stone etc), squeezing/pincer movement, fair weather etc, gambling (cards), knockout blow (boxing etc), history tells us (history book), new star/setting sun/eclipse, unlock the door, final reckoning (bill), scoring (football but also rugby - Illingworth was Welsh...), bullfights/dogfights/dog eat dog/big fish eat little fish, balance on

Fig.13. 'Too Late for Supper?', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 30 August 1944.

A typical cartoon in which Illingworth has translated a verbal metaphor into a literal image. Here the rats leaving the sinking ship of Nazidom (see in the background) are Romania and Bulgaria who wish to climb on board the Allies' boat through the dining-room porthole. Both countries, who had joined the Axis powers and had fought alongside Germany against the Allies, sued for a separate peace in August 1944 - Romania then declared war on Germany on 25 August and Bulgaria did so on 7 September.

tightrope, erupting volcano, opening floodgates, rats leave a sinking ship (Fig. 13). building reconstruction, justice in the balance. To these should also be added gestures such as thumbs up, thumbs down, and the V-sign. Illingworth's use of these very simple but very powerful images in his wartime cartoons is analysed in Table 5. To simplify the statistics i have grouped them into various categories.

TABLE 5

Illingworth's Use of Association and Graphic Interpretations of Verbal Metaphors in His Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

Type of Association/Metaphor	
Transport	159
Sport and games	103
Law and order, police, prisoners etc	58
Maps, globes, plans and planning rooms	54
Ghosts, death, skulls and skeletons	54
Weather, umbrellas etc	52
Children, babies, schools, teachers	46
Circus and funfair	32
House, hotel and domestic scenes	30
Theatre, musichall, cinema	27
Doctors, hospitals, blood transfusions	25
Eating, restaurants etc	24
Countryside, farms, gardens	23
Offices and workplace	19
Rockets, dynamite, bombs etc	14
Directions, milestones, signpost	14
Shops and shopping	13
Front line, trenches etc	13
Radio messages, propaganda etc	12
Getting the Boot	12
Dreams, nightmares etc	11
Traps, pincers, hammers etc	11
Troop inspections etc	10
Cleaning	8
Music and musical instruments	7
Whips	7
Statues	7
Parachutes	6
Time, hourglass, clockface etc	4
	815

As can be seen, this sample is by far the most significant in terms of size of all those considered in this chapter and seems to bear out the thesis that the *Daily Mail*'s readership was such that simple images from everyday life were likely to be the most effective for a cartoonist to use, especially in wartime when mass communication of the widest possible sort was needed. The total number of examples given above is 815 which means that Illingworth used one or other of these tools to make his point in nearly half of all his drawings executed during the war years.

However, it is also illuminating to look at the actual breakdown of some of these groups. The fact that *Transport* heads the list would seem to imply that movement (of troops, people, equipment) - or lack of it - was one of the principal pre-occupations during the war. And of this group the vast bulk (91%) was made up of images featuring aeroplanes (43), ships (42), cars (38) and trains (22) - with taxis, buses and carriages trailing a long way behind.

As for *Sports and Games* it is also interesting that, in a time of conflict, way ahead of all the rest of these (19.4%) is boxing (20) - a tough combatant sport - followed by climbing (12) and fishing (9) images - the three together making up nearly 40% of all sports and games images. Of the others blood sports (bullfighting, cockfighting, coliseum/arena, hunting, fishing, jousting) occur 33 times and if one was to combine blood sports and boxing this would make up more than half of all the sporting images Illingworth drew during the war. The others include 8 kinds of racing, 12 examples of team games (football, cricket and rugby) and 11 examples of games of chance or skill (chess and roulette/card games).

Law and Order is another interesting category when seen in the context of countries fighting to right perceived wrongs, with 24 cartoons featuring images of prisoners (41% of the total number of 58) and 14 (24%) featuring the police, making 65% of all those counted (the others included judges, cowboys and sheriffs, pirates and burglars).

Finally, it is perhaps significant that during the war years a single metaphor 'getting the boot' - with all that this implies with regard to driving out the enemy - can account for 12 pictures alone.

7. Illingworth's Use of Scale, Form and Colour Symbolism

The next type of images to be studied in Illingworth's war cartoons are what Gombrich calls 'universal or natural metaphors' which are 'the ultimate resource of the cartoonist's armoury, the most potent and also, perhaps, the most dangerous. For the equation between these sensuous and moral qualities or feeling tones is so natural to all of us that we are hardly aware of their metaphorical or symbolic character'.[320]

These are of three kinds. The first of these is *Colour* (for example Nazi propaganda cartoons show the fair, blond, Siegfried-style German as the good guy and the dark, evil, murderous Jew as the bad guy - though it is perhaps significant to note that, Goering's white uniform apart, the Nazis, especially the elite SS and Gestapo, wore black/brownshirts and black/brown leather coats). The second is *Shape* - again the well-built Nazi versus the hunchbacked Jew. And the third is *Size*, a good historical example being Gillray's 'The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver' (26 June 1803), showing a huge George III and a tiny Napoleon, irrespective of their actual physical sizes in real life.

This use of size to lampoon opponents has been commented on by Sigmund Freud:

> 'Caricature, parody and travesty are directed against people and objects which lay claim to authority and respect, who are in some sense exalted...By making our enemy small, inferior, despicable or comic we achieve in a roundabout way the enjoyment of overcoming him - to which a third person bears witness by his laughter.'[321]

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[320] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.138.
[321] Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (London, 1983), p.147.

An example by Illingworth can be seen in Chapter 7. Fig. 9 ('Who Aids?') and in the cartoon of the giant Russian bear versus a tiny Hitler in the current chapter (Fig.9B).

8. Illingworth's Use of Metamorphosis of Allied and Axis Leaders

This penultimate section will look at how often and in what forms the Allied and Axis leaders were portrayed in this metaphorical way in Illingworth's cartoons during the war. The individual characteristics have been discussed in the paragraphs above but Table 6 gives the breakdown of who was most transformed in this way.

It is perhaps not surprising that Hitler features most in this list as on the whole these are negative images and because Hitler, as was seen in the last chapter, was the

TABLE 6

Metamorphosis of Allied and Axis Leaders in Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons, 1939-45

Name of Leader	
Hitler	21
Stalin	10
Mussolini	10
Tojo/Hirohito	8
Churchill	7
Goering	7
Rommel	5
Goebbels	4
Laval	4
Roosevelt	3
Montgomery	2
Hore-Belisha	2
Himmler	2
Franco	1
	86

figure most drawn by Illingworth throughout the war. However, it is revealing to see what these images actually were. In the case of Hitler he was transformed into the following: a dud rocket, a dragon (three times), a carpenter (in Lewis Carroll's 'The Walrus and the Carpenter'), a dog, chesspiece (twice), coconut in coconut shy, barrage balloon, mountain, chicken, crow (twice), eclipsed moon, golf ball, V1 rocket, chained gorilla, broken statue in armour, angel and cat. Stalin is seen as a porcupine, chess piece (twice), jack-in-the-box, hard nut to crack, star/comet/planet (twice), crest of a wave, crocus bulb and cat. Mussolini is seen as a chesspiece, Caesar statue, Alice in Wonderland, bull, naughty monkey, coconut in coconut shy, rock in landslide, dragon's head, mountain and magician's rabbit. Churchill appears as a reconnaissance plane, depth charge, plane/star, bull, barometer, crocus bulb and mine. The Japanese figure is a rocket, gorilla (twice), naughty monkey (twice), snake (twice) and an oyster. Goering is a Walrus (in 'The Walrus and the Carpenter'),

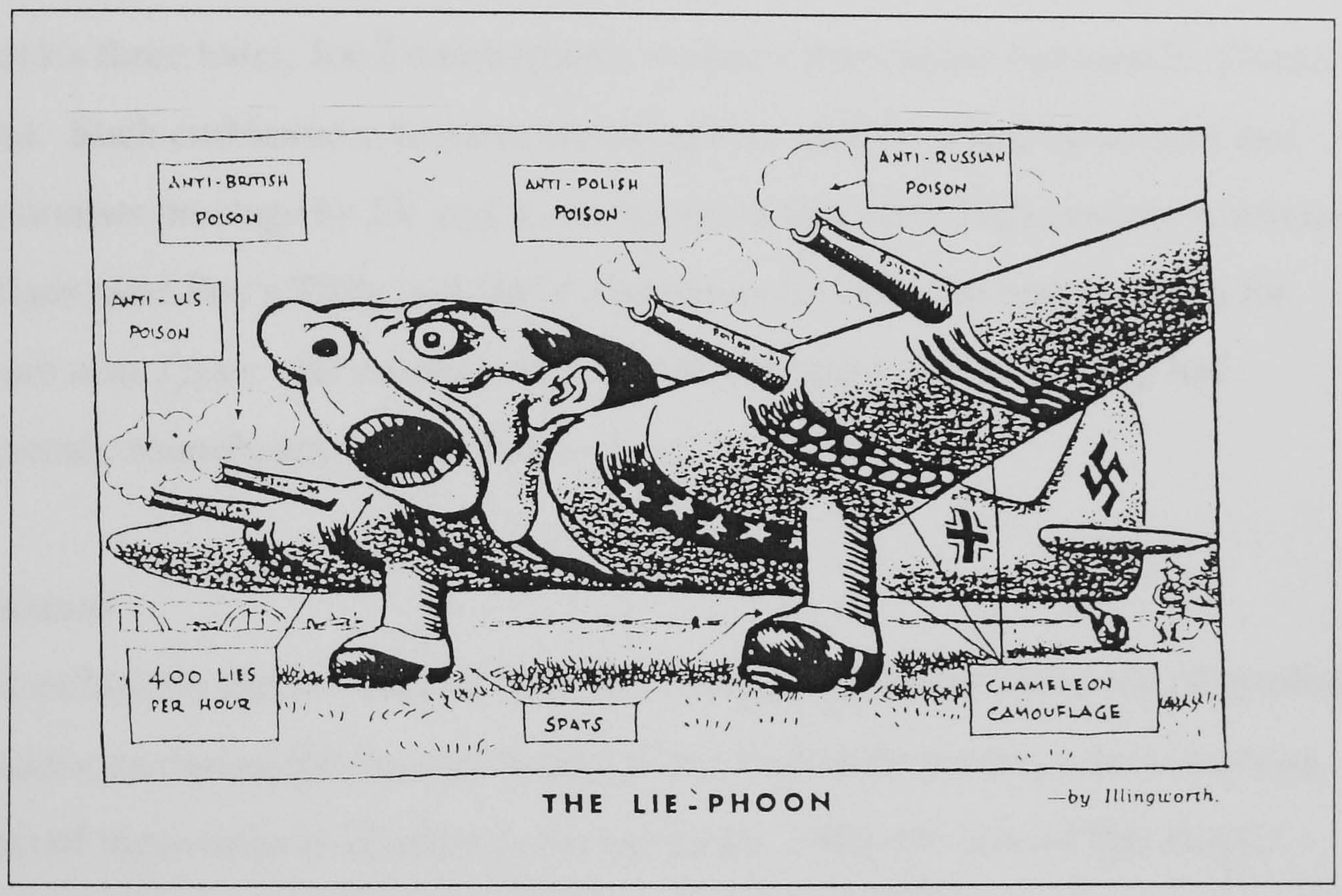

Fig.14. 'The Lie-Phoon', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 30 April 1943.

In this remarkable case of metamorphosis by Illingworth, Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels has been transformed into a 'lying' version of the new 400mph British fighter the Hawker Typhoon, which had been introduced in 1942. The 'Lie-Phoon' - complete with Goebbels' trademark spats - is being admired on the runway by Hitler and Luftwaffe chief Goering.

chesspiece, giant bat, alley-cat, wind-cherub, barrage balloon and old and slow bomber. Rommel is a chesspiece, cork-in-bottle, plucked eagle, shark and coconut in

coconut shy. Goebbels is a bomber, US Typhoon fighter plane (Fig. 14), snail and bat.

9. Illingworth's Use of Tabs of Identity

Last of all to be examined in this chapter on symbolism and metaphor in Illingworth's war cartoons is his use of what David Low has called 'tabs of identity'.[322] These have also been variously described as 'the physiognomically significant residue' (Gombrich),[323] 'Hieroglyphs of idiosyncratic characteristics of a subject' (Streicher)[324] and 'the graphic equivalent to the leitmotiv'[325]- whereby, as in a dream, any fragment of identity can stand for the whole man.

With regard to *Individuals* these are things like Hitler's quiff and Charlie Chaplin-style moustache, Stalin's drooping moustache, Churchill's cigar, Roosevelt's cigarette holder and Chamberlain's umbrella (or earlier Gladstone's collar, Bismarck's three hairs, Joe Chamberlain's monocle and orchid buttonhole, Disraeli's curl etc). Such emblematic features are often also used by stand-up comics and impressionists on stage or TV and it can be noted that early 20th century musichall comedians used Poy's 'Dilly and Dally' characters to represent bureaucrats a lot. There are also *Types* - for example the 'tin hat' (soldier) versus the 'top hat' (bureaucrat), roundheads, sans culottes etc.

Conclusions

What conclusions can be reached from this analysis of Illingworth's use of symbols in his cartoons during the Second World War? Two main points seem to emerge. The first of these links in directly to the quotation under the title of this chapter which is taken from an article about Illingworth published in the *Daily Mail* in the early years of the war. It is that Illingworth himself, as an individual, was most at home with pictorial images rather than words - it was one of the reasons why he became a cartoonist in the first place, as has been seen in Chapter 3. And even within this pictorial medium he was still not happy with text or references to text. If

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322 David Low, *Ye Madde Designer* (London, 1935), p.18.
323 E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.137.
324 Lawrence H. Streicher, op.cit., p.436.
325 Colin Seymour-Ure, 'How Special Are Cartoonists?', *20th Century Studies*, December 1975, p.11.

one looks at the originals of his cartoons they very rarely have captions written on them, implying that most probably it was someone else who thought up the 'snappy caption' for him - but the idea was his. This idea, as the quotation stresses, involved symbols primarily and, as has been seen from the analysis, the vast majority of these symbols and allusions referred to non-textual sources. An added reason for this may well have been that the readership of the *Daily Mail* (as discussed in Chapter 2) was such that anything more cerebral in the way of references to high-brow literature or clever wordplay and puns etc would be lost on the people who actually bought the paper and hence paid his salary - even if he had been able and wanted to do something clever there would have been litttle point as it would not have been understood and hence the act of communication would have failed.[326] (Indeed, it may well have been the case that, from Illingworth's perspective at least, he felt his cartoons were already complete and did not need captions, and that these were just added later by the paper to spell things out.)

A second conclusion is that Illingworth's use of symbols in the Second World War has been seen to be very much in the tradition of British political war (and peacetime) cartooning going back at least 150 years to Gillray and the Napoleonic Wars. However, the *kind* of symbols he - like other mid-20th century cartoonists - employed had changed somewhat from those used in earlier centuries (fewer instances generally of Britannia and John Bull and their overseas equivalents, for example),[327] but none the less the general stock-in-trade of these pictorial images was still very much in use by him during the war period as a shorthand for communicating to a mass public quickly and efficiently.

How far this study of Illingworth's work as a war cartoonist helps us understand the work of war cartoonists in general must wait until the final chapter. However, the

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[326] This is something supported by the distinguished designer George Lois who has said: 'While the cliché is a derogatory word in literary circles, the visual cliché is essential in the world of graphic communicators' (Foreword to Philip Thompson & Peter Davenport, *The Dictionary of Visual Language* [Harmondsworth, 1980], p.[v].)

[327] It might be also argued that Illingworth, in contrast to Low, was a little old-fashioned in continuing to use these at all (albeit only to a small degree), but in doing so he was not alone amongst cartoonists of this period - and even Low himself still occasionally used 'statuesque females in Greek nightgowns' and often employed the Statue of Liberty as a symbol, despite his statements condemning the practice.

results of the research in this and the previous chapter now lead on to the question of how typical his work in fact was and how did it compare - in terms of similarity or difference of style, approach and subject matter - to the work of other daily political war cartoonists of his period who were covering identical events and in very similar circumstances.

Chapter 6

Illingworth and His Wartime Rivals in Fleet Street

'Nothing to touch the glory of the great cartoonists! They catch the spirit of the age and then leave their own imprint on it: they create heroes and villains in their own image; they teach the historians their trade..and have proprietors and editors at their feet.'

(Michael Foot, *Loyalists and Loners* [London, 1986], p.284)

Introduction

This chapter will examine how typical Illingworth's wartime cartoon work was by making comparisons between it and the work of other daily political cartoonists of the same period who were drawing for rival national daily papers and rival newspaper groups. Unfortuately, because of the difficulties of finding sufficient source material to make a realistic and accurate comparison of rival artists' work this can only be a superficial study. However, as mentioned in the Introduction, there are sizeable collections of cartoons by Illingworth, Low and Zec from this period and representative (if not comprehensive) samples of wartime cartoons by Whitelaw, Vicky and Strube either in book or press-cuttings form in various archives.[328] Thus a reasonable attempt at comparing rival treatments of events should still be possible in principle.

Which national daily papers actually employed political cartoonists during the Second World War - and whether they had employed cartoonists during the First World War or other conflicts – has already been touched on in Chapter 2. This chapter will examine this in more detail and will begin with a study of the political stance of the editors and proprietors of these newspapers. This will be followed by an examination of how their cartoonists had fitted in to this political position in the past (in peacetime and war) and how they did so during the Second World War. The individual cartoonists themselves will then be looked at, identifying first of all which

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[328] As a direct result of the research for this thesis a substantial run of press-cuttings of wartime political cartoons by Clive Uptton of the *Daily Sketch* has now been made available to the public and has been deposited at the University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre. See also Footnote 342 in this chapter ('A Note on Sources').

were already established on their papers, which were new to the publications they worked for and which, indeed, were completely new to the job of being a political cartoonist in peacetime or war.

Two main questions will be raised in the course of the rest of the chapter. The first will be: how much do the ideas and visual treatments of events by rival cartoonists overlap in wartime (and would they do so equally in peacetime)? The second is: how different (or similar) are their approaches to specific wartime events (e.g. Appeasement, the Fall of France and Belgium, the Battle for Greece, VE-Day and so forth). Also, questions will be raised about how much and what kind of symbolism other cartoonists used and how much, if at all, this differed from Illingworth's. There will also be some discussion of their treatment of caricature and their style of drawing generally.

However, no attempt will be made to evaluate how successful Illingworth and his rivals were on their respective newspapers as Chapter 7 will be specifically devoted to looking at the impact political cartoonists made on the enemy, the British government and the British population during the Second World War and earlier.

1. Editorial Policies of the Wartime Papers

At the outbreak of the Second World War the British popular, or mass-market, press fell into two basic groups: right-leaning (like the *Daily Mail* for which Illingworth worked) and left-leaning. In the former category fell the Beaverbrook Group (*Express, Sunday Express, Evening Standard),* Kemsley Group *(Daily Sketch, Manchester Daily Dispatch, Sunday Chronicle, Western Mail, Sunday Graphic)* and Northcliffe/Rothermere Group (*Daily Mail*, *Evening News*, *Sunday Dispatch).* In the left-leaning category fell the Harmsworth Group (*Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Pictorial*), Odhams Group (*Daily Herald*, the *People*), Cadbury Group (*News Chronicle*, *Star)* and the Communist *Daily Worker*.

On the whole it is also fair to say that, with the one exception of David Low and some journalists (e.g. Michael Foot and James Cameron) on the *Evening Standard* - Beaverbrook deliberately employed left-wingers to stir up controversy on the right-

wing paper - all the artists (like all the journalists) on these publications tended to follow the editorial line of the paper, whether in peacetime or war. It now remains to be seen how the work of these cartoonists on the papers in these different groups varied over the war years.

2. Political Cartoonists in Fleet Street Already Established When War Broke Out

In looking at Illingworth's rivals in Fleet Street the first group to be examined are those who were already established and well known to the British public when war broke out in September 1939.

Employed by the *Daily Express* in Fleet Street itself since 1918 was Sidney Strube, whose work was as much social as political. Born in 1892 he would have been 47 when war broke out and his work would have been very familiar to the general public, especially bearing in mind the huge circulation of the *Daily Express* at this time. He had also had considerable experience of political war cartooning as he had been working for the paper freelance since 1912 and as a staffer since 1918. However, he is not known as an artist with great 'bite', his great contribution to the genre being his creation of the character of the 'Little Man' with his 'everyday grumbles and problems, trying to keep his ear to the ground, his nose to the grindstone, his eye to the future and his chin up - all at the same time'[329] - a national Everyman figure like Poy's John Citizen that in many respects replaced John Bull. After 1943 he began to alternate his daily cartoons with those of Carl Giles (who joined the *Sunday Express* that year).[330]

On the *Express*'s sister evening paper - the small circulation but widely syndicated *Evening Standard*, based in Shoe Lane - was David Low whose work again would have been very familiar to the British public as he had worked for the paper since 1927 (the *Evening Standard*'s first-ever regular political cartoonist),[331] and had had cartoons published in the *Manchester Guardian* since 1915 and worked as staff

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[329] Percy V. Bradshaw, *They Make Us Smile* (London, 1942), p.80.
[330] The *Daily Express*'s popular pocket cartoonist Osbert Lancaster who had joined the paper in 1939 also later drew weekly political cartoons for the *Sunday Express* during the war as 'Bunbury'.
[331] Though J.H.Dowd (1884-1956) had also drawn political cartoons for the newspaper during the First World War.

political cartoonist on the *Star* from 1919 to 1927. Aged 48 when war broke out he was already a controversial force, having got the *Evening Standard* banned in Germany and Italy as a result of his anti-Hitler and anti-Mussolini drawings long before hostilities officially began in 1939.[332]

Working on the Labour Party's *Daily Herald* - the largest selling national daily paper in Britain at the beginning of the war (and it should be remembered that at the end of the war a Labour government was elected to power) - was George Whitelaw. The most senior in age of the political cartoonists working for national morning papers during the war (he was 52 when war broke out) he had been working for the *Herald* since 1938, succeeding the very successful and controversial Will Dyson who had died that year, and beating off some of the best talent of his time (including Vicky, Hynes and Sherriffs) to get the job . He had produced political cartoons for the weekly *Passing Show* in the First World War and later *John Bull* magazine but apart from his *Daily Herald* political cartoons was perhaps otherwise best known for his caricature work and theatre drawings for *Punch*.

Further to the left of the *Daily Herald* was the Communist *Daily Worker*, based in Clerkenwell. Though of small circulation (under 50,000 in 1939) the paper had considerable influence (the celebrated scientist J.B.S.Haldane was a member of its editorial board). It was also seen as dangerous enough to be banned by the British government for 15 months in 1941. Its political cartoonist since 1936 was James Friell, who worked under the name of Gabriel. Such was his reputation that when he joined the paper he was billed as 'Fleet Street's greatest discovery since David Low' (in fact he later took over Low's old job on the *Evening Standard*). After he was called up he alternated his cartoons in the paper with those of Jack Chen, Bland and Richards.

Finally, amongst this group of established cartoonists already working in Fleet Street in 1939 there were Wyndham Robinson of the *Star* (sister paper of the *News*

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[332] See Chapter 7.

Chronicle) and Bert Thomas of the *Evening News* (sister paper of the *Daily Express*) - two London evening papers which nonetheless had substantial circulations[333] and considerable influence. Robinson's work was familiar to the British public from his political cartoons for the *Morning Post* from 1932 until it was absorbed by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937 - indeed a book of these had even been published that year.[334] He then joined the *Star* and took over from Leslie Grimes as Political Cartoonist, leaving him to concentrate on his very popular 'All My Own Work' joke series begun in 1938. When war broke out he was at least 56 (his exact date of birth is not known), making him the oldest of all the daily cartoonists in 1939.[335]

Bert Thomas on the *Evening News* would have been another familiar face. Again 56 years old he had a tremendous reputation, having earnt an MBE for his cartoon work in the First World War, and was well known for his illustrations to the 'Cockney War Stories' feature in the paper in the 1920s, a collection of which was published in 1930.[336] However, though his work during the Second World War was powerful he doesn't seem to have been employed by the paper for very long after the opening campaigns.

3. New Political Cartoonists in 1939

Having seen who was already working in Fleet Street by the time the war broke out and hence who would have been familiar - and to that extent dependable - artists and political commentators in the eyes of the British public at large, it is now time to examine those who were almost entirely new on the scene in 1939. Foremost amongst these was Philip Zec of the *Daily Mirror*. Based in Fetter Lane, the *Mirror* was one of the highest selling daily papers in the country, the official paper of the Forces and one that gave considerable emphasis to strip cartoons - notably Norman Pett's hugely popular Jane.[337] With little or no cartoon background and none at all of

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[333] In 1939 the circulation of the *Star* was 488,000 and the *Evening News* was 838,000, both well above the *Evening Standard* (382,000). The *Evening News* also had a higher circulation than the *Daily Sketch* (750,000), *Daily Telegraph* (737,000) and *The Times* (204,000). Figures from William A. Belson, op.cit.

[334] *Cartoons from the Morning Post* (London, 1937).

[335] Later in the war he was succeeded on the *Star* by Stephen Roth.

[336] *500 of the Best Cockney War Stories* (London, 1930).

[337] See Chapter 7.

political cartooning (let alone in wartime)[338] Zec joined the *Mirror* in 1939 (replacing Haselden who by then had given up political cartooning for strips) aged 30 and introduced a poster-style of drawing into the genre, largely focussing on single strong images with little background detail. The power of these was considerable but their strength could also sometimes be a weakness - his famous anti-profiteering drawing of a man on a raft entitled 'The Price of Petrol Has Been Increased By One Penny - Official' was misconstrued as anti-patriotic by the Government and nearly led to the closure of the *Daily Mirror*. And another cartoon about the sinking of the *Ark Royal* - drawn to counteract repeated Nazi propaganda about the sinking of the Royal Navy's flagship but unfortunately published just after it had been reported to have been sunk - caused considerable grief.[339]

In the offices of the *Daily Sketch* in Gray's Inn Road a new arrival in 1940 was Clive Uptton, aged 28. A successful illustrator, he shared an agent with Illingworth and in fact had applied for the *Daily Mail* job before Illingworth but had been turned down as he had no political cartooning experience (see Chapter 3). Undaunted, he started work at the *Sketch* (and *Sunday Graphic*) soon afterwards and quickly made his mark but left when there was a change of editorship in 1942 and never returned to political cartooning thereafter, being succeeded on the paper by David Ghilchik (who was by then 50 years old and largely known as a joke cartoonist). A number of Uptton's cartoons were used as posters, notably the celebrated *Sunday Graphic* cartoon 'We Kneel Only to Thee'.[340]

The final new arrival in this group was Vicky (Victor Weisz) of the *News Chronicle*. A German/Hungarian Jewish émigré, Vicky had fled the Nazis in Berlin in 1933 and arrived in the UK in 1935. A talented caricaturist and with an acute political mind, he had freelanced for a number of papers and magazines before being taken on as part-time political cartoonist at the *News Chronicle* in Bouverie Street

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[338] According to Robert Kellett (op. cit.) he had drawn a strip called 'Nikkon' for the *News Chronicle* in 1933 and produced sculpted clay caricatures for the *Bystander* in the late 1930s.
[339] See Chapter 7.
[340] See Chapter 7.

from 1939 at the age of 26 and full-time from 1941.[341] Despite the handicaps of very bad English and an initial total lack of knowledge of the British way of life, Vicky quickly became a force to be reckoned with and produced some very incisive drawings against his former countrymen (100 of these wartime cartoons were later published in book form).

5. Overlap of Ideas Between Illingworth's Wartime Work and That of His Rivals

Having explored who in fact were Illingworth's rivals in Fleet Street it is now appropriate to see how much their ideas in general - symbolism, metaphors and visual shorthand generally - coincided with those of Illingworth, each other and the work of earlier wartime political cartoonists.[342] This, it is hoped, will help establish what, in fact, is common to all. There will then be an analysis of individual events and how different cartoonists tackled the same topics, e.g. what they drew to mark VE Day, the invasion of Finland, the Munich Agreement, the fall of France, the war in Greece, the Nazi-Soviet pact and so forth, and how these approaches differed.[343]

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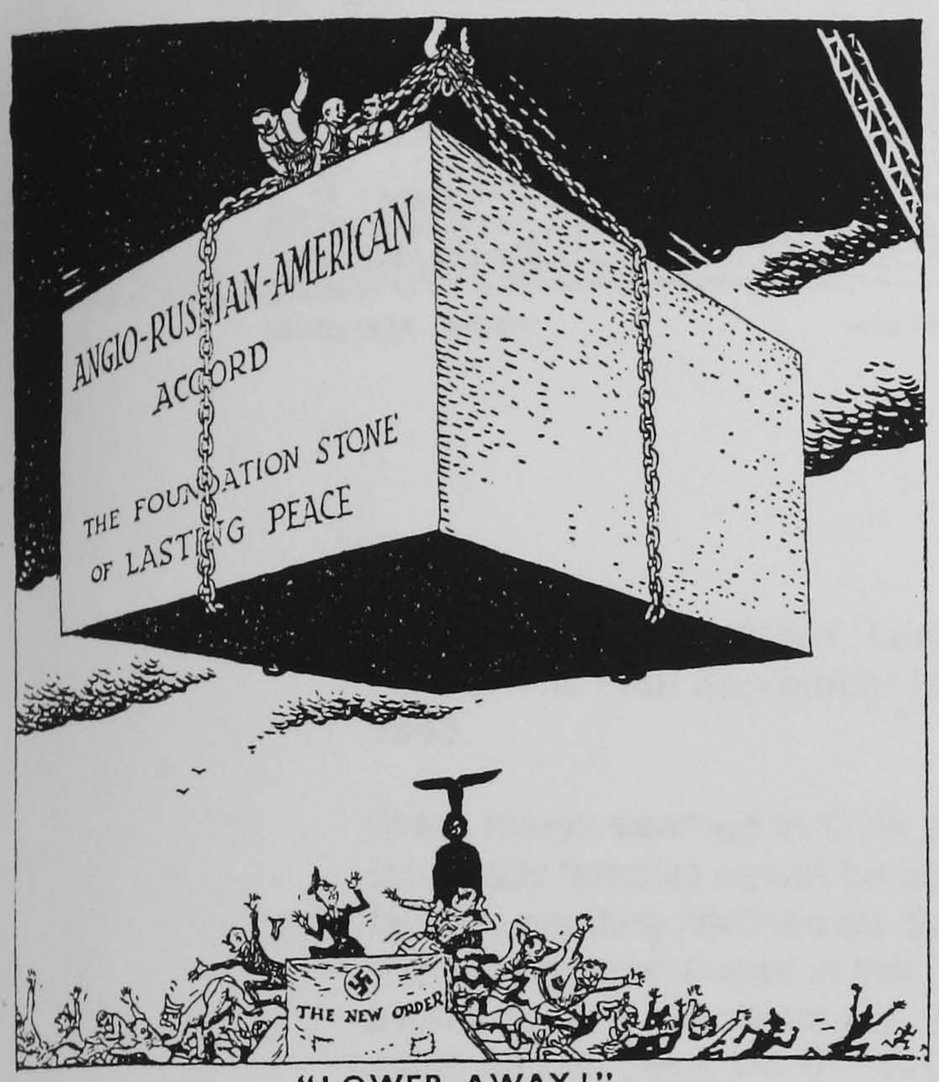
[341] Vicky alternated at first with the 21-year-old Michael Cummings (e.g. 17 April 1940) amongst others.

[342] ***A Note on Sources.*** Finding ready access to cartoons by other artists of the period (or even discovering who they were) from this distance in time is far from easy. None have been studied in depth and only a very few produced collections of their drawings in book form and then these are usually very selective and do not cover the whole period of the war. I have thus had to rely largely on what few book collections are available as well as general wartime and postwar anthologies. For these reasons I have concentrated on the work of three of Illingworth's main rivals where a reasonably large amount of material is available in book or cuttings form. These artists are: 1) Strube of the *Daily Express*. His book *Strube's War Cartoons, 1939 to 1944* (London, 1944) has 166 cartoons (17 from 1939, 23 from 1940, 31 from 1941, 32 from 1942, 38 from 1943, 25 from 1944) and *Cartoons by Strube: Post-War Edition* (London, 1947) contains 1946 and 1947 cartoons but also has 49 cartoons from 1944 to 1945 (7 from 1944 and 42 from 1945). Thus together there are 215 in all, 3 September 1939 to 31 December 1945, making a good sample to compare with Illingworth. 2) David Low of the *Evening Standard.* His book *Years of Wrath* (London, 1946) contains 314 cartoons 1932-45, including 259 from 20 September 1939 to December 1945, and there are 25 more 1939-40 in his *Europe at War* (Harmondsworth, 1941), making 339 in all. 3) Clive Uptton of the *Daily Sketch.* His press-cuttings archive (a copy of which is now at the University of Kent's Cartoon Study Centre) contains c.465 drawings from 1940 to 1943 (including propaganda drawings).

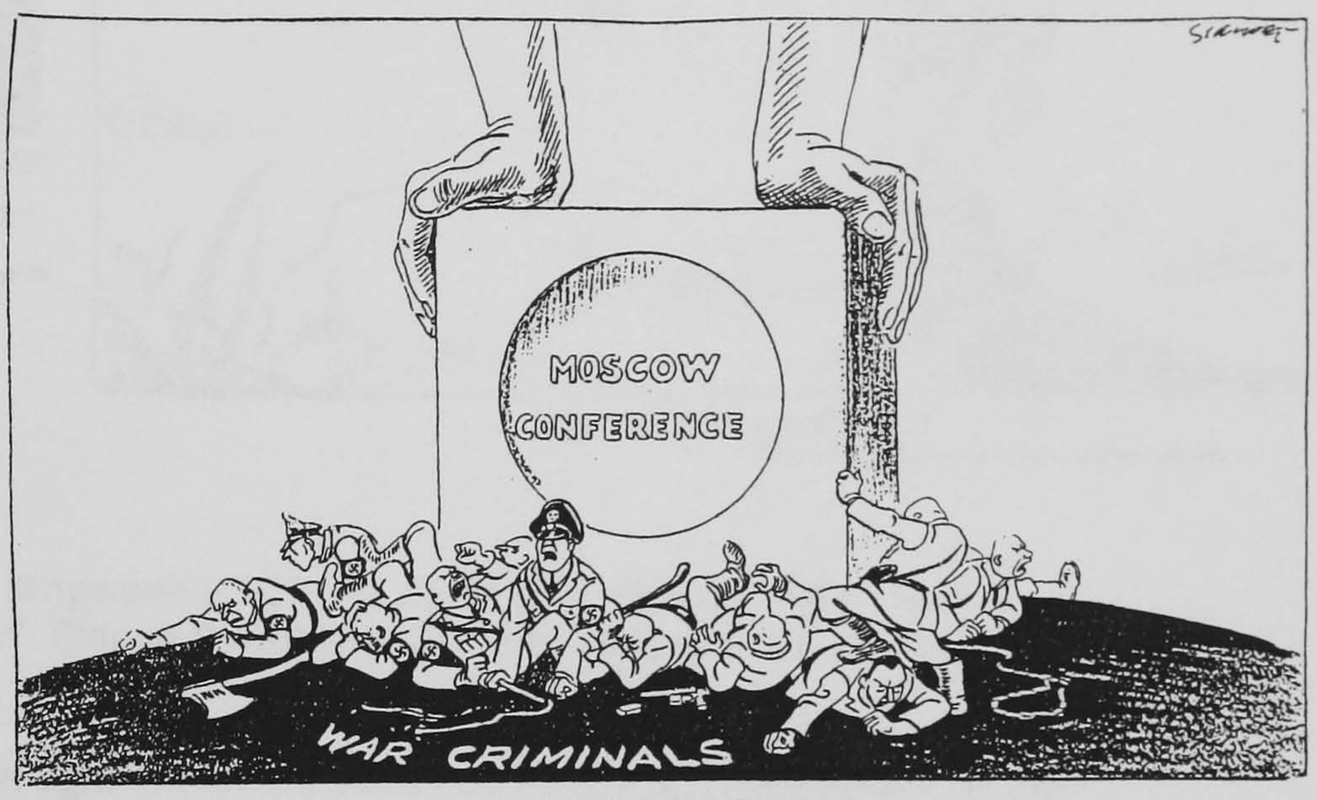
I will also examine, where possible, the work of Vicky (Victor Weisz) - 100 cartoons from the *News Chronicle* (mostly 1943-4) contained in his collection *Drawn by Vicky* (London, 1944) - George Whitelaw of the *Daily Herald* (c.240 press cuttings, 1938-45, at the University of Kent Cartoon Centre), and Philip Zec - 74 cartoons contained in David Kellet's MA thesis (op.cit.). I have omitted Gabriel because the wartime collection *Daily Worker Cartoons* (London, 1944) only contains 17 cartoons by him 1943-44 (the rest are Dyad pocket cartoons) and Stephen Roth because it is not clear from his three wartime books - *Divided They Fall* (London, 1943), *My Patience is Exhausted* (London, 1944) and *Finale* (London, 1944) - which of the cartoons are from the *Star*. Giles' wartime cartoons have also been omitted as the sample of daily political cartoons in his 1946 annual (his first) is too small.

[343] Here the choice of topic is very much dictated by what visual material is readily available.

One of the most remarkable cases of the overlap of ideas can be seen when Illingworth of the *Daily Mail* and Strube of the *Daily Express* drew exactly the same picture on the same day. This happened when both drew the laying of a foundation stone on top of the Nazi regime on 3 November 1943 (Fig.1).



"LOWER AWAY!"

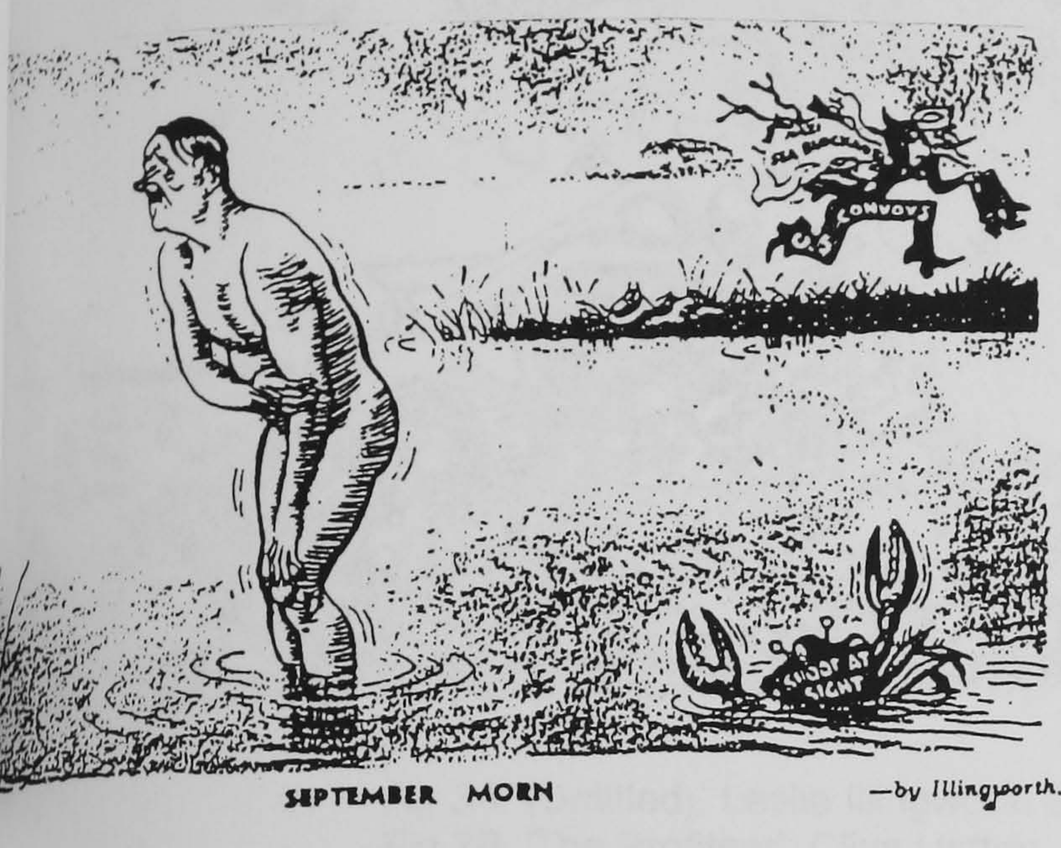


FOUNDATION STONE

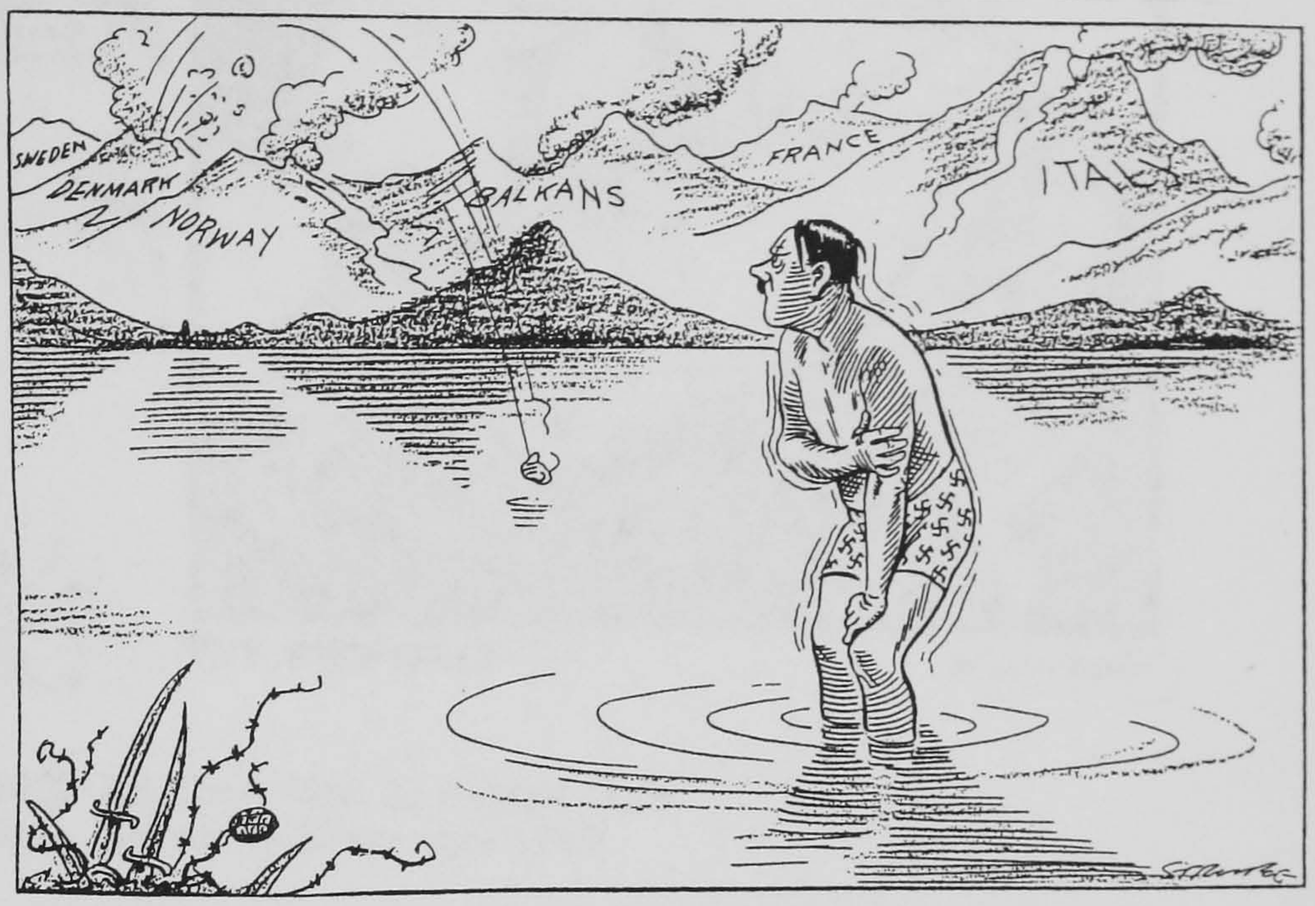
Fig.1A. 'Lower Away!', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 3 November 1943.
Fig.1B. 'Foundation Stone', Sidney Strube (1892-1956), *Daily Express*, 3 November 1943.

In this remarkable case of two cartoonists producing exactly the same idea on the same day, both Strube and Illingworth use the image of a foundation stone (representing the Allies) being lowered - or in Strube's case actually crushing - the Nazis. Though this was rather premature as the war was far from over, it marked the pact signed in Moscow by the Soviet Union, Britain and the USA which led to the founding of the United Nations Organisation and the pledge made at the conference that the three countries would work together for peace once the Nazis were defeated.

And the two cartoonists both make a very similar joke about September by alluding to the famous picture 'September Morn' - Illingworth on 19 September 1941 and Strube two years later on 3 September 1943 (Fig.2).



SEPTEMBER MORN —by Illingworth.



THE FIFTH SEPTEMBER MORN
(With acknowledgments to the famous picture)

Fig.2A. 'September Morn', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 19 September 1941.
Fig.2B. The Fifth September Morn', Sidney Strube (1892-1956), *Daily Express*, 3 September 1943.

Great minds seemed to think alike again when the same two artists both used Hitler as the (originally female) naked bather in Lake Annecy in Upper Savoy in cartoon pastiches of the famous painting *Matinée de Septembre* by the French artist Paul Chabas (1869-1937) which was widely reproduced in the USA, Britain and elsewhere (with the title in English) on postcards and calendars etc. In Illingworth's earlier version Uncle Sam, dressed as a US sailor and labelled 'US Convoys', is seen stealing Hitler's clothes which are labelled 'Nazi Sea Blockade'. This alludes to the fact that on 16 September 1941 it was announced that for the first time US destroyers and other escort ships would accompany convoys carrying lend-lease materials to Britain from North America across the Atlantic. (Roosevelt's 'shoot at sight' order - see crab in the cartoon - was introduced a few days earlier and had pledged the US Navy's support for the Allies in the war.) In Strube's cartoon two years later the background mountains have been turned into simmering volcanoes, showing the instability of support for Hitler by the countries the Nazis have occupied. The small eruption from Denmark represents an uprising which led to the scuttling of its navy, the disarming of its army, the posting of 50,000 extra German troops in the country and the imposition of martial law on 29 August 1943.

By comparison Zec even drew a cartoon (*Daily Mirror*, 11 October 1944) which had the same title and almost the same subject as Low's famous 'The Harmony Boys' (*Evening Standard*, 2 May 1940) and see also Uptton's drawing for the *Daily Sketch* of 26 February 1941.

Illingworth's German half-track driving up a hill of bodies from the *Daily Mail* 25 August 1942 is almost identical to Uptton's of 16 September the same year in the *Daily Sketch* (Figs 3).

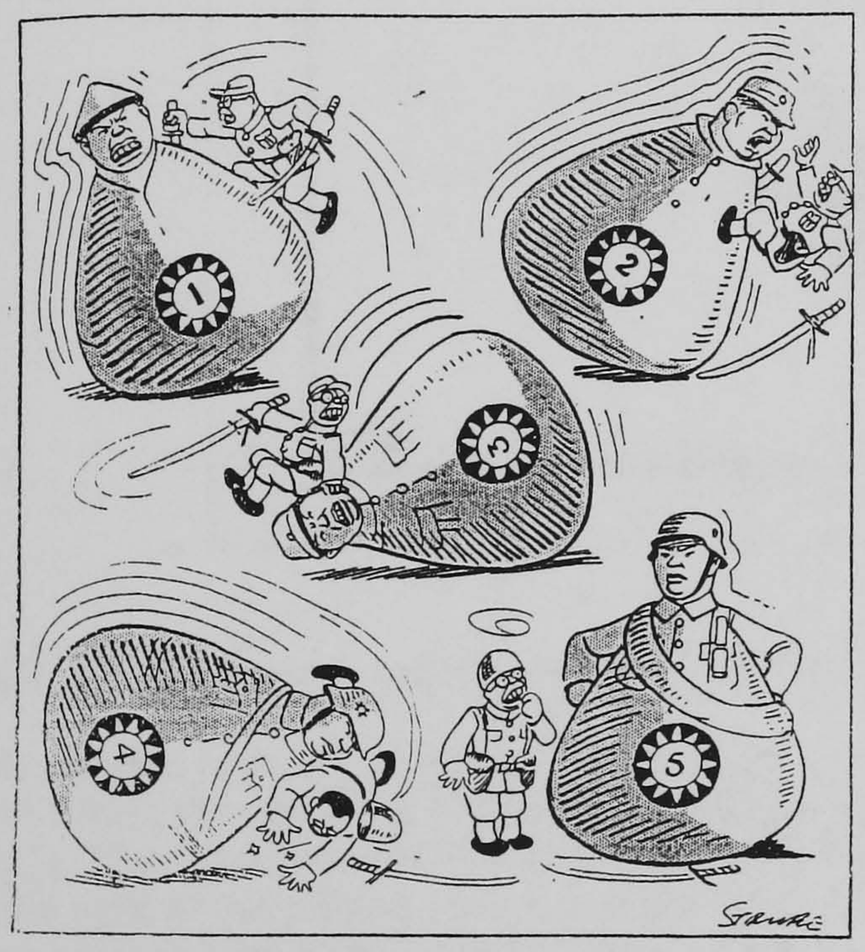
THE PROFITEER

By Clive Uptton

Fig.3A. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth 91902-79), *Daily Mail*, 22 August 1942.
Fig.3B. 'The Profiteer', Clive Uptton, *Daily Sketch*, 16 September 1942.

Though the message is slightly different, these two drawings, and the idea behind them, are remarkably similar. Illingworth has Hitler being chauffeur-driven in a half-track vehicle by a German general towards Stalingrad as it labours with great effort (note the steam escaping from the overheating radiator) up a mountain of German bodies - signifying the huge waste of human life. Uptton's version has the exactly the same ingredients but instead Hitler is in the front of the car (without half-tracks) and turns round to discover, with horror, a bloated figure of death dressed as a rich businessman sitting in the back seat.

And Vicky's punchball man cartoon from the *News Chronicle* of 7 June 1943 is a dead ringer of Strube's a year earlier, even down to the fact that it is the Chinese punchball man that hits back at the Japanese figure (Fig.4).



FIVE YEARS—AND STILL THEY CAN'T PUT HIM DOWN
7th July, 1942.

THE INCIDENT
June 7, 1943: The first ten years are the worst.

Fig.4A. 'Five Years - And Still They Can't Put Him Down', Sidney Strube (1892-1956), Daily Express, 7 July 1942.
Fig. 4B. 'The Incident', Vicky (Victor Weisz, 1913-66), *News Chronicle*, 7 June 1943,

A remarkable case of two cartoonists having an identical idea and producing an almost identical drawing, with China as the punchball hitting back at Japan.

Likewise Uptton's 'Prelude to the Battle of Britain' with its factory organ pipes (*Daily Sketch*, undated) is similar in many ways to Low's 'Nine O'Clock Symphony' (*Evening Standard*, 16 September 1940) of anti-aircraft guns and Illingworth's 'Overture to the Last Act' (*Daily Mail*, 20 February 1944).

But in case it is thought that other cartoonists are borrowing from Low it is worth comparing his 'Rest in Peace' (*Evening Standard*, 10 May 1940) with Will Dyson's famous First World War cartoon 'Wonders of Science!' from *Kultur Cartoons* (1915), discussed in Chapter 2 (and illustrated as Fig.2) which was reproduced over the whole back page of the *Daily Mail* on 1 January 1915 (Fig. 5).

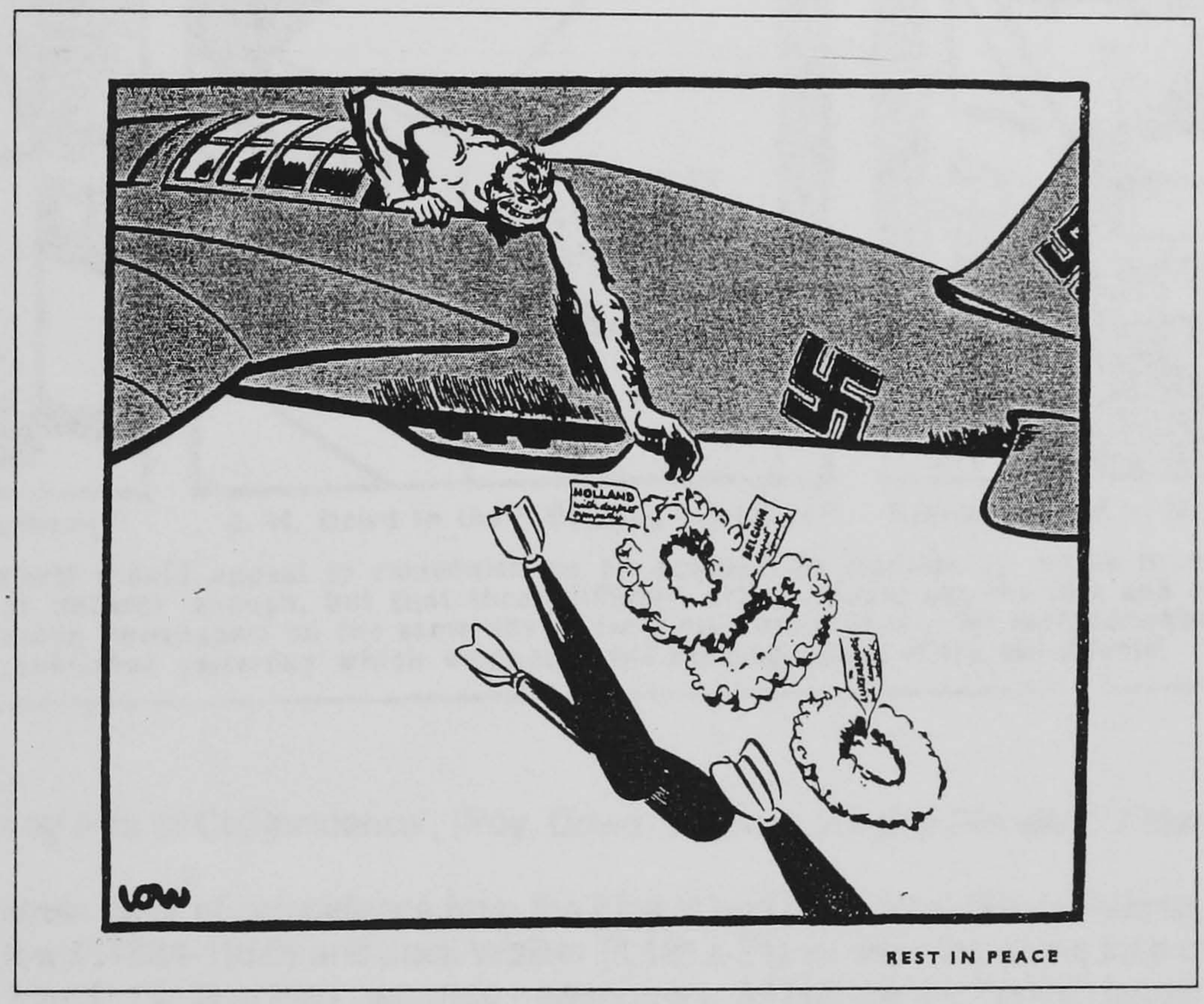


Fig.5. 'Rest in Peace', David Low (1891-1963), *Evening Standard*, 10 May 1940.

This cartoon is almost identical in conception, message and execution to Will Dyson's famous First World War drawing 'Wonders of Science!' a quarter of a century earlier (see Chapter 2, Fig.2). The monoplane is flying from right to left and the apelike passenger is throwing bombs to the right of the picture. In Low's case the wreaths are addressed to Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg 'with deepest Sympathies'. As Low greatly admired Dyson's work and came from the same part of the world (they had also both worked for the *Sydney Bulletin*) it is unlikely that the similarity was mere coincidence in this particular instance.

Indeed, it is difficult to claim with any certainty who first used an image because often these hark back to earlier generations (as here) and though one artist might have preceded another in the use of an idea in one particular war such as Illingworth using the 'Ten Little Nigger Boys' song in the *Daily Mail* on 15 March 1940, six

months before Low did (his cartoon appeared on 9 September that year), there is no telling when either of them might have first used the image.

Even in the First World War coincidence of this kind occurred, as the following illustration bears witness (Fig. 6):[344]

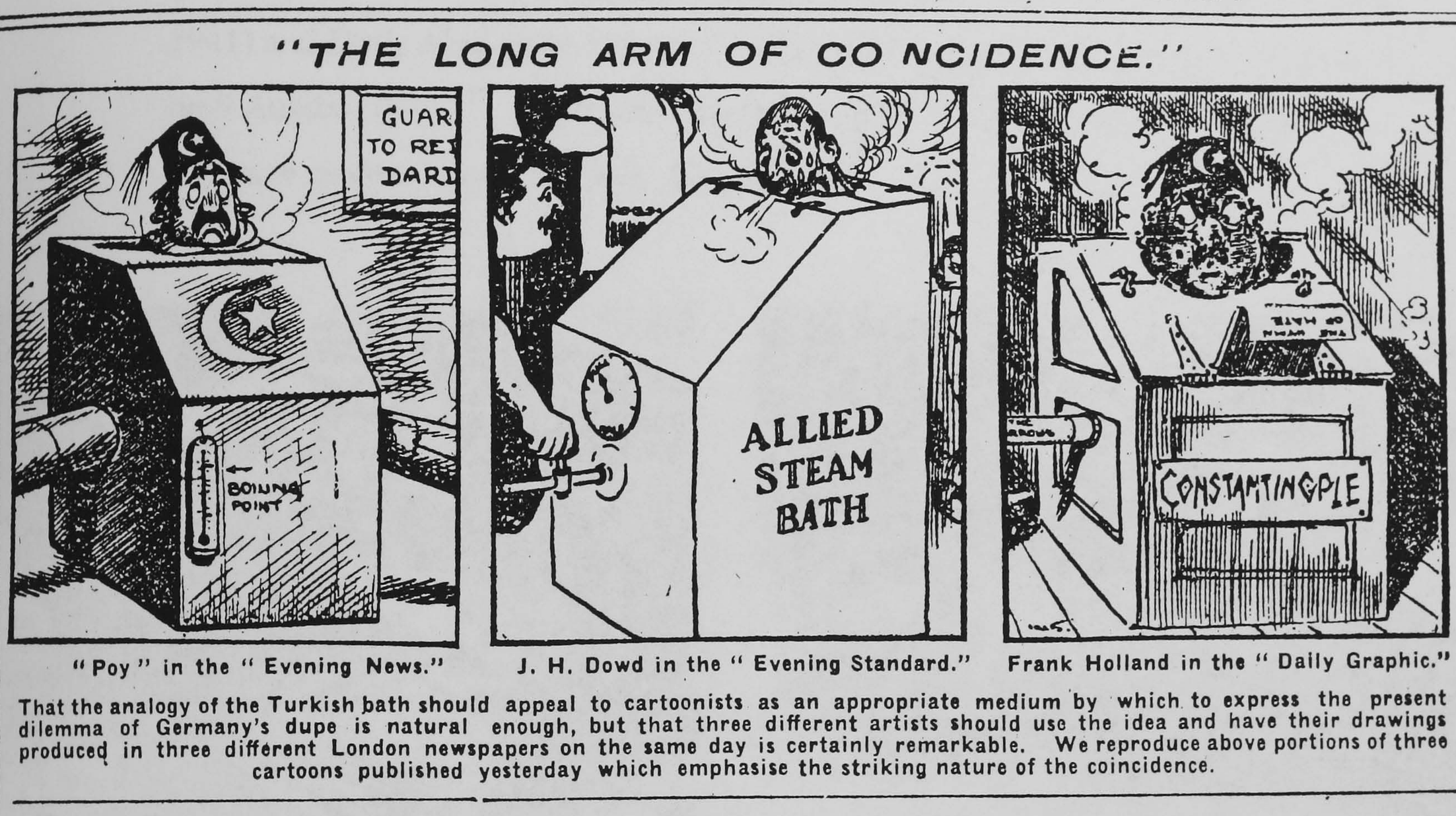


Fig.6. 'The Long Arm of Co[i]ncidence', (Poy, Dowd, Walker), *Weekly Dispatch*, 7 March 1915.

In this remarkable case of coincidence from the First World War, 'Poy' (Percy Fearon, 1874-1948), J.H. Dowd (1884-1956) and Jack Walker (fl.1914-21) all drew the same idea on the same day (6 March 1915) in their separate newspapers. All feature the Turkish leader Sultan Mehmet V – who fought on the side of Germany and Austria - overheating in a Turkish steam bath as the Allies turn on the pressure. In Walker's cartoon (wrongly credited to Frank Holland) he is reading 'The Hymn of Hate'.

There are one or two more similar examples that are worth remarking on here.

Perhaps the most noteworthy are the drawings of Illingworth's gas-masked Nazi monster in *Punch*, so praised by Draper Hill (see Chapter 4, Fig.4). Not only does Illingworth himself use the image again in the *Daily Mail* (see Figs. 7) but it also bears considerable resemblance to Uptton's propaganda cartoon 'The Vampire' (and

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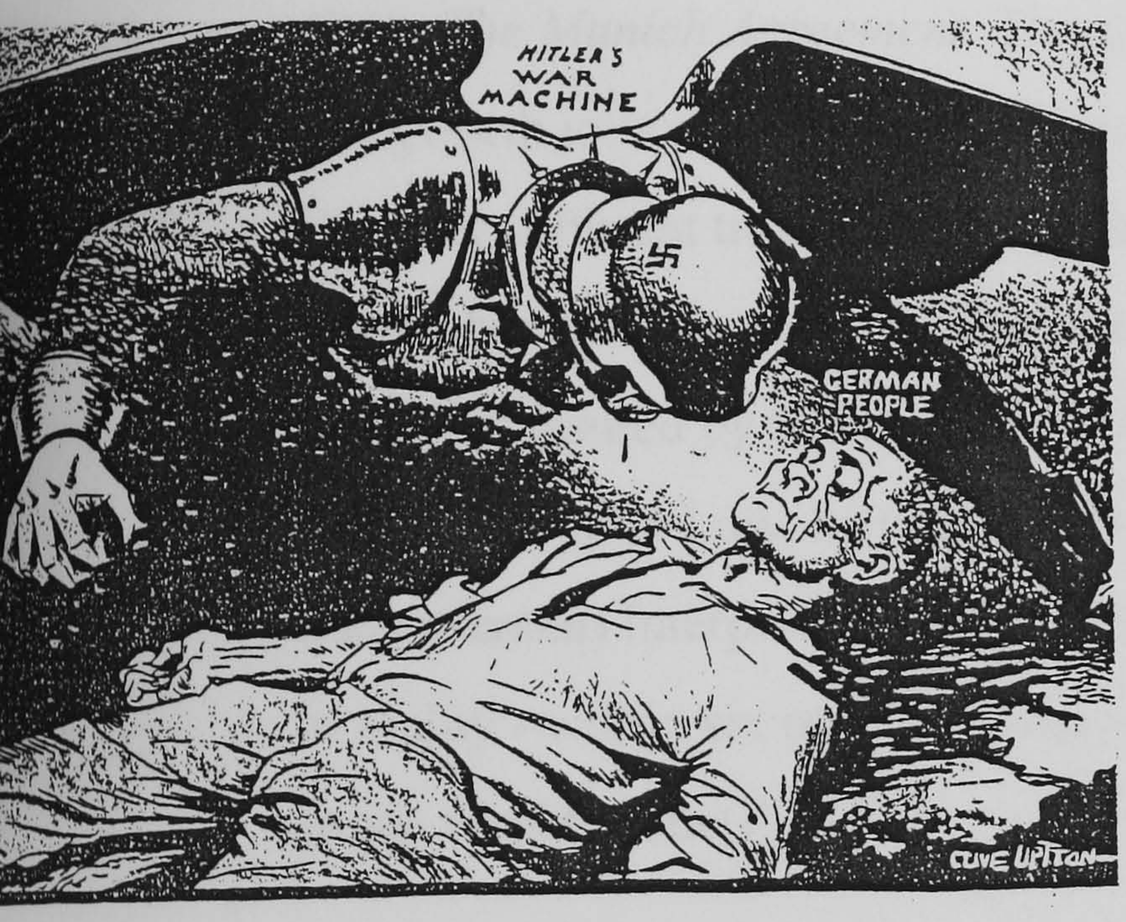
[344] Such coincidences also occur in peacetime, as for example, Low in the *Evening Standard* and Vicky in the *News Chronicle* both drawing 'Come Down to Earth' on 15 February 1946.

see also Uptton in the *Sketch* on 19 July 1940 and 10 April 1940 and Illingworth in the *Daily Mail* on 11 May 1940, 15 May 1940 and 1 December 1941).

Even the Nazi mechanical monster/robot drawn by various artists is very similar (it nearly always has tank-track feet). Compare, for example, Uptton's drawing in the *Daily Sketch* (24 April 1941 and another, undated), Illingworth's three different versions within days of Uptton - in the *Daily Mail* (18 April 1941), *Punch* (23 April 1941) and *Daily Mail* again (23 April 1941) - and the cartoon by Partridge in *Punch* on 9 August 1944.[345] These can also bear comparison with Whitelaw's giant Japanese monster from the *Daily Herald*.[346]



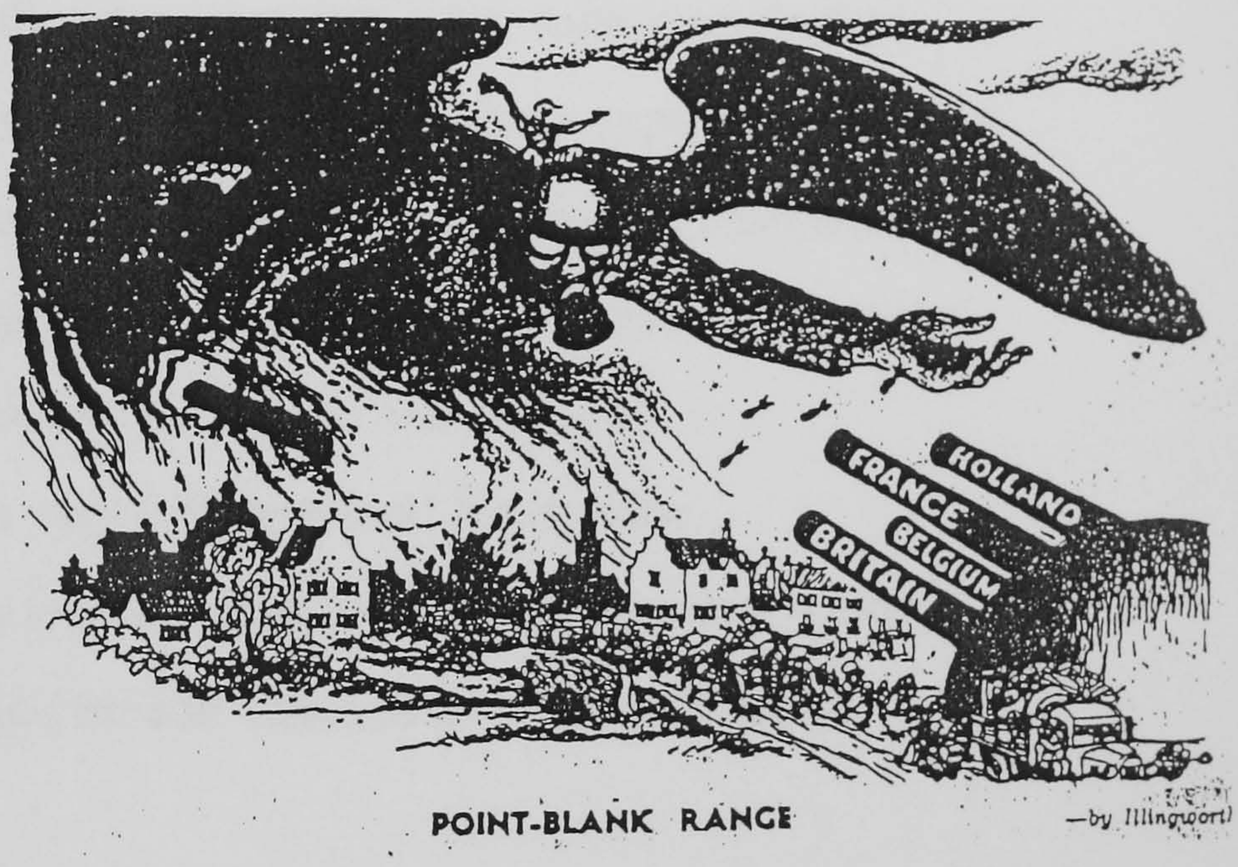


Fig.7A. 'TheVampire', Clive Uptton (b.1911), propaganda cartoon (n.d.).
Fig 7B. 'Point-Blank Range', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 15 May 1940.

The similarities between these two images and Illingworth's own *Punch* cartoon, 'The Combat' (drawn six months earlier) are striking, though in the Uptton cartoon the victim is the German people itself being sucked dry by the Nazi vampire. (By coincidence an almost identical cartoon, 'De Vampyr' - though the victim is labelled 'Nederlands Volkskracht' [The Strength of Holland's People] - was drawn by L.J. Jordaan in 1940 for the Dutch resistance's *Groene Amsterdammer* .) [347]

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[345] See also Jordaan in the *Groene Amsterdammer*, reproduced in Mark Bryant, *World War II in Cartoons* (Swindon, 1989), p. 38.
[346] Reproduced in J.Lynx (ed.), *The Pen is Mightier; The Story of the War in Cartoons* (London, 1946), p.60.
[347] Reproduced in Mark Bryant, op. cit., p.116.

Finally, Zec's hugely controversial 'The Price of Petrol' in the *Daily Mirror* (6 March 1942) bears an uncanny resemblance to Strube's much earlier 'Two Survived' (11 November 1941) yet curiously the *Express* was never threatened with closure by Parliament (see also Chapter 7).

6. Treatment of Key Wartime Events by Illingworth and his Rivals

In looking at how a number of important daily political cartoonists treated the same major news event during the Second World War again the first thing that strikes the observer is - with a number of notable exceptions - how similar they often are. Due to the restraints of space only a limited number of cases are given here.

1938: The Munich Agreement. Though the Munich Agreement took place before Illingworth joined the *Daily Mail* it is included here to show the complete contrast in two very different treaments of the same event. Illingworth's version in *Punch* (21 September 1938) seems to follow the basic government line - i.e. 'peace in our time' would be assured by allowing Hitler to annex ethnic German areas of Czechoslovakia. Low, by contrast, has a very different (and for its time controversial) interpretation of the same event, which in hindsight was much closer to reality - within six months Hitler would invade Czechoslovakia and war, not peace would ensue(Figs 8).

1939: The Nazi-Soviet Pact. David Low depicted this event in one of his most famous cartoons, 'Rendezvous' (*Evening Standard*, 20 September 1939) featuring Hitler and Stalin bowing to each other over a dead body representing Poland which had been invaded by the Nazis on 1 September and separately by the Soviet Union on 17 September before being divided up between the two powers. Again this was before Illingworth began at the *Daily Mail* (his first cartoon was on 30 October) but he produced a similarly powerful - and in many ways much more subtle - drawing

STILL HOPE

Fig. 8A. 'Still Hope', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch*, 21 September 1938.
Fig. 8B. 'Mein Kampf', David Low (1891-1965), *Evening Standard*, 24 September 1938.

In Illingworth's *Punch* cartoon, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain is drawn as the dove/angel of peace flying back from his meeting with Hitler at the Nazi leader's Bavarian retreat and carrying an olive branch, the caption 'Still Hope' implying that Chamberlain's statesmanship has won through and that all is not yet lost. By contrast Low's 'Mein Kampf' (My Struggle), alluding to the title of Hitler's own book, suggests that this is far from being the case. Leaving the imposing neo-classical edifice of Nazidom, a crippled figure of Peace (with broken olive branch) leads a dazed-looking goddess labelled 'Reason', with a shamefaced Chamberlain, clasping a portfolio (labelled 'Concessions' on the original cartoon) bringing up the rear.[348]

on the topic of the two dictators dividing up their spoils, actual or potential, in his 17 November cartoon 'What me? I never *touch* goldfish!' reproduced earlier (Chapter 3, Fig.11). Instead of Low's two realistically drawn figures with Hitler saying 'The scum of the earth, I believe?' and Stalin replying 'The bloody assassin of the workers, I presume?', Illingworth transforms them both into cats eyeing up goldfish and with a single line of speech which could (intentionally) fit either or both of them. Similarly, Partridge in *Punch* (8 November 1939) transforms them both into boa constrictors.

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[348] The version of the cartoon shown is the one which was published in Low's book, *Europe Since Versailles* (Harmondsworth, 1940). The word 'Concessions' has been deleted, which seems to imply some censorship at work. Though by the date of the book's publication Chamberlain had resigned and was out of favour, it was obviously important to be seen not to have actually given anything away to Hitler. See also Chapter 7.

1939: The Soviet Union's Invasion of Finland. This event produced a number of similarities in treatment. Illingworth's *Punch* cartoon of David and Goliath of 21 February was reproduced with cartoon additions in the German satirical weekly *Kladderadatsch* (see Chapter 7, Fig.9), and an identical cartoon appeared in a French newspaper.[349] Uptton later drew a giant Soviet monster with his knife already in Finland and gazing at a tiny couple representing Sweden and Norway. This was felt to be so successful by the editor of the *Daily Sketch* that it was used on the front page of the paper on 15 March 1940.

1940: The Invasion of Belgium. Two very different treatments are seen again here. As was shown earlier (Chapter 5, Fig. 12B), on 29 May 1940 Illingworth published in the *Daily Mail* a clever pastiche of Bernard Partridge's First World War *Punch* cartoon showing a defiant King of the Belgians facing the Kaiser, transformed here into the King's son, Leopold III, handing over his sword to Hitler. Low's *Evening Standard* cartoon for 10 June 1940 is a rather more gruesome picture. 'The Angels of Peace Descend on Belgium' with Himmler and his black-clothed Gestapo henchmen coming in to land on a Belgian town.

1940: Dunkirk and Fortress Britain. Churchill's famous speech, 'We shall fight them on the beaches...We shall never surrender,' broadcast on BBC Radio on 4 June 1940, inspired some powerful cartoons. Low's famous *Evening Standard* drawing 'Very Well, Alone' (18 June 1940), showing a British Tommy shaking his clenched fist at the invading Nazi air fleets, is perhaps the most well known. A very similar drawing ('Christmas 1940') was published by Vicky in *Time and Tide* on 7 December the same year and Strube produced a defiant bulldog Churchill in similar pose in the *Daily Express* on 8 June. Meanwhile, Illingworth's earlier drawing in the *Daily Mail* (30 May 1940) has the ghost of Napoleon saying to Hitler (looking to Britain from the cliffs of France): 'That's as far as I got, Adolf' (see Chapter 7, Fig.11).

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[349] Reproduced in S.P.Bahnsen & P.A.Fogelström (eds), *Verdensdramaet i Karikaturer, 1939-1945* (Copenhagen, 1945). Also compare Low (13 February 1940), Illingworth (17 February 1940, 11

1940: The London Blitz. Here Low and Illingworth both stressed the capital's 'cockney heart' - Low by literally drawing a heart in the *Evening Standard* on 11 September 1940 and Illingworth two days earlier with a personification of London in the guise of old Father Thames in the *Daily Mail* (Figs.9). But both of them have a bloated Goering flying through the night sky, which bears comparison with Illingworth's earlier 'Letting out the Hot Air' (*Daily Mail*, 19 August 1940), Shepard's Goering balloon (*Punch*, 31 January 1940) and Whitelaw's 1943 *Daily Herald* Mussolini balloon during the British aerial attack on Rome.[350] Strube in the *Daily Express*, by contrast, focusses - in a very famous socio-domestic war cartoon - on his Little Man character 'carrying on regardless' and more worried about his

Fig.9A. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 9 September 1940.
Fig.9B. 'Impregnable Target', David Low (1891-1965), *Evening Standard*, 11 September 1940.

In these two very similar night-time drawings about the Blitz, Low's has little architectural detail, focussing on Goering (personifying the Luftwaffe) taking out bombs from his bag marked 'Violence not Victory' and watching them bounce off the impregnable Cockney heart of London set amongst rows of working-class terraced houses. Illingworth's, by contrast, has Goering as a spectral figure caught in the searchlights above recognisable city landmarks such as St Bride's Church, Fleet Street (the church of the British Press, which would later be destroyed by bombing) and St Paul's Cathedral.

prize marrow than the air raids around him: 'Is it all right now, Henry? Yes not even scratched.' (November 1940).

March 1940); Strube (reproduced in S.P.Bahnsen & P.A.Fogelström , pp.54-5), Uptton (15 March 1940) and Zec (14 March 1940).
[350] Reproduced in S.P.Bahnsen & P.A.Fogelström, op.cit., p.225.

1940: The Battle for Greece. In the *Daily Sketch* Uptton produced 'Back to the Wall: The Navy will Give Gallant Greece All Aid' (1 November 1940) a powerful image of a defiant Greek soldier behind whom is a massive British battleship labelled 'HMS *Seapower*'. In similar tone is Whitelaw's 'The Glory that is Greece...the Grandeur that was Rome' with a defiant Greek soldier and a skulking murderous Mussolini. In his *Punch* cartoon Illingworth also alludes to Greece's noble past with the host of ancient Greek soldiers appearing behind the resistance fighters. Low also invoked the 'spirit of Thermopylae' in his cartoon 'Comrades Three' (the other two comrades being Yugoslavia and Britain). And after the fall of Greece Strube in the *Express* has 'Among the Immortals' showing figures from Ancient Greece helping a modern soldier into a frieze marked 'Greek Heroes'.

1945: VE-Day. In this case Illingworth, Low and Whitelaw produce very similar cartoons - even with similar captions - but here Illingworth's is infinitely more successful (Fig.10). Illingworth's very powerful but very detailed 'Night Passes' (8 May 1945) in the *Daily Mail* takes up nearly the whole width of the page and is followed by a major feature by Lord Vansittart.[351] In the *Evening Standard* Low's very similar but weaker contribution on the same day (and hence possibly drawn *after* he had seen Illingworth's in the morning paper) is 'The Nightmare Passes' and in the *Daily Herald* Whitelaw has 'And the Shadows Flee Away'. Zec's contribution in the *Mirror*, by contrast, has a strong single image 'Here you are! Don't Lose it Again!', which was reproduced in the paper 60 years later after the end of hostilities in the war against Yugoslavia in Kosovo (see also Chapter 7).

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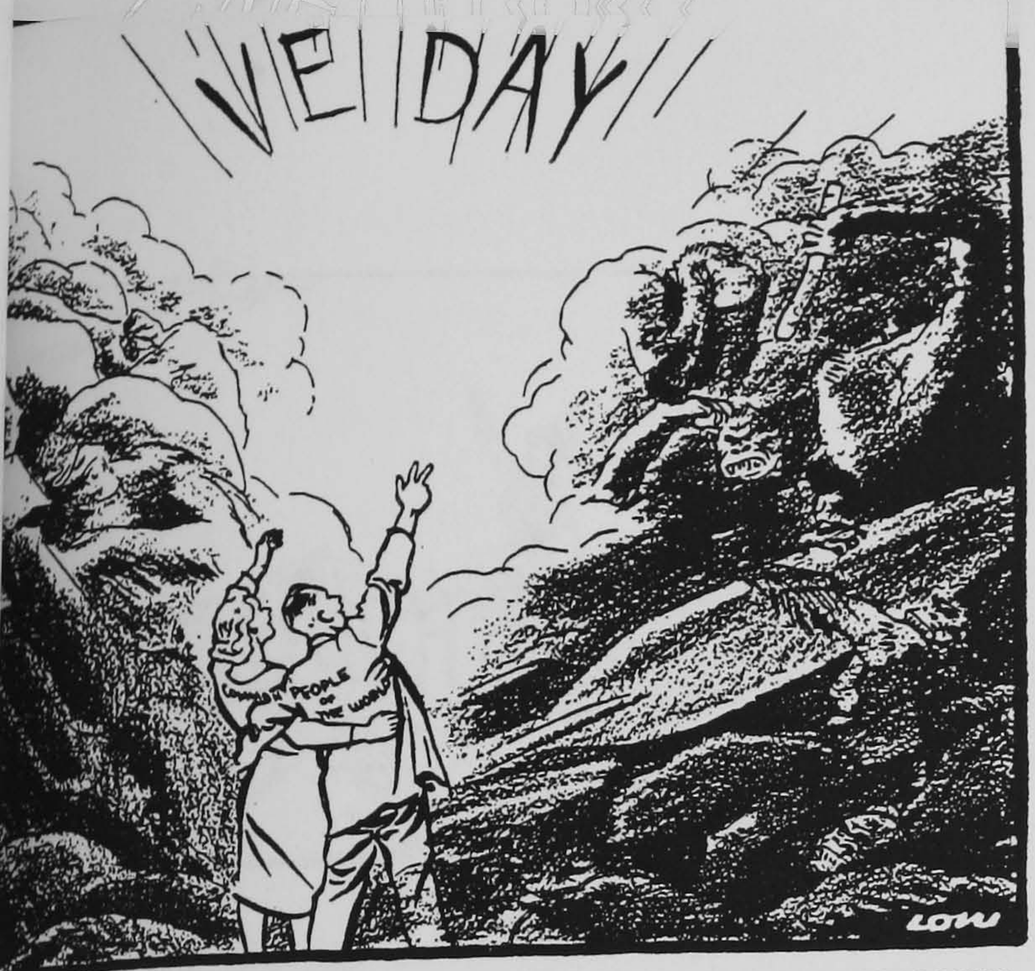
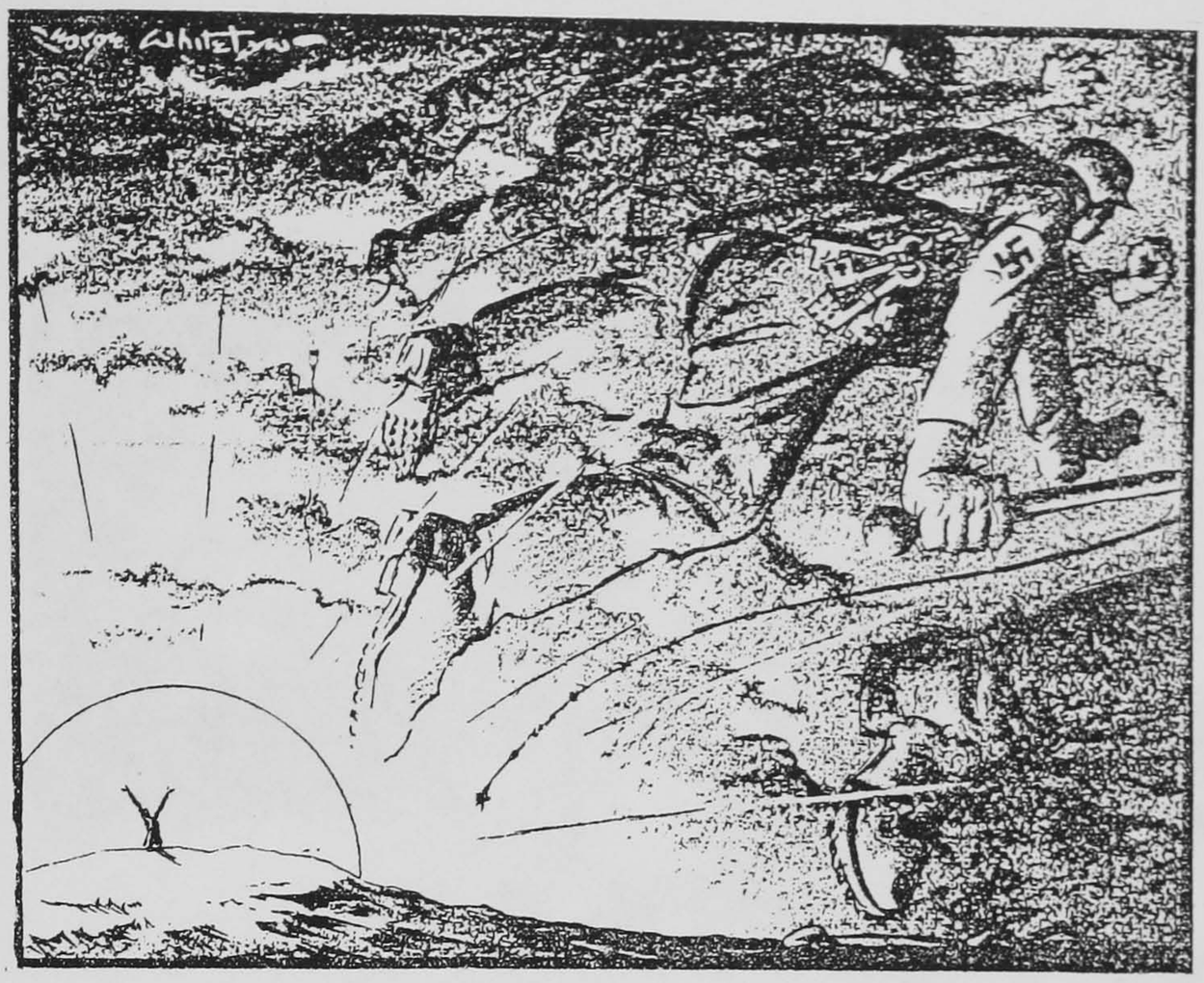
[351] See Chapter 4, Fig.6.





THE NIGHTMARE PASSES
AND THE SHADOWS FLEE AWAY

Fig. 10A. 'The Nightmare Passes', David Low (1891-1965), *Evening Standard*, 8 May 1945.
Fig. 10B. 'And the Shadows Flee Away', George Whitelaw (1887-1957), *Daily Herald*, 8 May 1945.

Low's efforts for such a significant and emotional moment as VE-Day is surprisingly poor (indeed even Whitelaw's outshines him), especially when contrasted with Illingworth's tremendous ghoul-filled cartoon with an almost identical caption, ' Night Passes..and the Evil Things Depart' (see Chapter 4, Fig.6)

7. Drawing Style and Caricature Style

One thing that emerges from Illingworth's superior draughtsmanship and sometimes far more detailed faces is that he is often able to express emotion (especially anger) much better than some of the others. A stark contrast is between Illingworth's tiger (*Daily Mail*, 4 December 1942) illustrating the phrase 'riding a tiger' and that by Strube (*Daily Express*, 18 September 1942), shown below (Fig.11).

As for caricatures, Illingworth's facial style in the *Daily Mail* is comparatively simple when judged against his other work but perhaps, as suggested earlier in the context of his work for *Punch*, it may be that he has worked out the detail in the *Punch* drawing and then used a shorthand version for the *Daily Mail* work. The same could be said to be true of Low whose highly accomplished *New Statesman* series of profiles of political figures gave detailed attention to likenesses that he had also used in his daily cartoons.

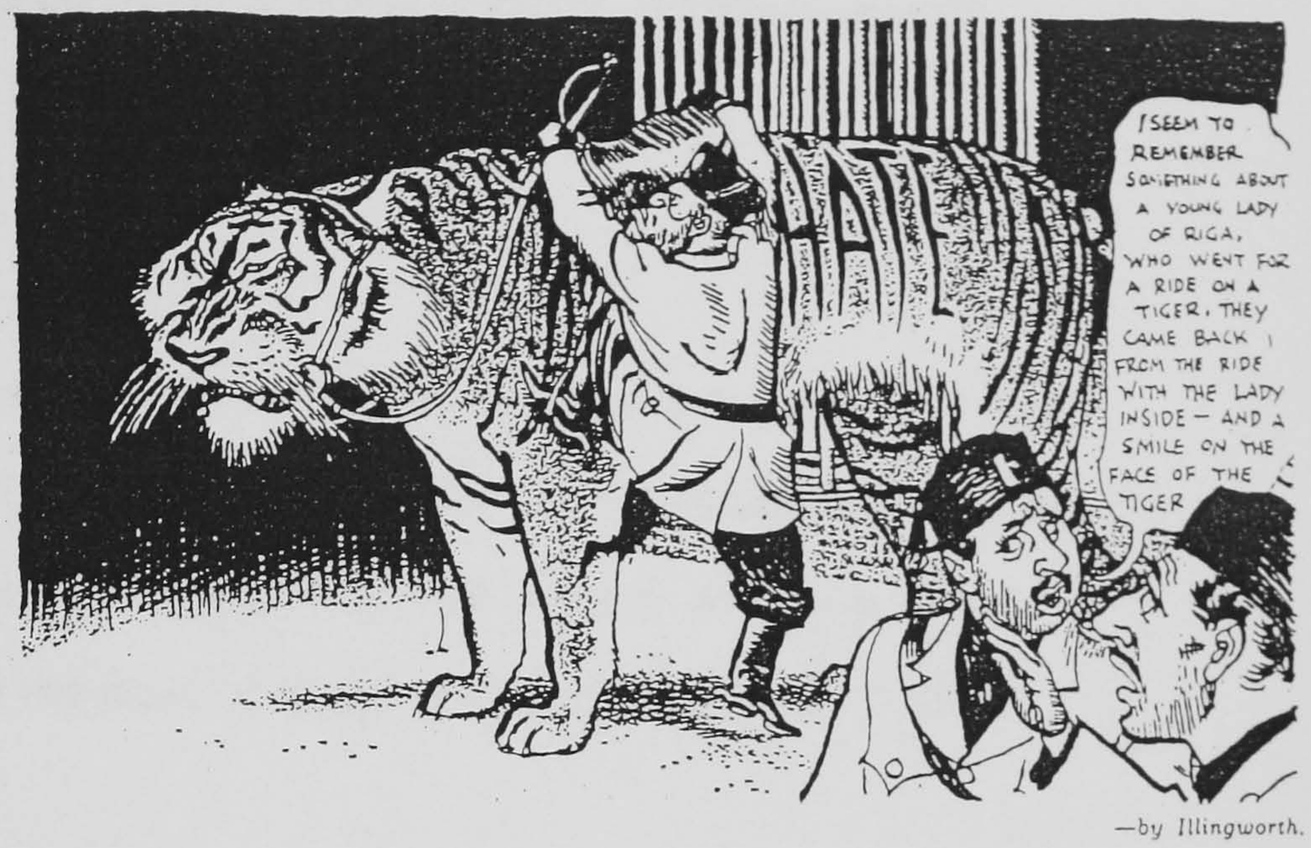


Fig. 11A. 'Who Rides a Tiger Can Never Dismount', Sidney Strube (1892-1956), *Daily Express*, 18 September 1939.
Fig.11B. (untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 4 December 1942.

Illingworth's superior draughtsmanship is very much in evidence in these two drawings. The faces on the men - and the wonderfully evil 'smile' on the face of his tiger - are head and shoulders above the characterisation in Strube's two-dimensional cartoon. Though the subjects are different (Mussolini going into battle in Illingworth's cartoon and Hitler in Strube's) this is also another case of similar literary ideas being taken up by both artists and it is also interesting that both have used the stripes of the tiger to spell out similar words. (Osbert Lancaster [drawing as 'Bunbury'] in the *Sunday Express* also used an idea based on the Chinese proverb with the Vichy French, Romanians, Hungarians and Finns all riding a Hitler tiger who has already consumed Boris of Bulgaria).[352]

Looking at the cartoonists under study, none really distort their subjects' faces to any great extent when they are presented in human form. Usually they are just simple portraits, aided and abetted by what Low calls 'tabs of identity' such as Hitler's moustache and quiff. All draw Goering as bloated and Goebbels as a pigmy-like figure. Like the others, Illingworth draws King Victor Emmanuel as a tiny figure with a large plumed peak cap (see e.g. Vicky, *News Chronicle*, 8 June 1944). In the national dailies only Strube and Low have distinctive highly caricatured types - The Little Man and Colonel Blimp. Illingworth's equivalent John Citizen and Uptton's John Public are both reasonably undistorted portraits of a solid middle-aged man. However, Illingworth's Blimp-like diehards, black marketeers, fuel wasters, blackout figure etc are more inclined to the grotesque. It is only when Illingworth turns an individual into a creature that he imbues the face with the bestiality of the creature in question (thus Hitler becomes as slippery as a snake etc.). Indeed, one factor that seems fairly constant in Illingworth's 'straight' depiction of Hitler is that he is mostly

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[352] Reproduced in Osbert Lancaster, *Assorted Sizes* (London, 1944).

drawn as a smiling trickster, always up to some prank or other, which frequently goes wrong.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented a very brief overview of the work of a number of Fleet Street cartoonists working during the Second World War and has focussed on some of the similarities and differences in their work. The next chapter will look at how successful their drawings were and the kind of impact (if any) they made both at home and abroad.

The conclusions that seem to emerge from the current chapter, however, are that most Fleet Street cartoonists working for daily newspapers in the Second World War - including Illingworth - were doing basically the same job. The drawings they produced differed very little from each other in tone, no matter what political slant the proprietor or editor of the paper took in peacetime. Also, and rather unexpectedly in some ways, it has been surprising to see how many similarities there were in actual content and execution between the different artists when tackling cartoons about the same events. Indeed, it appears that on more than one occasion some of their drawings were almost identical.

There is, unfortunately, no way of telling from this distance in time whether this coincidence of ideas derived from conscious (and deliberate) or unconscious plagiarism - after all, the pressures of continually having to come up with new ideas each day under war conditions must have been extremely stressful and certainly some cartoonists even recycled some of their own ideas more than once. But equally there is no reason not to suppose that these things happened purely by accident simply because of the cartoonists' professional mind-set which would naturally lead them to similar artistic solutions when confronted with the same circumstances (e.g. isolationism might suggest an ostrich with its head in the sand).

It has also been seen that, naturally enough, different cartoonists in the war years also drew on the general stock-in-trade of allusions and metaphors mentioned in Chapter 5, but it also seems to be the case that they often also borrowed caricature

styles from each other.[353] And it certainly seems to be true that one individual artist - rather like one mimic when it comes to impressions of celebrities for stand-up comedy - tended to set a style for representing someone and for a while that style held sway as a general public shorthand. [354]

So, these similarities having been established, they also confirm Illingworth's position as being a typical daily political cartoonist of the wartime period. It now remains to be seen what impact (if any) he and his fellow artists had on the enemy. Allied forces overseas and the general public at home.

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[353] Ralph Sallon MBE, for example, always claimed that Low stole his caricatures of politicians and other public figures. (Personal conversations with MB.)

[354] For many years before his cigar became a trademark, it was Poy's depiction of Churchill as a small man with a huge head and wearing a tiny hat that was adopted by most cartoonists. In more recent times Margaret Thatcher's hatchet face and pointed nose were first captured by Trog and it was Steve Bell who first introduced the rather mad eyes, with one larger than the other.

Chapter 7

The Impact of Illingworth and Other Political War Cartoonists, 1939-45

'If men be fighting over there for their possessions and their bodies against the Corsican robber, they are fighting here to be first in Ackermann's shop and see Gillray's latest caricatures. The enthusiasm is indescribable when the next drawing appears; it is a veritable madness. You have to make your way in through the crowd with your fists...' (Report of French émigré in London in 1802)[355]

'You cannot imagine the frenzy that these cartoons cause. As soon as a copy of the *Evening Standard* arrives, it is pounced on for Low's cartoon, and if it is of Hitler, as it generally is, telephones buzz, tempers rise, fevers mount, and the whole governmental system of Germany is in uproar. It has hardly subsided before the next one arrives. We in England can't understand the violence of the reaction.'
(Lord Halifax to Michael Wardell [Chairman, *Evening Standard*], 1937)[356]

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to evaluate the kind of impact (if any) that political cartoons have had in wartime - how much they may have made or changed opinions in Britain (whether these are the opinions of the general public, individual politicians or newspaper editors), how much they may have helped to sell newspapers (or, indeed, close them down), how much they may have put the artists' life or livelihood at risk, or indeed how much (if at all) they may have caused the Government of Britain or enemy countries to alter their policies.

However, from the outset it must be stated that it is extremely difficult to judge how successful any individual political cartoonist's work was during the Second World War. Lord Northcliffe, who (as has been seen in Chapter 2) was Minister for Propaganda in Foreign Countries in the First World War, once claimed that propaganda had in his view shortened that particular conflict by one year. How he came to this conclusion it is difficult to understand as there is no quantifiable method of assertaining exactly what the effects of any action by the various

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[355] Cited in C.R.Ashbee, op.cit., p.47.
[356] Lord Halifax quoted in Michael Wardell, 'Flight to Berlin', *Atlantic Advocate*, August 1957, p.53.

propaganda media have been on any event in history. As the former Head of the Art Department of the Imperial War Museum, the late Dr Joseph Darracott, said in his book *A Cartoon War*:

> 'A question that cannot be answered by looking at cartoons is what sort of role they played as agents of history. Occasionally there is evidence of the effectiveness of cartoons for some particular purpose, measured in the personal popularity of a cartoonist, some enthusiastic assessment, or a statistic of circulation figures. A systematic survey is definitely out of the question, for lack of appropriate material. Furthermore, the effect of cartoons is impossible to separate from the effects of similar activities. Cartoons have to be left in the historical goulash called propaganda, adding a distinctive flavour to the dish. It can safely be asserted that cartoons added to the morale, the will, spirit, or believed destinies of nations, but no one can say how much.' [357]

This view is suppported by Lawrence H. Streicher who says that

> '...we have little or no information as to the extent that a caricaturist is able to influence an audience, no matter how much he intends to and no matter how much his audience tends to respond.'[358]

Even within the newspapers for which they work, the impact of the political cartoonist would seem to be less than it might appear to be. To recap on Coupe's point:

> 'In rare cases [such as the American cartoonist Thomas Nast's attacks on corruption in 19th-century New York's civic administration in the pages of *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 gravitated to newspapers which roughly corresponded to their own outlook and there more or less toed the

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[357] Joseph Darracott, op.cit., pp.152-3.

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 [...] like all journalists, the cartoonist is concerned with the creation and manipulation of public opinion, but his actual impact, though often undoubtedly great, has not infrequently been exaggerated.'[359]

These are all fair points. None the less, even if they cannot be seen to have been instruments that have in some way directly changed history - like the machine-gun, the tank, the aeroplane or the atomic bomb - cartoons, and especially political war cartoons, have certainly had considerable impact on the workings of the real world, though this may largely have been on the readership of the newspapers in which they were printed or on the minds of politicians, generals, newspaper editors and others who *believed* that the cartoonist's work had had an effect on history.

If one looks at strip cartoons, for example, it is undoubtedly the case that Norman Pett's 'Jane' - after Don Freeman took over the scripts from 1938 - was a huge success both in commercial and morale terms. According to Hugh Cudlipp[360] it certainly helped boost sales of the *Daily Mirror* and was a significant factor in making the paper the acknowledged favourite of the Forces and, as Tony Gray (former Features Editor of the *Daily Mirror*) has pointed out, 'that term included not only the soldiers serving on the various fronts but also their wives and girl friends waiting for them back at home in blitzed, battle-scarred, beleaguered Britain'. [361] Indeed the distinguished journalist Hannen Swaffer,[362] writing in 1943, said that 'The morale of the RAF depended on how much clothing she had left on in the *Daily Mirror* that morning. A legend grew up that Jane always stripped for victory. She was the anti-Gremlin.'[363] And a reporter for the US paper *Round-up* under the

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[358] L.H.Streicher, op.cit., pp. 442-3.
[359] W.A.Coupe, op.cit., p.82. (See Chapter 2.)
[360] Hugh Cudlipp, *Publish and Be Damned* (London, 1953), pp.69-77.
[361] Tony Gray, *Fleet Street Remembered* (London, 1990), p.48.
[362] Swaffer was formerly (successively) Art Editor of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Mail*, Editor of the *Weekly Dispatch* (throughout the First World War) and Editor of the *People*. By 1943 he had long been established as 'The Pope of Fleet Street', renowned for his long-running column on the *Daily Herald.*
[363] Quoted in Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of 20th Century British Cartoonists & Caricaturists* (London, 2000), p.172.

headline 'Janes Gives All' seemed to imply, albeit lightheartedly, that the cartoon had in fact had a direct effect on the war when he said:

> 'Right smack out of the blue and with no one even threatening her, Jane peeled a week ago. The British 36th Division immediately gained six miles and the British attacked in the Arakan.' [364]

Added to which, Jane appeared emblazoned on aircraft, tanks and submarines, was syndicated to *Union Jack*, *Bulldozer* (the magazine of Combined Operations) and US services newspapers such as *Stars and Stripes*, and later even appeared on stage and in films.

George Chatterton's army private 'Chad', was another popular cartoon strip figure who first appeared in the series 'Chad by Chat' in 1938. However, the character, with his catchphrase 'Wot! No…?', quickly escaped the confines of newspaper publication and appeared everywhere in Britain – looking over walls, around corners of buildings and on anything else that seemed suitable - redrawn by all and sundry as part of the wartime graffiti cult and as ever-present as the phrase 'Kilroy Was Here'.

Similar successes were had by single joke cartoons and characters during the Second World War: Bill Hooper's hapless RAF figure 'Pilot Officer Prune' – originally created to illustrate government aircrew manuals, whose popularity led to the creation of Fleet Air Arm and Free French Air Force equivalents –and JON's 'Two Types' are two prominent examples. In the case of the Two Types – a pair of cavalier Desert Rat officers - they were not only much reproduced outside their original publication, *Eighth Army News*, and turned into stage characters but also earned their creator an MBE from Churchill and the praise of generals. General Freyberg even went so far as to say that there were 'worth by themselves a division of troops to the Allied Forces in Italy'.[365] One Two Types drawing in particular

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[364] Quoted in Hugh Cudlipp, op.cit., p.72.
[365] Quoted in W.J.Philpin Jones, *JON's Complete Two Types* (London, 1991), p.29.

caused considerable offence in Italy and resulted in 26 Italian newspapers running editorials against Jones and he was even challenged to a duel by an Italian count.[366]

Another character that gave offence was David Low's crusty old die-hard Colonel Blimp, who had first appeared in the *Evening Standard* in 1934. When a film based on Blimp was made in 1942 Illingworth's paper the *Daily Mail* was outspoken in its opposition, and under the banner headline 'Blimp Film Must NOT Go Abroad' said it depicted British officers as 'stupid, complacent, self-satisfied and ridiculous...We cannot afford to put out a burlesque figure like this screen version of Colonel Blimp to go round the world as a personification of the regular British officer.' [367] Churchill himself even entered the battle, saying: 'Pray propose to me the measures necessary to stop this foolish production before it gets any further. I am not prepared to allow propaganda detrimental to the morale of the Army, and I am sure the Cabinet will take all necessary action.' [368]

However, it is not so straightforward to evaluate political cartoons. None the less there are a number of avenues to be explored. The findings of the Mass Observation surveys is one approach. Another is to examine reactions via the Readers' Letters columns in newspapers, requests for copies of the original cartoons by members of the public and national celebrities, and sundry other factors such as the opinions of art historians and the length of employment of a particular artist on a single newspaper. Individual drawings may also have became news items in themselves and may as such have been referred to in the press and other media. Some may also have been suppressed (though it is difficult to discover which these are and why they were suppressed). Others again may be judged successful (or not) by the fact that they were (or were not) re-issued by the Ministry of Information, commercial advertisers, or sold as posters, prints or postcards - either by the newspaper itself or via a separate poster publishing company – or if they were taken up by other allied

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[366] This cartoon has the Two Types saying to an Italian prisoner-of- war in London: *'Si, si, si,* we knew your sister in Napoli' which has a double meaning when translated into Italian. See W.J.Philpin Jones, op.cit., p.28.

[367] Quoted in *Low's Autobiography* (London, 1956), p.274. The film, *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1942), which was made in colour, is now regarded as a British classic.

[368] Churchill to Brendan Bracken (then Minister of Information), 10 September 1942. Quoted in Mark Bryant (ed.), *The Complete Colonel Blimp* (London, 1991), p.177.

countries in the war effort. Finally, their effect on enemy countries may be judged by whether or not they were reproduced in those countries or suppressed.

1. Some Historical Examples

In order to put the work of Second World War cartoonists in perspective it is worth while looking briefly at the question of whether any individual cartoons – or the body of work by a single political cartoonist - have *ever* had a noticeable impact of the world at large.

The answer to this is very much in the positive and commences with the work of the father of them all - William Hogarth. In 1763 John Wilkes MP, champion of the free press and later Mayor of London, asked Hogarth not to publish his print 'The Times' - a highly political cartoon which featured Wilkes amongst others. When he did so, Wilkes devoted a whole issue of his paper, the *North Briton*, to attacking Hogarth, which then led to the famous unflattering portrait of Wilkes by the artist. As Walpole said, 'never had so much mud been mutually hurled by two such talented men with such crudeness'. [369]

According to Lord Baker (former Home Secretary and Chairman of the Conservative Party), cartoons attacking John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute[370] when briefly Prime Minister in 1762-3 were part of 'a sustained campaign through the media of the day'[371] which led to his resignation. And even the great James Gillray was once famously hauled up to face a Bow Street magistrate in January 1796 for selling an objectionable print. The outcome is open to dispute, but the facts of the matter were that he was never tried and by the end of 1797 he was in receipt of a £200-a-year pension (then a considerable sum) from the Tory government. This has been widely interpreted as showing that the power of Gillray's cartoons were such that he himself - until then generally on the side of 'Whiggism and liberty' - had been bribed into government (i.e. Tory) service. As the artist John Landseer put it:

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[369] Quoted in Robert Philippe, op.cit., p.92.

[370] Coincidentally landowner of the South Wales coalfields area in which Illingworth was later born.

[371] Kenneth Baker, *The Prime Ministers: An Irreverent Political History in Cartoons* (London, 1995), p.40. The cartoons frequently depicted him as Jack Boot (especially in the image of a jackboot) and alleged an affair with the Dowager Princess of Wales.

'[He] had unluckily got himself into the Ecclesiastical Court for producing a politico-scriptural caricature...and while threatened on the one hand with pains and penalties he was bribed by the Pitt party on the other with the offer of a pension, to be accompanied by absolution and remission of sins both political and religious and by the cessation of the pending prosecution. Thus situated he found, or fancied himself obliged to capitulate.' [372]

The printseller Fores was paid to suppress caricatures of the Prince Regent by his chief artist, Charles Williams, and in 1819 George Cruikshank was likewise asked to desist from drawing negative pictures of George IV and was paid £100 'in consideration for a pledge not to caricature His Majesty in an immoral situation'.[373]

Other cases abound in the 19th century. In France, Honoré Daumier was imprisoned for six months for portraying King Louis Philippe as Rabelais' monstrous character Gargantua and Charles Philipon was sued for depicting him as a pear (an idea so successful that even children drew pears on walls attacking the King). And in the USA the corrupt New York Tweed Ring was broken after a celebrated campaign of cartoon attacks by Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, and the work of Homer Davenport in the *New York Evening Journal* even led Boss Thomas Platt to attempt to introduce an anti-cartoon bill into the New York legislature in 1897 (he failed).

Even *Punch* found itself on the wrong side of the law on occasion. On 28 February 1886 the *Weekly Dispatch* reported that an application for an order of attachment had been made in the Queen's Bench Division against 'the printer and publisher of *Punch* for contempt of Court in publishing in its issue of the 20th inst. a cartoon and letterpress under the headings "Sneaking Sedition" and "Mr Punch giving them rope enough" ' during the prosecution of three men in connection with riots in the West End. The cartoon and its accompanying text were held by the prosecution to be 'the most disgraceful things that had ever appeared in a public print' and 'one of the grossest and most libellous cartoons....that had ever appeared in any journal'. (In the

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[372] John Landseer, *The Athenaeum*, 15 October 1831. p.667.

event the court decided that it had no jurisdiction in a case of this kind and the application was refused.)

In the early years of the 20th century Arthur Moreland (a lifelong Conservative Party supporter) drew his celebrated Chinese Labour cartoon in the *Morning Leader* which was called 'an infamous document' by Colonial Office Minister Alfred Lyttelton MP and was credited with leading to the large Liberal majority in the 1906 election after Liberal candidates pasted more than three million posters of it across the country.[374]

However, though affected, not everyone was quite so moved by the cartoonists' jibes. As the journalist and politician William Cobbett said in 1808:

> '…caricatures are things to laugh at. They break no bones. I, for instance, have been represented as a bull-dog, as a porcupine, as a wolf, as a sansculotte, as a nightmare, as a bear, as a kite, as a cur, and in America, as hanging upon a gallows. Yet here I am, just as sound as if no misrepresentation of me had ever been made. The fact is, that caricatures are nothing more than figures of rhetoric proceeding from the pencil; and as the inimitable Gillray is not in the habit of making sentences, I see no reason why he should not ridicule what he deems to be the follies and vices of the times, or of particular persons, with his pencil.'[375]

When it comes to political war cartoons, by all accounts the drawings of Gillray, Rowlandson and Cruikshank attacking Napoleon had a considerable impact on the French dictator himself during the wars against France:

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[373] Quoted in Kenneth Baker, *The Kings & Queens: An Irreverent Cartoon History of the British Monarchy* (London, 1996), p.90.

[374] The cartoon featured the ghosts of two British soldiers standing by an open grave. One of them is pointing at imported Chinese labourers in chains escorted by armed guards. The caption reads: 'Look, Bill, that's what you and I, and 20,000 others, died for.'

[375] *Cobbett's Political Register*, 20 August 1808, pp.269-70.

'These caricatures were brought to his notice by his spies and emissaries in England; they rendered him furious; and one of them – Gillray's admirable, and as it subsequently proved, prophetic satire of *The Handwriting on the Wall* – is said to have given him not only offence, but even serious uneasiness.' [376]

Later, during the Crimean War, British Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen was reputedly driven from office by attacks by cartoonists, amongst others (these included Tenniel's portrait of him as an old woman, Fig.1).

During the Boer War (in which the French sided against the British), the French cartoonist Jean Veber drew a celebrated colour back cover for the satirical magazine *L'Assiette au Beurre* (28 September 1901). In this drawing, 'L'Impudique Albion' (Shameless Albion), a laughing Britannia is seen exposing her naked bottom which has been transformed into the head of Edward VII. The king was so offended that he threatened to refuse to open an exhibition in Paris and by the tenth edition of the magazine a blue petticoat had been drawn over the exposed area.

In Germany *Punch* was banned in 1892 for its anti-Kaiser cartoons and the German carrtoonist Thomas Theodor Heine (who had an English mother) was imprisoned for six months (1899-1900) for parodying Kaiser Wilhelm's speech on Palestine in the Munich-based satirical magazine *Simplicissimus* (thereby, incidentally, at the same time doubling circulation figures).

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[376] C.R.Everitt, op.cit., p.19.

HOW TO GET RID OF AN OLD WOMAN.

October 28, 1854.] [Punch, No. 694.

Fig.1. 'How to Get Rid of an Old Woman', John Tenniel (1820-1914), *Punch*, 28 October 1854.

In this drawing John Tenniel, whose work as a political cartoonist had a huge influence on his contemporaries and on generations to come (including Illingworth) - but who is still probably best known by the general public for his illustrations to Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* - lampoons British Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, for his ineffectual leadership during the Crimean War. In his seventieth year, Aberdeen was repeatedly attacked by the press for his lack of resolution and Tenniel's cartoon suggests that the best use for an 'old woman' like him would be to send him off to work as a nurse on the Eastern Front. Soon after this drawing was published Lord Aberdeen resigned.

Political cartoons also boosted morale on the Home Front. Evidence of their impact is recorded in Winston Churchill's memories of Tenniel's drawings featuring national stereotypes in the pages of *Punch* which he studied as a schoolboy:

> 'France defeated - a woman, beautiful and terrific in distress, resisting sword in hand amid the explosions a blonde and apparently irresistible Germania. Golly! How I sympathised with France....How could I not

champion France? All the English boys who grew up then had this idea somewhere in their minds and pictured France ill-treated, beaten down, unchivalrously used by a sort of suet-dumpling Germany, uncommonly efficient and punctual...All of them got the notion that it would be a fine thing and only fair if some day this same broken, trampled France stood up and had her revenge upon the dumpling lady.'[377]

And if one looks at cartoons that have been much imitated one only has to think of Gillray's 'The Plumb-pudding in Danger' (1805, originally featuring Pitt and Napoleon carving up the world, see Chapter 1, Fig.1), Tenniel's *Punch* cartoon 'Dropping the Pilot' (29 March 1890, originally featuring Kaiser Wilhelm and Bismarck), or Alfred Leete's First World War cover for *London Opinion* (5 September 1914, originally featuring Lord Kitchener) which later appeared as a recruiting poster in the UK as 'Your Country Needs You', was taken up in the USA and redrawn by Montgomery Flagg using Uncle Sam, but also appeared in German (1915), Italian (1917) and Soviet Union (1923) versions, and is still used in other variations today.

It should also be remembered that political comic strips had some influence too: Haselden's 'The Sad Experiences of Big and Little Willie' in the *Daily Mirror*, lampooning Kaiser Wilhelm II and his son during the First World War (it first appeared on 2 October 1914) was later admitted by the Kaiser himself to have been 'damnably effective' as was Leete's 'Schmidt the Spy' strip in *London Opinion* which was turned into a film in 1916.

One thinks too of Bruce Bairnsfather's military-joke drawings in the First World War, especially those featuring 'Old Bill', which were published in the USA and in various Allied publications, and led to stage productions, merchandise such as mugs and plates, and even films (one of these starred John Mills). They too came up against criticism from the Establishment at first - who saw them as 'these vulgar caricatures of our heroes' - but such was their impact on morale that Bairnsfather was promoted 'officer-cartoonist' and transferred to the Intelligence department of

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[377] Winston Churchill, op.cit., p.24.

the War Office where he drew similar cartoons for the Italian, French and American forces. General Sir Ian Hamilton even said of him: 'The creator of Old Bill has rendered great service to his Country, both as a soldier and as one who has done much to lighten the darkest hour.'[378] And David Low even said of Bairnsfather that without him 'the First World War certainly never could have been won'.[379] But again he was not primarily a political cartoonist.

However, J.M.Staniforth certainly was and his First World War cartoons, as has been mentioned in Chapter 3, had considerable impact. Poy's cartoons were also very strong during this period (see Chapter 2) and his characters were very popular - Cuthbert the White Rabbit was even produced as a children's toy. In addition, the drawings of E.J.Sullivan were very poignant - his book of cartoons *The Kaiser's Garland* (1915) was described by art critic and fellow cartoonist James Thorpe as a 'whole-hearted hymn of hate'.[380]

Dyson's work also had great power, especially the collection *Kultur Cartoons* (1915) and his much-cited prophetic drawing after the Versailles peace conference ('Curious, I seem to hear a child weeping', *Daily Herald*, 13 May 1919) which seemed to predict the cause of the Second World War. The fact that the *Daily Herald* ran his cartoons over the whole (broadsheet) front page of the paper shows the impact they had at the time. And the impression made on Lord Northcliffe by Dyson's drawings, which prompted him to drop the advertising on the whole back page of the *Daily Mail* to publish one of them, has already been noted (Chapter 2).

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[378] General Sir Ian Hamilton (1853-1947) - who headed the Gallipoli campaign - quoted in Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of 20th Century British Cartoonists & Caricaturists* (London, 2000), p.12.

[379] David Low, *British Cartoonists, Caricaturists and Comic Artists* (London, 1942), p.48.

[380] Other memorable and widely reproduced cartoons from the First World War include 'Bravo, Belgium!' by F.H.Townsend (featuring a little Belgian boy defending his border against an old German man armed with a club), 'The Old Man and the Sea' by Leonard Raven Hill (featuring the Kaiser carrying Tirpitz on his back), 'Study of a Prussian Household Having its Morning Hate' by Frank Reynolds and 'Grit' by G.L.Stampa (the original joke of a man by his bombed shop writing 'Business As Usual During Alterations' on its wall) - all from *Punch*. Two other cartoons of great impact were 'Take up the Sword of Justice' (a recruiting poster by Bernard Partridge) and David Wilson's black propaganda 'hate' poster 'Once a German - Always a German!' (produced for the British Empire Union), with German soldiers bayonetting babies and shooting nurses amongst other horrors. It went into many versions including one printed in Portuguese by the *South China Morning Post* in Hong Kong. And the *New York Times* of 19 February 1916 reported: 'The proprietors of the *Bystander*, the former editor, and a cartoonist were fined sums ranging from £100 to £50 for publishing a cartoon considered prejudicial to military discipline and to recruiting.'

Kultur Cartoons itself caused a considerable stir. In an article by H.G.Wells entitled 'The "Best Seller" in England - and Why King George is Worried about this Book' Wells says that:

> 'Everyone is very much pleased with his book except King George of England himself and his Queen.
>
> Indeed, King George and Queen Mary are so angry about it that the censors have received orders to "put the soft pedal" on all war cartoons in the magazines and newspapers. Their majesties at first demanded absolute prohibition of any pictures "caricaturing and insulting" the German Emperor and the Crown Prince. At their request the War Office has made a ruling that the cartoons cannot be sent to the soldiers in the field, and the magazine and newspaper publishers have been forced to print statements to that effect.'[381]

The main reason given for George V's complaint was that Britain and Germany's royal families both shared the same blood lineage and hence the cartoons were a slur on their 'caste' as a whole.

Another political cartoonist who caused a major upset in the First World War was the Dutchman Louis Raemaekers. So powerful and influential were his drawings that he was prosecuted by the Dutch authorities for endangering their neutrality during the conflict. In the opinion of the architect, designer and art historian C.R.Ashbee:

> 'I think now…that of all the men who gave themselves in those years – soldiers, politicians, civil servants, poets, artists, scientists – the man who had most influence in swinging opinion and "winning the war", if so trite a phrase may now be given, was a caricaturist – the Belgian [sic] Raemaekers.' [382]

He goes on to add:

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[381] From an anonymous newspaper cutting (possibly from the *Star*?) reproduced in John Jensen, 'Will Dyson: "A Sort of Bird of Freedom"' (London, 1996), p.17.
[382] C.R.Ashbee, op.cit., p.15.

'There are some of the cartoons of that terrible time that have eternal significance. They are great because of their quality of caricature. They deal not so much with men as with ideas. The caricature forces the idea into prominence. And men felt there was another side to the art of caricature – the vital need of it. We had to laugh in order to live. Some fault was in the human mind, some spell set upon it that must be charmed away; the spell-breaker was the caricaturist.' [383]

Sir Percy Robinson, the famous war correspondent of *The Times* (who was knighted for his work and received the Legion d'Honneur), named Raemaekers as one of the six great men - including statesmen and military commanders - whose effect and influence were most decisive during the First World War. Percy V. Bradshaw added that 'He drew with astonishing freedom and vigour, and exposed the bestial treachery of the German War-Lord and his fellow criminals with a flaming indignation which no other wartime artist surpassed.'[384]

Raemaekers' work for *De Telegraaf* was syndicated to the *Daily Mail* in the UK and *Le Journal* in France and in 1915 an exhibition of 500 of his cartoons at the Fine Art Society in London was so successful that Prime Minister Lloyd George persuaded him to go to the USA (where he was published by the Hearst group) in an effort to enlist American help in the war (see also Chapter 2). He also produced a very famous poster 'In Belgium - Help', featuring a Belgian woman with a terror-stricken child at her breast, which was published by the London-based National Committee for Relief in Belgium.

2. The Second World War

The impact of political cartoons against the new dictators – especially Hitler and Mussolini - continued over the next two decades and into the Second World War. To begin with the effect cartoons had on the Axis countries, it soon became evident in

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[383] C.R.Ashbee, op.cit., pp. 15-17.
[384] Percy V. Bradshaw quoted in Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of 20th Century British Cartoonists & Caricaturists* (London, 2000), p.179.

the 1930s that the Nazis in particular were very sensitive indeed about how they were portrayed in the Allied, especially British, press.[385]

In 1937 *The Times'* famous Foreign Correspondent in Berlin, Norman Ebutt, was unceremoniously expelled, despite the fact that *The Times* itself had a far from antagonistic stance on German ambitions. The occasion was even recorded in a cartoon by Gabriel of the *Daily Worker* (Fig.2)

*Fig.*2. 'The Course of True Love', Gabriel (James Friell, 1912-97), *Daily Worker*, 20 August 1937.

Billed as 'Fleet Street's greatest discovery since David Low' Gabriel joined the *Daily Worker* as political cartoonist in 1936. A great admirer of the work of David Low, he later took over Low's position as political cartoonist on the *Evening Standard*.

And Gabriel's anti-Nazi cartoons even put his life at risk at home in the UK as he later recalled in a radio interview:

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[385] They were also upset by any cartoon images of their leaders. An exhibition of Czech cartoons attacking the Nazis in 1935 was closed down because of the extreme nature of the drawings. (For examples, see Mark Bryant, *World War II in Cartoons* [Swindon, 1989].)

'It was during this period when I was bashing Hitler daily that I received a letter from a Dr Schmidt, of Berlin, who requested that I send him my real name and address and autobiography as he was writing a book on European caricature. A likely story.

I don't suppose it had any connection but shortly afterwards I was pounced on one dark winter's night near the office, and beaten up quickly and remarkably quietly by two young men who didn't even ask me to take my glasses off first. In the ambulance which eventually carted me away I reflected that at least some people took my work seriously.'[386]

Another cartoonist (albeit a regional one) whose work caused problems at home was J.C.Walker of the *South Wales Echo*:

'During the Italian-Abyssinian War I depicted Mussolini as a monkey. The Italian Consul in Cardiff stormed the City Hall and demanded that I should be shot. When told by the Lord Mayor that in this country cartoonists were not shot because of their cartoons, he demanded my imprisonment. A few weeks later he was back in Italy. I have often wondered why.'[387]

And during the Second World War itself such was the impact of British cartoons that they were singled out in a public statement made by Joseph Goebbels in 1943: 'British caricatures of German types are insulting, because they are no longer truthful. The National Socialists have completely transformed the German people.' Vicky drew a cartoon in the *News Chronicle* to illustrate the statement (Fig. 3).[388]

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[386] James Friell interviewed in 'Time to Talk', Radio 4 Scotland, 8 November 1968.

[387] J.C.Walker, op.cit., p.16.

[388] Goebbels was not the only one to complain. In the *News Chronicle* of 31 May 1941 George Bernard Shaw complained about images of Stalin: 'Cannot our caricatursts find something more plausible than the long-discarded uglifications of Ramsay MacDonald to represent Stalin? They were not in the least like MacDonald, and they are wildly unlike Stalin, who is much the handomest of all the present rulers of Europe.'

ALL MY OWN WORK

Fig. 3. 'All My Own Work', Vicky (Victor Weisz, 1913-66), *News Chronicle*, 26 April 1943.

In this witty drawing by Vicky, the line-up is (left to right) Goering, Himmler, Ribbentrop, Hitler, a Gestapo officer, a gagged German worker, a Wehrmacht infantryman and an SS officer. In Goebbels' painting they are all drawn in a less menacing way, Hitler has a halo, the German eagle has been transformed into a dove of peace and the worker - who is depicted in a heroic manner - is no longer gagged.

In addition, the work of David Low on the *Evening Standard*, in particular, caused all kinds of diplomatic unrest. In 1933 his cartoon 'It worked at the Reichstag - why not here?' (18 November 1933) caused the *Evening Standard* and all other papers reprinting his cartoons (e.g. the *Manchester Guardian*) to be officially banned in Germany. Another ('The Girls He Left Behind Him', 10 May 1935) produced a ban in Italy (Fig.4), and his cartoon which included Franco with the dictators ('The Harmony Boys', 2 May 1940) produced an official protest from neutral Spain.

As a result Low was warned to tone down his work and some cartoons were actually suppressed - such as one featuring Mussolini as a ventriloquist's dummy on Hitler's knee (1936). The paper's editor, Percy Cudlipp, wrote to him on 9 September 1937:

'The state of Europe is extremely tense at the present time. That being so, I don't want to publish anything in the *Evening Standard* which would add to the tension, or inflame tempers any more than they are already inflamed. There are people whose tempers are inflamed more by a cartoon than by any letterpress. So will you please, when you are planning your cartoons, bear in mind my anxiety on this score?'[389]

Fig.4. 'The Girls He Left Behind Him', David Low (1891-1965), *Evening Standard*, 10 May 1935.

This cartoon got the *Evening Standard* banned in Italy. The 'girls' Mussolini is leaving behind and who happily wave a handkerchief at him labelled 'Central European Ambitions' as he heads off to invade the gloomy-looking Abyssinia (and note that his boot is already caught in a noose and the ground is littered with skeletons) are Goebbels, Hitler and Goering. (A cartoon by Dyson also got the *Daily Herald* banned in Italy at the same time.)

Low also upset the Vichy French when their puppet dictator, Admiral Darlan, who had been installed by the Allies, was murdered by the French Resistance.

'When Admiral Darlan was assassinated in 1943, it was a bit thick to have *Le Matin* spread it across four columns that I had had something

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[389] Quoted in Colin Seymour-Ure & Jim Schoff, *David Low* (London, 1985), p.52.

> to do with the crime, because I had printed a cartoon a fortnight before reflecting the general desirability of the Admiral's disappearance from the scene at the earliest moment. *Une Preuve Flagrante de la Préméditation de L'Attentat* they called it, on the part of the Secretaries Cordell Hull and Eden and, presumably, myself.' [390]

However, Low also caused offence in Britain. As he notes in his autobiography: 'My telephone rang all day long and my post-box was crammed with insulting postcards.'[391]

It was also public opinion at home which nearly resulted in the closure of the *Daily Mirror* over a controversial cartoon by Philip Zec. This drawing - 'The Price of Petrol has Increased by One Penny - Official' - was attacked by Home Secretary Herbert Morrison: 'It was a wicked cartoon. I thought so, and so did the Minister of Labour (Mr Ernest Bevin)', and he later described it as being 'Worthy of Goebbels at his best.' [392] As Hugh Cudlipp, later Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, recorded: 'The judicial verdict of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Simon, was also sought. He considered the cartoon was cruel, deplorable, horrible' (Fig 5).[393]

However, the idea that it any way helped the enemy was totally misplaced. As Hugh Cudlipp has said:

> 'Their [the Cabinet's] misreading and condemnation of the Zec cartoon must go down into newspaper history as the century's most flagrant example of ingenuousness in high places.
>
> Helping the enemy? Nothing exposes the fatuity of the charge more than an order issued by the Nazis that all *Mirror* directors were to be immediately arrested when London was occupied. The existence of the order was disclosed when German High Command papers were examined by the Allies after the war.'[394]

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390 David Low, *Low's Autobiography* (London, 1956), p.348.
391 Ibid.
392 Quoted in Hugh Cudlipp, op.cit., p.180.
393 Ibid., p.178.
394 Ibid., p.182.

The price of petrol has been increased by one penny – Official
Philip Zec, *Daily Mirror*, 6 March 1942

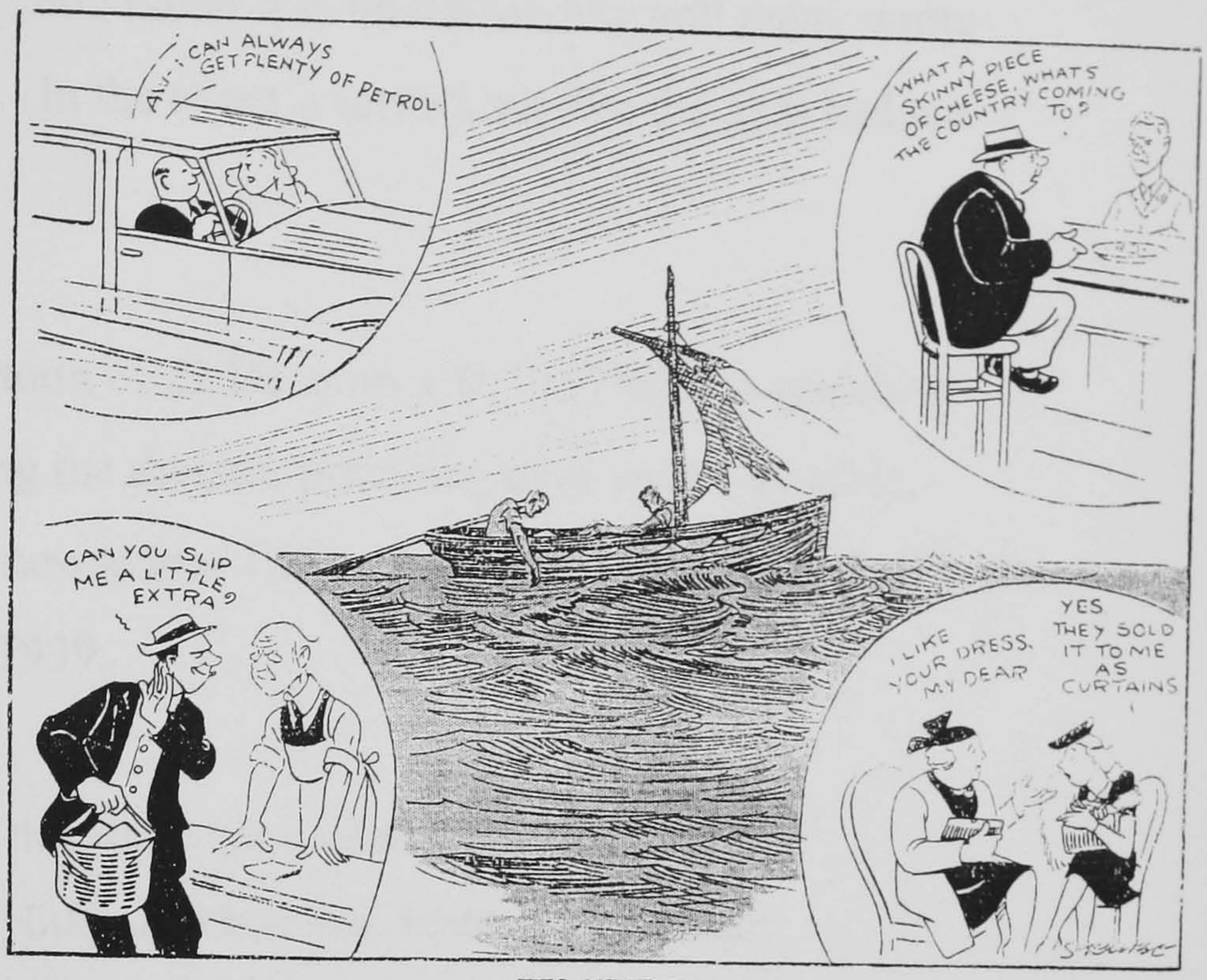

Fig.5A. 'The Price of Petrol has Increased by One Penny - Official', Philip Zec (1909-83), *Daily Mirror*, 6 March 1942.
Fig.5B. 'Two Survived', Sidney Strube (1892-1956), *Daily Express*, 11 November 1941.

The cartoon by Zec that caused all the problems was the third in a series by Zec that attacked the abuses of the system by British black marketeers. The first had shown a spiv placing flowers on the tomb of a dead soldier and saying 'Poor fellow, now what can I sell his mother?' and the second had emphasised the importance of not wasting food. Surprisingly, Strube's earlier and very similar cartoon about the risks taken by sailors on convoys caused no Government dissent at all and certainly did not endanger the future of the *Express*.[395]

Zec had caused controversy before. Soon after joining the *Mirror* he drew a cartoon about the alleged sinking of the British aircraft carrier, HMS *Ark Royal* - flagship of the Royal Navy. It portrayed a jolly sailor from the ship having a drink and saying 'Ain't it grand to be blooming well dead!' (18 October 1939). German propaganda radio broadcasts in English by 'Lord Haw-Haw' had frequently claimed that *Ark Royal* had been sunk. Unfortunately, Zec's response to the latest of these reports coincided with reports of the real demise of the ship. In the circumstances the publication of this drawing, about which there was no ambiguity, was a horrendous mistake by the *Daily Mirror*, but as the paper had already been printed and

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[395] Curiously, history nearly repeated itself during the Falklands War 40 years later on 6 May 1982 (after the sinking of the Argentinian cruiser *General Belgrano* and the British ship HMS *Sheffield* with great loss of life) when Les Gibbard of the *Guardian* drew a pastiche of Zec's famous Second World War *Daily Mirror* cartoon - the caption reworded as 'The Price of Sovereignty has Increased - Official' - which led to him being branded a traitor by the pro-war *Sun*.

distributed before the real news broke there was nothing they could do about it. Curiously, instead of an outcry the public mood was understanding and many wrote letters of sympathy to the cartoonist. (In the event it turned out that the ship had not been sunk after all.)[396]

Zec also upset the Germans. His cartoon of 22 December 1939 ('Hitler is spending Christmas with his Friends'), showing the dictator presiding over an empty table, caused a storm of protest. The Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* reacted with a front-page feature on 27 December 1939,

> 'in which they described me as this filthy lying scum and all the rest of it, and how wrong I was about Hitler, and here was Hitler with his real friends, the soldiers in the trenches, and they had pictures of him with them, and amongst the first dozen or so people to be shot when they arrived in London, which they would do in the course of the next few weeks, would be me!'[397]

Another drawing by Zec, 'Here You Are - Don't Lose it Again!', first published on VE-Day, had great impact and was reprinted not only during the postwar British election campaign but also 60 years later after the conflict in former Yugoslavia (Fig. 6).

Two more examples of successful wartime political cartoons which had a strong impact were by Clive Uptton. 'We Kneel Only to Thee' - published as a whole page in the *Sunday Graphic* - was widely reproduced as a poster (Fig. 7) and 'The Generous Friend' (featuring a Russian soldier sticking a knife into Finland whilst eyeing up Norway and Sweden) was reproduced over most of the front page of the *Daily Sketch* on 15 March 1940.

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[396] If he was aware of it, Zec may have derived some comfort from the fact that Tenniel had made the same mistake in *Punch* half a century earlier with a cartoon depicting the relief of Gordon at Khartoum. News of his death reached the *Punch* offices too late and Tenniel drew another cartoon the following week by way of apology. (See also Chapter 1, Fig.4.)

'Here you are! Don't lose it again!'
Philip Zec, *Daily Mirror*, 8 May 1945

Fig. 6A. 'Here You Are - Don't Lose it Again!', Philip Zec (1909-83), *Daily Mirror*, 8 May 1945.
Fig 6B. (Front page), *Daily Mirror*, 5 July 1945.

Zec's famous VE-Day cartoon of the injured and battle-weary British soldier handing the viewer the garland of victory and peace was reprinted over the whole front page of the paper on the polling day of the General Election two months later and is thought to have made a significant contribution to sweeping Labour to power.

Another cartoon by Uptton - 'This Is the Year: It's Up To Us To Let 'Em Have It!' - was used as a pre-D-Day landing poster.[398] Indeed, so successful were some of Uptton's cartoons that during the war the *Daily Sketch* and *Sunday Graphic* even ran an advertisement offering to the public specially reprinted copies of 12 of Uptton's cartoons suitable for framing.

Other cartoons that had some influence in the war include one by Carl Giles of the *Sunday Express* which was drawn during the siege of Stalingrad and was reprinted widely in the Soviet Union as a poster. It shows an old Russian peasant grandmother dragging eight German soldiers behind her on a rope as she approaches a group of

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[397] Zec Tape.
[398] A copy of the poster, published by The Admiralty and depicting an imaginary Allied coastal assault on the Continent with landing craft and air cover, is held in the Public Record Office as INF 13/122/6.

Soviet guerrilla fighters. The caption reads 'It's Nothing, Tovarishi. You Should Have Seen the One That Got Away' (*Sunday Express*, 25 January 1942).

Fig.7. 'We Kneel Only to Thee', Clive Uptton (b.1911), *Sunday Graphic*, c.1943.

Clive Uptton's cartoon was widely reprinted as a poster and he later reproduced it as an oil painting.

The Impact of Illingworth's Wartime Cartoons

Illingworth also drew cartoons that had an impact. Proof that his drawings affected the Nazis is the fact that cuttings of them taken from the *Daily Mail* were found in German files after the war. One of these, featuring his cartoon 'One They Can't Lay' - originally published in the *Daily Mail* on 29 March 1944 - had been carefully filed and classified by Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry as item No.14947 (Figs.8).

Fig.8A. 'One They Can't Lay', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 29 March 1944.
Fig. 8B. 'From Hitler's Private File - Himself, As Others Saw Him', (Press-cutting), *Daily Mail* , 19 July 1945.

A report in the *Daily Mail* on 19 July 1945 announced that a cutting of this cartoon had been one of a number of drawings by Illingworth found in the ruins of Hitler's Chancellery in Berlin by Fusilier A. Hepton with Goebbels' filing symbols gummed to it. In Illingworth's original drawing the ghost they can't lay is the spirit of German defeat which wrecks the plans of Hitler and his generals to fight back against the Allies as the Soviet Red Army invaded Bessarabia and threatened the borders of the Ukraine and Romania. Meanwhile, non-stop Allied air raids on Germany and occupied Europe took their toll on civilian morale.

Another cutting found in Berlin was 'On His Last Leg' - originally published in the *Daily Mail* on 14 January 1944 - which showed a sweating tiny Hitler in a basement with his left leg caught in a steel man-trap called Dnieper struggling to put out the fuse on a huge powder barrel labelled 'Anglo-US Invasion Dynamite'.[399]

A *Punch* cartoon by Illingworth about the Soviet attack on Finland was also reproduced as a centrepiece in a drawing by Garvens published in the German satirical magazine *Kladderadatsch* in June 1941 with caricatures of US President Roosevelt (with a walking stick) and the Soviet Ambassador to the USA Maxim Litvinov on its left and Churchill (holding a whisky bottle) with the Soviet Ambassador to Britain Ivan Maisky on its right. To point up the satire all the

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[399] Cartoons by the *Daily Mail's* pocket cartoonist Neb (Ronald Niebour) were also found (see Chapter 2, Fig.5).

characters are laughing and Litvinov and Maisky are identified as Jews by wearing the Star of David (Fig.9).

Fig.9. 'Who Aids?', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Punch*, 22 February 1940 incorporated into a drawing by Garvens (fl.1939-45), *Kladderadatsch*, June 1941.

This David and Goliath-style drawing by Illingworth - which well demonstrates the use of scale by political cartoonists to show apparently overwhelming power by the larger figure - has a huge Soviet soldier armed with a hammer and sickle looming out of the clouds over a tiny Finn on skis. (Though it should be noted that the Finn is armed with a potentially far more dangerous weapon - a rifle - which, like David's catapult, may be intended to suggest that despite the odds he could well bring down his opponent.) In the German version, the title has been translated and the source given, and the implication of the laughing figures is that neither the British nor the Americans, who are supposedly in league with the Soviet Jews, care a jot about Finland.

Another Illingworth *Daily Mail* cartoon - about the Japanese invasion of New Guinea - was reprinted in the weekly *Das Reich* in 1942 as part of a special feature attacking the *Daily Mail*. [400]

[400] The *Daily Mail* was not the only paper to upset the Nazis. On 17 February 1940 they even went so far as to produce a fake edition of the *Evening Standard* (issue No 35,941) which was dropped on London and included cartoons. (See Dennis Griffiths, *Plant Here the Standard* [Basingstoke, 1996], p.291, and Martin Walker, *Daily Sketches: A Cartoon History of British Twentieth-Century Politics* [London, 1978], pp.135-7.)

And of course Illingworth's cartoons were frequently reproduced by the Allies. A number were reprinted in the *War Illustrated* weekly magazine during the conflict[401] and from January 1944 until at least November 1945[402] many of his cartoons were republished (slightly smaller)[403] in the transatlantic edition of the *Daily Mail*.[404] In addition one of his drawings was published in *Time* magazine on 20 March 1944. And soon after the war, Illingworth's cartoon 'The Atom-Squatters' (30 October 1945) was reproduced over half the front page of the *Washington Daily News*.

The London-produced aerial propaganda newspaper for France, *Le Courrier de l'Air* and its smaller companion *Revue de la Presse Libre* (a roughly A5-sized, 2- or 4-page round-up of items from British newspapers) - some 500,000 copies of each issue were printed - occasionally reproduced Allied (mostly British) cartoons. As well as work by Lancaster, Kem, Low, Strube and Vicky, a number of Illingworth's *Daily Mail* cartoons appeared in its pages with their captions translated into French. Among these are the *Daily Mail* drawings from 24 October 1941 (Fig.10), 27 October 1941 (issue No.30, 1941 - in which 'Mediterranean Convoy Game' is retitled 'Tir Aux Macaronis'), 28 April 1942 (No.16, 1942), 25 June 1942 (No.24, 1942 - in which 'The Paid Piper' is translated as 'L'Embaucheur des Boches'),[405] 13 July 1942 (No.27, 1942). And a special supplement, *Le Courrier de l'Air Illustré* (c.4 x 3 inches) from early 1943 (No.5) contains two cartoons by Illingworth - 23 January 1943 (retitled 'Gare au Moustique') and 29 January 1943 ('As Promised, Mein Führer, We Have Raised the Swastika over Stalingrad'). These occasional booklets also had a series of features on cartoonists but after Osbert Lancaster and David Low it seems to have been discontinued. Three issues of *Le Courrier de L'Air* from 1941 also contain Illingworth cartoons that don't seem to have been published

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[401] Including his very first cartoon for the *Daily Mail* (see Chapter 3, Fig.6).

[402] In the absence of transatlantic copies, evidence for this is annotation on the original drawings themselves.

[403] The original drawings have instructions written on them to size them to a maximum width of two columns (3¾ inches) rather than the UK version of three columns (5¾ inches). (Though it should be noted that earlier UK cartoons had been sized to 7¾ inches.)

[404] Judging by the marking on the originals such as 'OSDM' and 'Overseas', occasional cartoons had been reproduced in the *Overseas Daily Mail* since at least 29 May 1940.

[405] The copies of this particular issue held in the Public Record Office have the words 'Not to Be Issued' written on them by hand.

Fig.10. 'Wunderschön! I can smell the burning!', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Le Courrier de l'Air*, No.29, 1941.

This cartoon by Illingworth, originally published in the *Daily Mail* on 24 October 1941, was reprinted on the front page of the London-produced French-language aerial newspaper *Le Courrier de l'Air* which was dropped by the RAF over occupied France. The text of the cartoon was translated into French and relettered.

in the *Daily Mail* and may have been drawn specially for the aerial newspaper (Nos 18, 19 and 24).

Another wartime foreign-language aerial newspaper which was produced in Britain and which featured British cartoons was the two-page daily *De Vliegende Hollander*, 600,000 of which were dropped by the RAF over occupied Holland. At least one of Illingworth's cartoons, 'In Column of Rout' (*Daily Mail*, 12 June 1944) was reproduced in its pages (in the issue for 22 June 1944). And at least one of Illingworth's wartime *Daily Mail* cartoons - 'That's As Far As I Got, Adolf' (30 May 1940), with Hitler and the ghost of Napoleon looking out over the English Channel from France - was republished as a postcard (with its caption translated into Portuguese) by the British Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, and distributed throughout Europe (Fig.11).

Napoleao: 'Ate aqui tambem eu cheguei, Adolfo.'

Fig.11. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), (postcard), British Embassy, Lisbon, 1940.

This cartoon, featuring the ghost of Napoleon behind Hitler (who stands in Napoleonic pose, with his right hand in his jacket, on piles of bodies in the ruins of a French town) was reproduced as one of a series of postcards published by the British Embassy in Lisbon and distributed throughout Europe (the caption of the original cartoon was 'That's as far as I got, Adolf'). It is a powerful cartoon and holds up well against Low's more famous 'Very Well, Alone' drawing about the evacuation at Dunkirk. In the original publication in the *Daily Mail* it accompanied a feature article about fortress Britain which began 'The idea of Britain as a fortress is nothing new. When Napoleon scowled at us across the Channel from Boulogne we hastily built a chain of Martello towers mounted with ordnance to repel invasion...At that time Napoleon was as great a bogy as Hitler is today. In some ways the parallel is extraordinarily exact.' The original newspaper version (published on 30 May 1940) extended further downwards on the left and was cropped at the sea-line to make the right shape for the postcard format.

Illingworth's cartoons were also reproduced in wartime books.[406] As well as being included (along with Sidney Moon, Neb, Joe Lee and Harold Gittins) in the Associated Press's own wartime collection, *400 Famous Cartoons from the Daily Mail, Evening News, Sunday Dispatch* (1944), his *Daily Mail* work was reprinted in wartime cartoon anthologies such as S.-L. Hourmouzios' *Salute to Greece: An Anthology of Cartoons Published in the British Press* (Evans Bros, 1942) and a large Danish international anthology of cartoons (featuring drawings from Allied and Axis

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[406] Only books actually published and distributed during the war are mentioned here.

publications) edited by S.P. Bahnsen. & P.A. Fogelström, *Verdensdramaet i Karikaturer, 1939-1945* (Commodore, Copenhagen, 1945).[407]

On at least two occasions Illingworth's cartoons were prophetic. On 21 September 1943 he drew the British Cabinet in a classroom scene ('Look Out Chaps...The Head!') in which Sir Kingsley Wood was depicted with a halo. A few hours after its publication came news of the Chancellor's death. Also, after Chamberlain claimed in the House of Commons on 6 May 1940 that Hitler had 'Missed the Bus' when he invaded Denmark and Norway on 9 April 1940, Illingworth drew a powerful criticism of this in his cartoon 'The Bus'. Three days later Chamberlain resigned (see Chapter 4, Fig.5).

Illingworth's impact on the public at large can be seen from the fact that there were also popular wartime exhibitions of his original cartoons in department stores such as Kendal Milne & Co. in Deansgate, Manchester in 1940[408] and Lewis's Stores, Glasgow in 1943.[409] And in September 1945 it was announced that British Foundation Pictures Ltd, in conjunction with the *Daily Mail*, had made a two-reel feature film, *The Birth of a Notion*, featuring Illingworth and fellow *Daily Mail* cartoonist Neb. The commentary was by the BBC's Frank Phillips and there were location shots of South Wales, birthplace of both artists.[410]

Finally, another sign of the success and impact of Illingworth's cartoons is to see who bought or asked for the originals. It was noted earlier that modern artists such as Nicholas Garland own Illingworth originals (e.g. 'Night Passes...', see Chapter 4, Fig.6). And of 'Winston Destry Rides Again' (see Chapter 5, Fig.11) Garland has said:

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[407] I would to thank the Danish cartoonist Per Marquard Otzen for his generous gift of this book to me when I visited Copenhagen with an Anglo-Danish cartoon exhibition I had curated in 1994.
[408] Reported in the *Daily Mail* on 3 December 1940.
[409] Reported in the *Daily Mail* on 24 July 1943.
[410] However, unlike Strube, Low and Poy he did not appear as a waxwork in Madame Tussaud's Coronation Exhibition in 1937 (though a bronze head of Illingworth by Karin Jontzen was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1963).

'I usually have this drawing up in my office and I marvel every day at the way he has drawn the highlights on the beautifully groomed horse's coat. I also like to look at the way he has drawn Churchill's and Chamberlain's hands. It is quite a good test of a cartoonist's' skill to check whether or not he or she can drawn convincing hands. You don't need to do the test on Illingworth, but it is a pleasure to take a close look all the same.'[411]

Other contemporary cartoonists who own Illingworth drawings include John Jensen, Wally Fawkes (Trog), Francis Wilford-Smith (Smilby), Keith Waite, Bernard Cookson, Bryan Reading, Bill Hewison (*Punch* Art Editor), W.J.P.Jones (JON) and Ian Scott. Cartoons have also been bought by or given to H.M.The Queen, Lord Rothermere, Michael Foot, Jennie Lee, Hugh Dalton, Winston Churchill, Barbara Castle, George Melly, Julian Phipps and Keith Mackenzie amongst others.

Propaganda Work

Though not directly related to the main work of the wartime political cartoonist employed by the daily national newspaper press in Britain during the Second World War, it is none the less interesting to take a brief look at the government propaganda drawings produced by these same artists at the same time to see what light (if any) these shed on their Fleet Street work.

The Ministry of Information was founded in March 1918 with the aim of producing propaganda material against the Germans but also for Home Front consumption. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler commented on its success. It was resurrected in 1939 and located in London University's Senate House building in Malet Street near the British Museum and backing onto Russell Square with a separate office - the Political Warfare Executive, producing 'black propaganda' - at Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire. In an official memo its main duty was stated as being 'the dissemination of truth to attack the enemy in the minds of the public'. [412]

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[411] Lionel Lambourne & Amanda-Jane Doran (eds), 'The Art of Laughter: Cartoonists' & Collectors' Choice' (exhibition catalogue, Cartoon Art Trust/Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1992), p.33.
[412] 'Aims of Home Publicity' INF 1/302, 28 September 1939.

> what you could do with an old bootlace and a leather-soled shoe and still make a meal for the kids out of it.'[415]

There was also the 'Kem Unit', run by the Egyptian-Greek cartoonist Kimon 'Kem' Marengo (1904-88) in the Political Information Department of the Foreign Office, concentrating on propaganda cartoons for the Middle East (complete with captions in Arabic etc). And in the Political Warfare Executive in Woburn Abbey was the German-born cartoonist Walter Goetz, who had drawn strip cartoons for the *Express* since 1934. Amongst other projects he worked for and organised the *Luftpost* aerial leaflet series.

> *'Luftpost* was a boldly designed leaflet which showed photographs of a ranting Hitler making some preposterous claim juxtaposed with photographs of the actuality. There were drawings by Goetz himself, and, among others, David Low and Osbert [Lancaster]. Osbert also drew a number of anti-Nazi cartoons which were made up into two little booklets (the covers in primrose yellow), each consisting of thirty-two pages about the size of a playing card. The captions were bilingual, in French and Dutch.'[416]

Others who did similar work for overseas consumption were the Spanish-born Mario Armengol (1909-95) - who also contributed to *Message* (a Belgian review) and *France* (Free French), both of which were air-dropped into occupied Europe – the Austrian Joseph Flatter (1894-1988), who worked for *Die Zeitung* (a German-language paper published in London), and Vicky, who drew for the London-based *Vrij Nederland* (Free Holland) magazine.

That Illingworth himself contributed cartoons to the Political Warfare Executive is confirmed by his statement (recorded by Smilby in the 1970s) that during the war he

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[415] Zec Tape.

[416] Richard Boston, *Osbert: A Portrait of Osbert Lancaster* (London, 1989), p.123. Goetz later transferred to the French section where he edited *Cadran*, a magazine modelled on *Picture Post*, for distribution in liberated France.

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drew cartoons showing 'Germans fucking Italians' wives' for aerial propaganda leaflets.[417] He also drew for the Ministry of War Transport and the Ministry of Information in Senate House (Figs. 12 and 13), and it should be remembered that

JUST A GOOD AFTERNOON'S WORK

Fig.12A. 'Just a Good Afternoon's Work', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), Ministry of Information Poster, 8 June 1942.
Fig.12B. 'Whew! That's Quicker Turnround', Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), Ministry of War Transport Poster, 5 September 1941.

Though the drawing on the left is classified as 'Artist Unknown' by the Public Record Office, an examination of the original (INF 3/400) proves the suspicion that it was indeed by Illingworth as someone has written his name on the back. Produced in black and red, it shows a female part-time war worker slapping Hitler in the face.The date on the back of the original is 8 June 1942 but it refers back to 19 April 1941 when the new Registration for Employment Order (introduced by Minister of Labour, Ernest Bevin) came into force, compelling women aged 20 and 21 to register for war work in factories. (Illingworth also drew a cartoon on this theme, 'The Spring Poet', in the *Daily Mail* that day.) Additional text lettering in the PRO file reads: 'Part-Time Jobs Now Open in Local War-Factories'.

The cartoon on the right is one of a series of drawings that Illingworth (and others) did for the Ministry of War Transport to encourage the public to speed up the loading and unloading of goods (other cartoon themes included football and swimming). None of them credit the artist (and there is no clue on the originals at the PRO) but proof of this being by Illingworth is a photo in the Illingworth Papers at the University of Kent Cartoon Study Centre which shows him sitting at an easel and completing the drawing. The original (INF 3/150) has the date 5 September 1941 on the back.

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[417] Smilby Tapes.

the photograph of him reproduced in Chapter 3 of this thesis[418] was actually made by the Ministry of Information and distributed as part of a wartime information

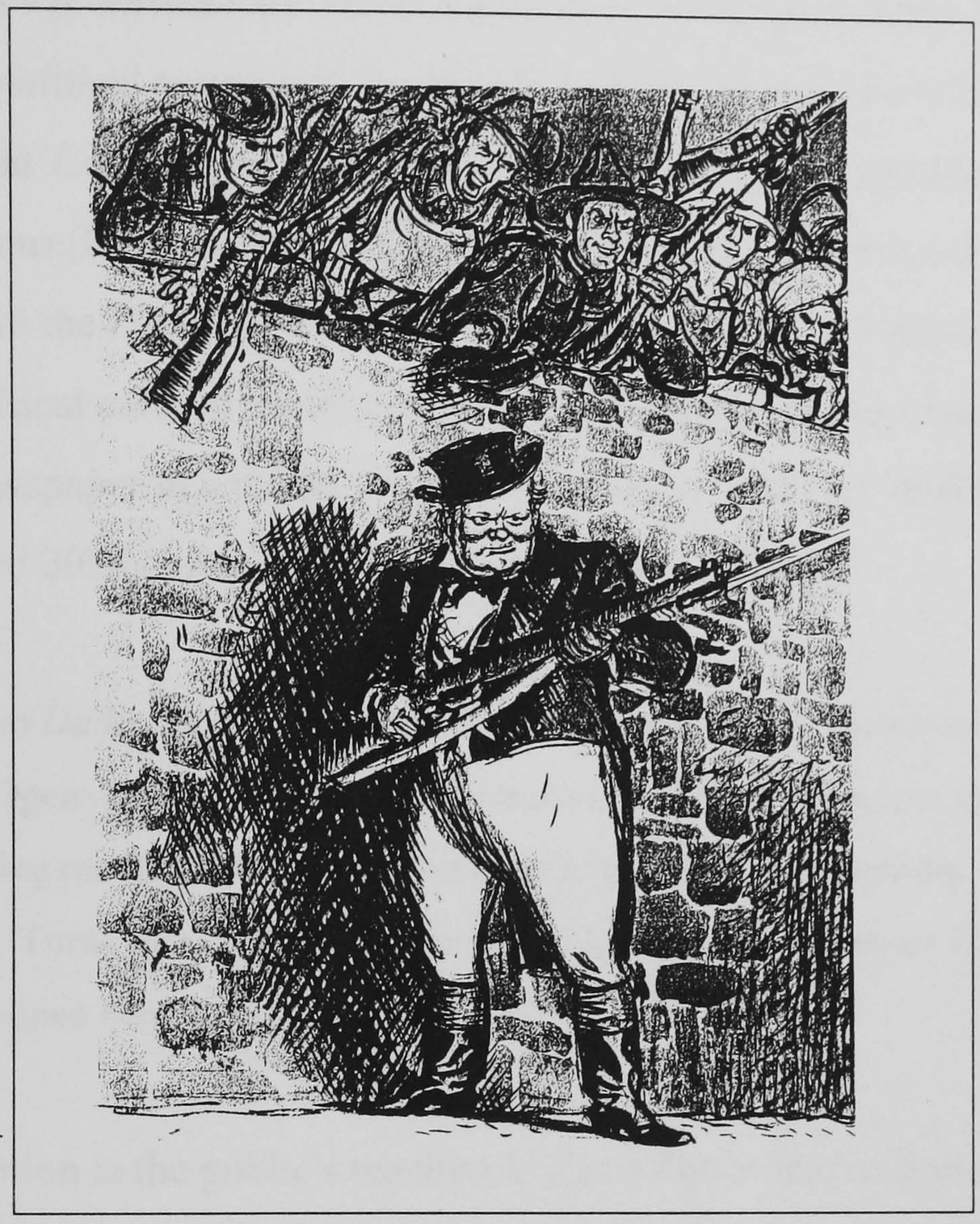

Fig 13. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), British Government Poster Design, c. 1940.

The Public Record Office index has nothing at all under 'Illingworth' but mislabelled as by 'Illingwroth' (INF 3/1325) is this large colour sketch (15 x 12in) of Churchill as John Bull holding a rifle with fixed bayonet with his back against the wall, climbing over which behind him can be seen Britain's allies in military uniform. It is clearly signed 'Illingworth'.

package they distributed about how a typical daily paper works (the *Daily Mail* and its cartoonist Illingworth having been chosen as the subject). In addition Illingworth drew illustrations (not cartoons) for *Dittybox: The Navy's Own Magazine* from its very first issue.

Mass Observation

The archives of the Mass Observation Unit at the University of Sussex are a little disapppointing on Illingworth and the *Daily Mail* during the Second World War. In

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[418] Chapter 3, Fig.7.

fact though there are detailed studies on most other papers the *Daily Mail* was for some reason left out of their in-depth readership surveys. Even their postwar publication *The Press and Its Readers* - based on the Hulton Readership Surveys in 1947 and 1948 - promises a lot but in reality does not help shed any light on the impact of the political cartoon on the paper's readers. Though there are chapters on 'Illustration' and 'Comics and Cartoons', neither of them deal specifically with political cartoons (let alone political war cartoons) and focus instead on the 'funnies' such as 'Jane' in the *Daily Mirror*. Indeed there is only one reference to readers looking at political cartoons at all and this is with regard to observations of a single reader of a newspaper in a public libary. Described as being an 'unskilled working-class man, aged 30' the man's actions are reported as follows:

> 'Picks up *Daily Mirror*, glances at front page news items (headlines only). Opens *Daily Mirror* to page 3 and reads cartoon - glances at remaining reading matter but doesn't settle down to read anything special. Turns to page 4 - reads 'Jane' - looks at pictures. Leaves *Daily Mirror* open centre page - walks away.'[419]

The one exception is the public's reaction to Zec's *Daily Mirror* political war cartoon, 'The Price of Petrol Has Been Increased by One Penny - Official' which has been discussed above.[420]

The archives themselves produced little of interest - in fact there is more detail on astrology (FR 769), dogs (FR 804), smoking (FR 818) and the wartime price of carrots (FR 567) than on political cartoons, which is curious, especially when there are discussions on, for example, the discontinuance of placards for evening newspapers (FR 241, June 1940), and interviews with Low and Fougasse in the Topic Collections.[421] However, one cartoon by Illingworth (*Daily Mail*. 29 July 1940) is specifically mentioned in a 'Report on the "Cooper's Snoopers" Press

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[419] Cited in Mass Observation's *The Press and Its Readers* (London, 1949), p.30.

[420] For further discussion of the Mass Observation researchers' response to this and *Daily Mirror* strip cartoons see David Kellet, op.cit.

[421] However, this having been said, the archive's information on the general readership of newspapers and the attitude of the public to censorship, the faking of cinema newsreels etc during the war years has been helpful as background for this thesis (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Campaign' (FR325, 5 August 1940), though there is no analysis of the effects of the drawing.

Readers' Letters

Trying to judge the impact of political war cartoons from readers' letters has also been problematical in the case of Illingworth's cartoons at the *Daily Mail* as the newspaper's own files from the Second World War have been destroyed. Also, it would appear that even though many letters may have been sent in over the war period, they were not published with any regularity, especially after paper rationing came in and the newspaper was reduced to four pages. The *Daily Mail* was not alone in this practice and a random sampling of popular press daily newspapers confirms this.[422]

However, judging by a few immediately post-war press-cuttings held at the *Daily Mail*'s library it would appear from letters that were published that what exercised the readers most was not the cartoon itself (though Sir Alfred Munnings' commendations of a particular drawing, printed in the *Daily Mail* in 'Letter to the Editor' form on 21 September 1951, have already been commented on)[423] but rather when Illingworth got some point of detail wrong and the reader wished to correct this. One of the few surviving cuttings praising a cartoon is a letter from 'S.Watson, Theatre Royal, Haymarket' dated 14 May 1946 and praising Illingworth's 9 May 1946 cartoon 'Scorn in Egypt':

> 'Sir, - I feel that I must write to congratulate you and your inimitable Illingworth on what I think is a memorable, if not immortal, cartoon, "Scorn in Egypt". It ranks with Louis Raemaekers and *Punch*'s Bernard Partridge for its artistic skill in placing before the eye the cold light of remorseless reason which proclaims the truth.'

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[422] The random sample taken was of 10 popular wartime national daily newspapers, 1939-42: *News Chronicle*, Saturday 8 February 1941, Wednesday 28 May 1941; *Daily Express*, Friday 31 May 1940, Saturday 31 May 1941, Thursday 11 June 1942, Thursday 12 February 1942; *Daily Mail*, Tuesday 31 December 1940; *Daily Sketch*, Thursday 29 August 1940; *Daily Mirror*, Monday 4 September 1939, Tuesday 23 December 1941. Of these only the *Daily Sketch* and the *Daily Mirror* (both issues) ran letters pages.

The Letters Editor commented that the cartoon drew 217 'bouquets' from readers and only 3 'brickbats'. By contrast was the reaction to 'Who's Scared?' from 15 November 1946 which showed Herbert Morrison, then Lord President of the Council. as a bemedalled staff sergeant in the British Army. Headed 'Brickbat of the Week' on the Letters Page, this produced 23 phone calls, 4 telegrams and 62 letters of complaint. An angry reader from Warrington wrote :

> 'Sir - Please allow me to register great objection to Illingworth's cartoon in the *Daily Mail* yesterday. Morrison, I believe, was a conscientious objector in the Great War, 1914-18.'

A typical letter criticising a point of detail was one published on 30 April 1946 from a correspondent in Ilford. It was written in response to Illingworth's cartoon about rationing printed on 23 April 1946:

> 'Sir - a brickbat for Mr Illingworth. As an employee of a large food manufacturing concern I was amazed to see soup at the forefront of the points goods in his cartoon. Soups are not on points and I hope they never will be.'

By way of reply, Illingworth even drew a cartoon of himself 'in the soup' to accompany the letter (Fig.14).

What emerges from this brief study of correspondence is twofold. On the one hand it is evident that - in 1946 at least (and there is no reason to suppose that this did not hold throughout the war years) - readers were not only very aware of Illingworth's

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[423] See Chapter 3.

Fig.14. (Untitled), Leslie Illingworth (1902-79), *Daily Mail*, 30 April 1946

Illingworth's pictorial reply to a critical correspondent. The drawing was reproduced beneath the letter, and below the drawing were the words: 'Fleet Street's most painstaking cartoonist trusts he is by now delivered from the soup.'

daily political cartoon in the paper but also looked at it in considerable detail and were emotionally affected by it - in some cases sufficiently so to warrant taking the time to write to the newspaper about it to express their feelings, good or bad.

On the other hand, the fact that such letters were published at all shows that the editor of the *Daily Mail* was sufficiently concerned for the feelings of the paper's readers that he wished their reactions, positive and negative, to be published in its pages and that letters regarding the work of the paper's political cartoonist - just as much as other journalists working for the *Daily Mail* - were as worthy of inclusion as any others, whether good or bad. Linked to this is Illingworth's own reaction to the letters. Not only did he usually reply to criticism or praise immediately under the printed letter but also on occasion (as seen in Fig.14 above), even took time to draw a cartoon in response, showing how much he personally valued the *Daily Mail*'s readership.[424]

Other Kinds of Impact

There are a number of other ways in which it may be possible to judge the impact - or at least the effectiveness - of political cartoonists on their readers and their newspapers if not on the world at large.

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[424] Unfortunately there is no way to discover whether Illingworth got paid extra for these Letters Page illustrations.

The first way is through length of service - if a political cartoonist remains on his paper for a long period this would seem to imply that both his editor and his readers are happy with his work. On this criterion Illingworth scores well. Though Strube joined the *Daily Express* in 1918 he only continued for three more years after the war (making 30 years in all), and was anyway more of a social rather than a political cartoonist. Low had joined the *Evening Standard* (though not as a staff artist) in 1927 but had gone by 1950 (23 years). Zec spent 16 years at the *Mirror* (1939-54). Vicky worked for 13 years at the *Chronicle* (1941-54) and Whitelaw had joined the *Daily Herald* in 1938 and left 11 years later. Of the others, none had any significant impact (Uptton only spent two years on the *Sketch* and never drew political cartoons again, and Giles - who was largely a social cartoonist - did not join the *Daily Express* until 1943, and then he was not drawing daily but alternating with Strube, and was also not a staff artist). This only leaves Illingworth who, on this criterion of employment longevity at a single newspaper, scores very highly as he joined the *Daily Mail* in 1939 and remained there for 30 years (and through eight editorships) until 1969 - long after all his rivals had moved on, been sacked from their wartime papers, retired or died. (Which, incidentally, perhaps also goes to show how well his own particular brand of 'pragmatism' paid off.)

A second way to evaluate a cartoonist's impact is by the success of particular cartoons as judged by critics, art historians and fellow artists. In this area Illingworth again scored higher than most. His drawings were seen to hit their targets regularly and with considerable power, frequently pushing even Low into the shade. A case in point being his *Punch* cartoon 'The Combat' published as a double-page colour spread on 6 November 1939 which, as has been seen, was so highly praised by the American political cartoonist and Gillray biographer Draper Hill, who called it 'the spiritual equal of Gillray's "Plumb-pudding in Danger" ' and 'the ultimate and final expression of the "grand design" in the evolution of English graphic satire.'[425] And the wonderfully apocalyptic drawing by Illingworth for the *Daily Mail* on VE-Day - 'Night Passes ...and the Evil Things Depart' (8 May 1945)[426] - makes all the other cartoonists' efforts that day look inconsequential beside it and made such an impact

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[425] Draper Hill, op.cit., p.13. (See Chapter 4, Fig.4.)
[426] See Chapter 4, Fig.6.

on Nicholas Garland, the current (2002) political cartoonist of the *Daily Telegraph*. that he now owns the original. The emotive and narrative force of designs like these, though perhaps not as provocative as those by some more 'crusading' cartoonists. were none the less just as important to the war effort.

A third way to evaluate the work of political cartoonists is by draughtsmanship. If one looks carefully at the other daily political war cartoonists of this period working for national newspapers then Illingworth also scores very highly here. Zec's background was advertising, which shows in his large (usually single-image) heavily propagandist, poster-style (often air-brushed) drawings. Vicky's scratchy line at this stage was still uncertain and though he produced some powerful drawings during the war his work during this period had yet to absorb the essential quality of British-ness that would make him such a brilliant satirist in the late 1950s and early 60s. especially when attacking Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. Strube lacked the edge and the bite of the true political war cartoonist and tended (like Giles later) to focus more on Home Front activities featuring his wonderful character the Little Man. This leaves, as the only artist doing a comparable job to Leslie Illingworth during the Second World War - that is, the only full-time staff political war cartoonist working on a British national daily paper from 1939 to 1945 - the ageing Scotsman George Whitelaw on the *Daily Herald*. Though his cartoons were workmanlike and occasionally powerful, with the best will in the world there is no comparison between the draughtsmanship of the two artists. (Indeed the only political cartoonist who comes anywhere near Illingworth in draughtsmanship - though his style is more flamboyant and far less detailed - is David Low.)

The quality of draughtsmanship in Illingworth's work was such that his cartoons were later praised for their accuracy by Sir Alfred Munnings, former President of the Royal Academy, and a number of examples of his work were included in a major exhibition of the history of British cartoons from Gillray to the present day at the National Portrait Gallery in London in 1970. He has been called 'the last of the great penmen in the line of English Social Satirists starting with Hogarth'[427] and Michael

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[427] Keith Mackenzie, op.cit., p.81.

Cummings, political cartoonist of the *Daily Express*, called him 'probably the most outstanding cartoonist that *Punch* ever had, better than Tenniel [...] and certainly better than Partridge'.[428] Nicholas Garland, has also described him as 'the last of a great line of black and white draughtsmen... There is no mystery about his work. It is just superb.'[429]

The final aspect, and one that is perhaps the most important of all, is whether or not the cartoonist is able to capture the essence of a situation, the truth, as it were. This is a criterion of a political cartoonist's success whether in peacetime or war but it is particularly important in times of conflict. As W.A.Coupe has said, though political cartoonists can be seen in some ways as 'men hired by an anxious public to whistle in the dark and dismiss the bogy man with a well-timed joke'[430] yet it is also the case that, paraphrasing Gombrich, 'Many cartoons are neither humorous nor propagandistic and they satisfy us because they reduce a complex situation to a formula which sums it up neatly.'[431] We are left with the feeling: 'Clever, that's how it is.'[432]

Judged by this criterion too, Illingworth comes out well. As was mentioned in the Introduction, Malcolm Muggeridge said that in his view a collection of Illingworth's drawings would last longer than one of even such a widely respected political cartoonist as David Low, saying 'Illingworth's go deeper, becoming, at their best, satire in the grand style rather than mischievous quips; strategic rather than practical.'[433] It is this aspect of his work which led Keith Mackenzie, Art Editor of Associated Newspapers, to see his cartoons as getting at 'the skull beneath the skin'.[434] And it is perhaps significant that Illingworth occasionally signed his drawings with just the symbol of an all-seeing eye.[435]

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[428] Michael Cummings, unpublished note, 24 July 1979 (Keith Mackenzie Papers).
[429] Nicholas Garland in Lionel Lambourne & Amanda-Jane Doran, op.cit., p.33.
[430] W.A.Coupe, op.cit., p.94.
[431] Ibid, p.87. And see E.H.Gombrich. op.cit., p.131.
[432] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., p.131.
[433] *Guardian*, 22 December 1979.
[434] Keith Mackenzie, 'Illingworth' (unpublished essay, Illingworth Papers).

Conclusions

The fact that artists have been imprisoned (and indeed continue to be imprisoned and even killed) directly as a result of a particular drawing or series of drawings, or that newspapers (such as the *Daily Mirror*) have been faced with closure by a specific cartoon has been discussed. The impact that pictorial satire has had on its victims - adding to media campaigns that led to their dismissal or angering their targets so much that the publications the artists worked for were subsequently banned in those countries - has also been studied. In addition, the proliferation of spin-offs from cartoons - merchandising, films, books, posters etc - has been looked at, though this has also been only in broad overview as the subject is so large.

The upshot - no matter what the reality of the situation is with trying to tie in a specific effect to a particular cartoon - would seem to be that political cartoons in wartime do have a considerable effect on the observers and readers of those drawings. And this is a power far greater than that achieved by simple words or realistic pictorial images such as illustrations or photographs. It is something that is itself difficult to describe in words as it has overtones of magic and mysticism and all the colourful metaphors of philosophy. Yet ultimately it has to do with some form of truth, and it is with the attempt to get at that truth (or at least the artists's perception of the truth) and communicate it to the reader - despite the best and worst efforts of editors, government censors and propagandists - that the political cartoonist, as much as any crusading reporter (but to a higher degree because he is not hampered by words), is straining to achieve. Ultimately, it is concerning this central and defining aspect of the work of the political cartoonist in wartime that this thesis is concerned and this will be pointed up further in the Conclusion.

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[435] For example, on his cartoon for the *Sun*, 11 December 1973.

Conclusion

'All cartoonists are admittedly liars. Untruth, a cynical philosopher once said, is comparative. A white (or benevolent) liar is better than a blooming (or careless) liar, who in turn is preferable to a bloody (or deliberate) liar; while the latter pales in contrast with a black (or wicked) liar.

Cartoonists blend fantasy with fact. So they mislead. But the terms of their expression are accepted and understood, and their imagery is not taken as literal truth. Everybody knows that Mr Churchill is not really a bulldog and that Britain is not peopled actually by Strube's little men. Since their performances are open and above board I would place cartoonists, as liars, in the white category. Their spiritual integrity is not in question, and their technical deviations from fact but serve to give their expression an elasticity eminently suited to the chronicling of life in a madhouse. In short cartoonists as liars are fit and proper historians of World Affairs.'

(David Low, *Low's War Cartoons* [London, 1941]), p.1.)

'In a period of war, or when the caricaturist cannot keep pace with the "Press correspondent" because of the greater time it takes to print drawings than paragraphs of type, caricature hobbles after the event, and so the caricaturist has more chance to reflect and generalise; as Fuchs, the learned author of *The World War in Caricature* has it, "Er philosophiert mehr über die Dinge". '

(C.R.Ashbee, *Caricature* [London, 1928], pp.4-5.)

Having begun this thesis with quotations from the works of the political cartoonist Sir David Low and the art historian C.R.Ashbee, it seems appropriate to end with ones by them as well. This is especially so in the case of Low, as the main thrust of the research presented here has been to investigate what else is involved with being a political cartoonist in wartime apart from - as Low put it in the quotation from 1939 which was cited in the Introduction - 'constant repetition of the point that the enemy is a fool and a blackguard and that our brave boys will kick his pants'.[436]

Frustratingly, one of the main revelations that emerged during the course of the research was that the answer to the original question proposed in the Introduction - 'What is a political war cartoonist?' - was far from straightforward, as it was discovered that a large number of disparate and overlapping factors contributed to his work, his outlook and to his make-up as an individual. Indeed, if it can be

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[436] David Low, The Cartoonist's Job in War', *Listener*, 2 November 1939, p.845.

accepted, as has been argued, that the Second World War was the last conflict in which the political war cartoonist - working as a staff artist on a national daily newspaper - played a significant part in the minds of the public, the government and the nation's enemies, then the very first conclusion that can now be drawn is that the question 'What is a political war cartoonist?' needs to be addressed in the past tense, as one consequence of this argument is that this particular kind of artist (in the form discussed) no longer exists. Indeed, the argument can be taken one stage further with the justifiable assertion that the art of the political war cartoon as practised during the Second World War can be seen in retrospect as being the final flowering of the genre in all its true glory. Though later generations of artists have drawn and continue to draw political cartoons in wartime, never again would they have the same immediacy, power and impact. Like silent movie stars, their golden age has past.

What, then, was a political war cartoonist in his heyday? The thesis set out to answer this question by breaking it down into a number of subsidiary ones. Redrafting all of them into the past tense, these were: What exactly did a political cartoonist do in wartime, what was his job, his subject matter and so forth? Secondly, how did a political cartoonist fit in with the daily newspaper for which he worked? Thirdly, what made a political war cartoonist? And finally, how did one political war cartoonist in wartime - in this case Leslie Illingworth - compare with others and how successful was he?

The first conclusion that the research was able to establish was that though a number of staff political cartoonists were appointed to their jobs on national daily newspapers in Britain for the first time at the outbreak of the Second World War - and deliberately so, as Fleet Street editors and proprietors were aware of the political cartoonist's power as a communicator - this kind of artist was not a unique phenomenon of this particular 20th-century conflict. On the contrary, it was shown that the political war cartoonist had a long and distinguished pedigree stretching back to the beginnings of political cartooning itself in the 18th century and to the wars that took place at that time.

However, that having been said, it was also seen that the political war cartoonist working for a *daily national newspaper in Britain*, only existed effectively for approximately 50 years - from the 1890s, when Francis Carruthers Gould became the first staff cartoonist on a daily newspaper (albeit a London evening paper), until the 1940s and the end of the Second World War when, it has been argued, the significance of the genre rapidly began to wane with advances in technology and the introduction of new kinds of visual communication such as TV, colour cinema newsreels etc. By the time of the outbreak of the Korean War (in which British troops were deployed) in 1950 the political war cartoon, like the daily newspaper itself, no longer held centre stage among mass media.

None the less the historical survey of political war cartoonists made in Chapter 1 produced some interesting comparisons. For example, it was seen that the attacks by Gillray, Cruikshank and others on Napoleon and his henchmen bore considerable similarity to those by Low, Illingworth and others on Hitler and his cronies two hundred years later. Added to which - improvements in technology apart - the political war cartoonist also seemed to be doing much the same job during the Napoleonic Wars as in the Second World War. Working, effectively, as a pictorial journalist, he commented on the actions and opinions of public figures, whether through limited-edition hand-coloured prints in the 18th century or mass-market newspapers in the 20th. By the middle of the 20th century gone were the cavalry charges, sword fights, musketry salvoes and cannon-and-shot broadsides from galleons in full sail, and in their place were tanks, aircraft, machine-guns, flame-throwers, missiles and submarines. But otherwise the material of the political war cartoonist changed little over the centuries, and the tools of his trade - the use of national symbols, literary allusions and other devices, the weapons in the 'Cartoonist's Armoury' as Gombrich put it[437] - remained remarkably constant, whether one looks at the artists of the 1740s or the 1940s.

To be sure, the attitude of the cartoonist to his subject was far more aggressive in the time of Gillray and Cruikshank compared to the era of Illingworth and Low, but it

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[437] E.H.Gombrich, op.cit., pp.127-42.

should not be forgotten that, in Britain at least, the 'hate' cartoons of the First World War - by Raemaekers, Sullivan, Dyson and others - were later felt to be less effective than those which made the enemy into a figure of fun. Whether or not this was in reality the case[438] the fact remains that the vast majority of British daily newspaper political cartoons in the Second World War were tinged with humour not hatred.[439] And significantly this was also an attitude held by the first ever British political war cartoonist employed on the staff of a daily paper - Francis Carruthers Gould of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Gould, whose work appeared during the Boer War, said that 'I etch with vinegar, not vitriol'.[440]

However, even within these limitations it is not easy to pin down what were the defining characteristics of a political war cartoonist employed on a national daily newspaper. And so the next task was to examine the work of a series of political cartoonists employed as staff artists for a single newspaper to see how they fitted in with its policies and interacted with its management. After selecting the *Daily Mail* as being a typical national daily newspaper that used staff political war cartoonists, another historical survey was made. This time the subject was the political, journalistic and especially graphical/pictorial heritage of the chosen paper, from its foundation in 1896 up to and including the years of the Second World War.

The first point of note to emerge was that the position adopted by the *Daily Mail*'s founder, Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe), from its very first issue was that 'We don't direct the ordinary man's opinion. We reflect it.' And this rule was applied in wartime as well as in peacetime and was aimed at all journalists on his papers, including the political cartoonists. Whether or not we can trust Northcliffe's own pronouncements (and he certainly seemed to be trying to change public opinion in later years) the political cartoon can thus effectively been seen as a sort of

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[438] For a further discussion of this point see Mark Bryant, 'Poison Pen or Good-Tempered Pencil? Humour and Hatred in 20th Century Political Cartoons' in Robert Edwards et al., op. cit., pp.59-69.
[439] This did not apply to British 'black propaganda' cartoons during the war, many of which were dropped over enemy territory as aerial leaflets. And it will be recalled from Chapter 7 that even the otherwise mild-mannered Leslie Illingworth admitted that he had been asked to draw some extremely ugly pictures of Germans 'fucking Italian wives', amongst others, for the Political Warfare Executive.
[440] Francis Carruthers Gould, quoted in Ann Gould, 'The Picture Politics of Francis Carruthers Gould'. *20th Century Studies*, December 1975, p.26.

pictorial leader which reflected the concerns and aspirations. hopes and fears of its (in this particular case) largely right-wing-inclined, lower-middle-class readership.[441]

That this was generally the case is shown by the fact that, in nearly all instances of political cartoons published in national daily papers during the Second World War - including Leslie Illingworth's at the *Daily Mail* - they tended to appear beside. or close to, the editorial leader column of the paper. This, then, was the task that the political cartoonist was expected to perform (in peacetime or wartime) and, except in unusual circumstances, was the one he carried out. If he decided not to do this he either resigned or was replaced, again whether in peacetime or in war.[442] (But it should be remembered that to do so in wartime would result in someone of military age losing the 'reserved occupation' status the job often afforded, making them liable to be drafted into the Forces.)

The one apparent exception to this general set-up was David Low. It has not been the intention of this thesis to belittle the tremendous achievements of Low as a political war cartoonist. He has been universally acknowledged (and with good reason) as one of the greatest political cartoonists of the 20th century, and indeed, even Illingworth himself held this opinion. However, it is for the very reason of his high profile as a political cartoonist working during the 1930s and 40s and his ever-increasing reputation - bolstered by the benefit of hindsight together with frequent discussions of his work, as well as exhibitions and publications - that his position as the model political war cartoonist must be challenged.

To point up what *does* constitute a typical political war cartoonist - by negative example as it were - it is worth recapping here briefly the reasons for this statement.

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[441] This view, which applies to left- and well as right-leaning papers, is one also supported by the press historian Lucy Maynard Salmon who says: 'The cartoon tells a story, points a moral, assumes knowledge, intelligence, judgment, and imagination on the part of its readers, and it is in effect "a leading article transformed into a picture".' (Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* [London, 1923], p.388.)

[442] Francis Carruthers Gould moved from the *Pall Mall Gazette* to the *Westminster Gazette* for this reason in 1893 and Will Hope was sacked from the *Daily Herald* in the mid-1920s for his extreme political views (a cartoon by him for *The Communist* in 1923 had led to a libel action which had closed the paper). Conversely, as has been seen, Illingworth himself felt he was too 'venal' to leave a paper just because he did not like its editorial stance.

First of all, Low always claimed that - unlike other political war cartoonists - he was *completely* independent and had *total* freedom of expression in his political cartoons in peacetime and in war on the *Evening Standard*, the paper he worked on during the Second World War.[443] He was also one of very few political war cartoonists whose work was not published on his paper's leader page, appearing instead above the 'Londoner's Diary' gossip column in the *Evening Standard* (as if to disassociate it from the paper's own views). Low's situation was also very unusual (and only duplicated much later by Vicky on the same paper) in that, generally liberal in his politics (some might say left-wing), he was deliberately employed by Lord Beaverbrook to draw cartoons which were often out of step with the right-of-centre editorial policy of his newspaper in order to generate controversy and hence sales.[444] Low also differed from most Fleet Street political cartoonists of the war period in that he was not technically a staff member but rather a 'signed contributor' and worked far away from the newspaper's offices in a room with no telephone and with little or no consultation with the paper's management as to what his daily drawing would be.[445] He also produced only one drawing a day (most of his contemporaries produced about six roughs from which the editor chose one to be drawn up). In addition, he worked for a London evening paper, not a national morning paper. And even though the *Evening Standard* was read by the most influential stratum of society in London (and Low's cartoons achieved a wide circulation through syndication), its actual daily sales - even in wartime - were tiny compared to national newspapers like the *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Herald* and *Daily Express* and were considerably less than even its rival London evening papers, the *Star* and the *Evening News*. To recap on Adrian Smith's comment: 'The vast majority of newspaper readers in the late 1930s...never saw Low's drawings on a regular basis.'[446]

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[443] Though in fact, as has been seen, doubt has been thrown on this claim recently (see Timothy Benson, op.cit.).

[444] There is a certain irony here when one realises that by 'being allowed' to draw cartoons which were frequently against the editorial policy of the *Evening Standard*. Low was of course, doing exactly what Beaverbrook wanted him to do.

[445] Carl Giles, who worked for the *Daily Express* (the *Evening Standard*'s sister paper, and also owned by Beaverbrook), was also a signed contributor, but its main cartoonist, Sidney Strube, was not.

[446] Adrian Smith, op.cit., p.22.

Thus not only was Low not a typical political war cartoonist with regard to how he worked with his newspaper but he was also not employed as a staff member of a large-circulation national morning paper read regularly by a significant part of the British public. By contrast, it was shown that Leslie Illingworth - who, coincidentally, began work for what was held (both by the Allies and the Germans) to be a fairly representative mass-market national morning newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, soon after the beginning of the Second World War - was a far more typical example of a British political war cartoonist.

The next question the thesis approached was what *made* a political cartoonist? - what kind of person was he and what were his influences? - and this proved a thorny subject. After all, his works, by definition, were many and varied, and his motivations were as individual as he was himself.[447] Bearing this in mind, should the political war cartoonist be viewed as someone with iron in his soul and fire in his belly who thundered his own opinions and let the devil take the hindmost? Was he a man of 'angry laughter' as the German writer and satirist Erich Kästner has suggested.[448] Or was he rather someone who had no real political commitment at all and merely saw his job as just one of many soft options to military service - like Poy's First World War draft-dodger character, Cuthbert the white rabbit? Or alternatively was he simply a steady worker at Fleet Street's journalistic coal-face who kept his nose to the grindstone, his shoulder to the wheel and his eye on his newspaper's editorial line? Was he, in effect, a crusader, white rabbit or organ-grinder's monkey?

To search for an answer to these questions the direction of the thesis switched from the general to the particular and in the chapter entitled 'One Cartoonist's Road to War' examined Illingworth's background as an artist and as an individual to see what

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[447] This is something Lucy Maynard Salmon emphasises in her book *The Newspaper and the Historian* published shortly after the First World War, 'The cartoon, like the photograph, the sketch, and the caricature, carries with it its own limitations, for the cartoonist shows in his work the same personal characteristics as are shown by those who express their ideas through words. If he is by nature a fighter, he does his best work under high tension; if he is an onlooker in life, his work shows detachment; if he is a satirist, the sting points his pencil. All of these personal equations the historian must consider and weigh in the newspaper artist as well as in the writer.' (Lucy Maynard Salmon, op.cit., p.390).

[448] Quoted in Fritz Behrendt, op.cit., p.77.

light this might shed on the subject. What emerged from this research was that, normative considerations apart, on the whole it appeared that the political war cartoonist was usually a combination of all three. Indeed, this seems to have been the case right from the beginning. From Gillray and Cruikshank in the Napoleonic Wars to Low and Zec in the Second World War all political cartoonists - wittingly or unwittingly - had their idealism compromised, whether by financial need, government decree or just by the simple desire to have the artistic satisfaction of getting their drawings published at all.

However, to be fair, just because they were not all knights in shining armour - fighting the good fight and righting wrongs - it does not thereby follow that political war cartoonists were just, to varying degrees, tame little marmosets dancing to the tune of the Fleet Street (or Government) hurdy-gurdyman. To call them simply propagandists [449] would be to accuse them of constantly echoing Low's call as they shouted 'fool' and 'blackguard' at the enemy while asserting that 'our brave boys will kick his pants'.

To discover what more was involved in being a political war cartoonist further study was required. Having discussed how he fitted in with his paper and what his motivation was, it remained to be seen what kind of drawings a political war cartoonist produced. This was discussed again by taking a case-history approach and using the examples of Illingworth's work from the *Daily Mail* (with some reference to his cartoons in *Punch* and elsewhere).

A statistical analysis of Illingworth's wartime output was made together with an analysis of the frequency of publication of his cartoons throughout the war. There was then an examination of the content of his cartoons, focussing on his use of symbolism and metaphor. And finally, both to test the validity of this approach and to see what further light it might shed on the topic of the thesis, a comparison was

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[449] I am here using the word 'propaganda' in its most familiar form and as defined by David Welch: 'Modern political propaganda can be defined as the deliberate attempt to influence the opinions of an audience through the transmission of ideas and values for a specific persuasive purpose, consciously designed to serve the interest of the propagandists and their political masters, either directly or indirectly.' (David Welch, 'Powers of Persuasion' , *History Today*, Vol. 49, No.8, August 1999. p.26.)

made between Illingworth's drawings and those of rival cartoonists working in Fleet Street during the Second World War.

The conclusions from this section of the thesis revealed that part of the reason for the choice of subject used in Illingworth's cartoons was, of course, the editorial line of the *Daily Mail* and the particular interests of the general public in Britain at large at any specific time. But another part had to do with Illingworth's own personal preference for drawing some characters rather than others.[450]

On the frequency of Illingworth's cartoons and their size in the paper it was again revealing to see that even when the *Daily Mail* was reduced to eight pages because of paper rationing his cartoons stayed the same size and appeared just as often - if not more so - as in the early part of the war. This would seem to show the importance of the political cartoon in the paper, especially when others (such as the children's strips and sports cartoons) were dropped as the conflict progressed. [451]

The examination of Illingworth's use of symbols showed that not only was he working within the tradition of British political war (and peacetime) cartooning going back at least 150 years to Gillray and the Napoleonic Wars - and using the same kind of symbols and allusions - but also that, unlike some cartoonists, his work was, on the whole, consciously and deliberately not literary- or text-based. Illingworth was more at home with pictorial images rather than words and preferred to communicate that way as he felt it was more direct - which explains his assertion that his cartoons were designed to give people 'symbols to think with'. [452]

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[450] As was seen, it was also interesting to note that, after Hitler and Churchill, Illingworth's most drawn character was Mussolini who was almost always shown as a complete buffoon and never as a seriously threatening character (unlike the Nazis and Stalin), and that the Japanese - though sometimes demonised - were usually seen as pigmy-sized mischievous monkeys (and were rarely differentiated - all seemed to wear glasses and have small moustaches) and thus were equally projected as 'not to be taken seriously'.

[451] Another point of interest which was noted with regard to Illingworth's own work was the cross-fertilisation technique that he used in his characterisation of individuals in the two main publications for whom he worked during the war years. Often a character that had been 'roughed out' in a *Daily Mail* drawing got detailed treatment in the less hurried and finely executed *Punch* version, and conversely a *Punch* creation was then reduced to a short-hand variant for the *Daily Mail.*

[452] However. this may also have been based on sound commercial sense - his 'venal' streak - as the readership of the *Daily Mail* at this time was such that anything more intellectual would have been lost on the people who actually bought the paper and hence paid his salary.

When it came to evaluating Illingworth's work with regard to other political cartoonists working during the Second World War, the conclusion was that they were all seen to be doing basically the same job. The drawings they produced differed very little from each other in tone, no matter what political slant the proprietor or editor of the paper took in peacetime. Also, and rather unexpectedly in some ways, it was surprising to see how many similarities there were in actual content and execution between the different artists when tackling cartoons about the same events. Indeed, it appeared that on more than one occasion some of their drawings were almost identical.

As to whether one political war cartoonist could be judged to be better than another this was seen as difficult to ascertain, as artistic considerations can often be less important than ideas, and the successful promotion of those ideas is a separate issue again. However, when such factors as length of service, the impact and success of individual cartoons, and quality of draughtsmanship are taken in to account, Illingworth scored higher than most. All of which factors combine to justify placing Illingworth in the top rank of political cartoonists of his generation, whether working in peacetime or war.

So, to return to the main object of this thesis and the search for what constitutes a political war cartoonist. In the quotation from Low's war cartoons cited at the beginning of this conclusion, Low says that 'cartoonists as liars are fit and proper historians of World Affairs' because, though they mislead, their images are not taken as literal truth - everyone knows that Churchill was not really a bulldog or that Hitler or Napoleon were snakes.[453] These are mere conventions that give the political cartoonist's work 'an elasticity eminently suited to the chronicling of life in a madhouse'.

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[453] This is something that Illingworth himself says. As a cartoonist, 'You should represent the absolute truth even if you distort it.' ('The Devastating Doodles of Illingworth', op.cit.)

However, and despite the famous pronouncement by Senator Hiram Johnson that 'The first casualty when war comes is truth',[454] it was with the attempt to get at that truth (or at least the artist's perception of the truth) and communicate it to the reader - despite the best and worst efforts of editors, government censors and propagandists - that the political war cartoonist, as much as any newspaper reporter (but to a higher degree because he was not hampered by words), strained to achieve. Indeed, in the very first issue of his weekly magazine *La Caricature* (4 November 1830) - published eleven years before the launch of *Punch* - the cartoonist and editor Charles Philipon declared that 'Caricature will henceforward be Truth.'

Like poets and philosophers, political cartoonists are able to pin down some version of truth that it is not easy to say in normal journalistic text and this revealed truth has a major effect on those who receive it. It has been said that 'No history of Napoleon is quite complete which fails to recognise Gillray as a potent factor in crystallising public opinion in England.' [455] This applies equally well to Hitler and the Axis leaders and the political cartoonists working during the Second World War.[456]

Illingworth's friend and neighbour in Robertsbridge, Malcolm Muggeridge used exactly the same metaphor of 'crystallising' for describing the work of the political cartoonist:

> 'A satirist, by the nature of the case, cannot but give offence. Truth is his medium, and truth hurts. If he muffles or evades it, he ceases to be a satirist - which is why he is a dangerous instrument of propaganda, and a poor servant of conformity. An untruthful satirist is as inconceivable as a colour-blind artist or a tone-deaf musician. This is particularly true of the graphic satirist, of the caricaturist or cartoonist. He has to crystallize a moment of bitter awareness of man's inhumanity, greed, hypocrisy, futility. [...] On the other hand,

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[454] Senator Hiram Johnson in a speech to the US Congress in 1917, quoted in Philip Knightley, op. cit., p.(vii).
[455] *Cartoons Magazine*, November 1914, p.580.
[456] Indeed, Adolf Hitler himself was aware of this 'a picture paints a thousand words' effect and in *Mein Kampf* stated that 'At one stroke... people will understand a pictorial presentation of something

> the graphic satirist has his reward. It is in his power to capture, in a way which is possible in no other medium, the fleeting, dancing particles of history. Words which belong to the moment for the most part perish with the moment.'[457]

This power to capture 'the fleeting, dancing particles of history' is what the political cartoonist does in peacetime or war, but it is in wartime above all that it is most successful.

It is this ability to crystallise the facts and communicate them swiftly and powerfully at a time when the communication of such truths by other means is most under threat - whether by enemy or 'friendly' forces - that is the defining element in the make-up of the political war cartoonist. The truth is something that political cartoonists – like journalists, historians and philosophers - strive towards.[458] By producing 'picture politics', in Francis Carruthers Gould's phrase, political war cartoonists can say things that words cannot and it is thus perhaps no surprise that Illingworth (and many other political war cartoonists) were put on the Nazis' Death List during the Second World War, indicating that were the Germans to occupy Britain they would be amongst the first to be shot.

Though far from the front line, in their efforts at telling the truth these artists put their lives at risk on a daily basis as much as anyone serving in the trenches, at sea or in the sky above. And their importance for morale both on the Home Front and amongst the Allied fighting forces was considerable. The Thin Black Line of the political war cartoonist, as much as the Thin Red Line of British soldiers in the Crimean War is something that can command our respect. And Leslie Illingworth of the *Daily Mail*, as this thesis has demonstrated, was one of the best.

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which it would take them a long and laborious effort of reading to understand.' (*Mein Kampf*, Book II. Chapter VI.)

[457] Malcolm Muggeridge, Introduction to *Vicky's World* (London, 1959), p.(i).

[458] Indeed , Ashbee has gone further and declared that 'Your great caricaturist is both historian and philosopher; he achieves through sympathetic laughter.' (C.R.Ashbee, op. cit., p.149.) And the art historian G.Montague Ellwood even once described Phil May - himself a political cartoonist in his youth working for the *St Stephen's Review* and *Sydney Bulletin* - as 'a laughing philosopher'. ('Phil May became famous as a caricaturist; but he is much better described as a laughing philosopher' G.Montague Ellwood, *The Art of Pen Drawing* [London, 1927], p.80.)


ILLINGWORTH

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Files ILW 0001 (2 November 1939) - ILW1015 (28 December 1945)

These were broken down as follows:
Box 1939 (20 original drawings)
Box 1940 (152 original drawings)
Box 1941 (178 original drawings)
Box 1942 (158 original drawings)
Box 1943 (187 original drawings)
Box 1944 (269 original drawings)
Box 1945 (283 original drawings)

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(Unclassified scrapbooks, photographs, original cartoons, printed copies of cartoons, press cuttings, letters, copies of articles about Illingworth, reminiscences about Illingworth, postcards, Christmas cards and ephemera.)

Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature at University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent (henceforth University of Kent Cartoon Study Centre or UKC)

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