

fairly large percent of the Viking Age population (particularly those whose names are known to us, such as Egil, Ragnar Lodbrok, etc) or it could be reserved for a much smaller group, those who made permanent (or at the very least, significant) residence at sea, rather than seasonal raiding. This latter definition is certainly more closely aligned with the Ynglinga Saga’s description, and seems also to correlate with the Heimskringla’s description, which has an air of importance associated with the title that seems to outweigh that of a mere captain. Even so, there are several potential points of contradiction, such as whether Haki and Solvi would have retained the title sea king after ascending to the Swedish throne, or whether they “shed their sea king skin” and became more conventional kings after that, much like Robert Ferguson’s argument concerning Harald Hardrada and the kingship.<sup>35</sup> Regardless of these several issues, the evaluation given by the Ynglinga Saga seems to be by far the most compelling and complete description available and most in line with how the people of the Viking Age would have identified the concept.

As such, it ought to be stated that the sea kings of the Viking Age were far more than merely ship captains or casual raiders. Saekonungr, actual saekonungr, were a different breed entirely, one who made their residence and earned their livelihoods aboard their ships. These men earned the title of king through their mastery of men and their prowess and comfort atop the waves. Yet these sea kings, bold and infamous as they once were, have largely been forgotten by time, rendered a historic afterthought. While there is a great deal that has been similarly lost to history, it would be a calamity if the sea kings were to suffer such an ignominious fate. Yet there is a great deal that may be learned on the topic—all one has to do is look.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Snorri Sturluson, “Egil’s Saga,” in *Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Ornlófur Thorsson, trans. Bernard Scudder (New York: Penguin, 2000), 126.
- <sup>2</sup> John Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of the Vikings* (New York: Penguin, 1995), foreword.
- <sup>3</sup> Paul C. Sinding, *The Northmen: The Sea-Kings and the Vikings* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1883), 38.
- <sup>4</sup> Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson’s Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 130.
- <sup>5</sup> Haywood, *Penguin Historical Atlas*, 31.
- <sup>6</sup> Sinding, *The Northmen*, 52, 56.
- <sup>7</sup> Martin Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de las France* (Paris: Paris V. Palme, 1840), 4.
- <sup>8</sup> Haywood, *Penguin Historical Atlas*, 30.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>10</sup> Paul B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age, vol. 1* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1840), 499.
- <sup>11</sup> Bjorn Sigfusson, “Names of the Sea-Kings,” *Modern Philology* 36, no. 2 (Nov. 1934): 125.
- <sup>12</sup> Rev. James Ingram, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (St. Petersburg, Fla.: Red and Black Publishers, 2009), 48, 49, 78.
- <sup>13</sup> Bagge, *Society and Politics*, 14.
- <sup>14</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 136.
- <sup>15</sup> Sigfusson, “Names of the Sea-Kings,” 139.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 25.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup> Sigfusson, “Names of the Sea-Kings,” 131.
- <sup>22</sup> Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 23n.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 23n, 27.
- <sup>24</sup> Sinding, *The Northmen*, 44.
- <sup>25</sup> Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 34.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 35.
- <sup>29</sup> Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, 499.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>31</sup> Sigfusson, “Names of the Sea-Kings,” 125.
- <sup>32</sup> Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, 499.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> Sinding, *The Norsemen*, 84.
- <sup>35</sup> Robert Ferguson, *The Vikings: A History* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 364.

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# The Pictorial Stylings of Louis Raemaekers and David Low: A Comparison of Anti-German Cartoons from World War I to World War II

Melissa Newman

It is early in World War I, and the verdict has come back. Louis Raemaekers has been acquitted for treason. However, that was not the outcome the Germans wanted. This led to them placing a bounty equivalent to \$3000 on Raemaekers’ head. Similarly, just after World War II ended, a list came to light detailing the people who would be the first to die at the hands of the Nazis if they had succeeded in invading England. David Low’s name was towards the top. What type of people are Raemaekers and Low that would warrant such hostility from the German government? Politicians? Generals? In these two instances, they were cartoonists. Louis Raemaekers and David Low were wanted dead by Germany in World War I and World War II respectively because of the cartoons they published in their countries and abroad, which damaged the public opinion of Germans.

Surely this fact alone speaks to the influence each cartoonist had. As arguably the most influential cartoonists of their respective world wars, Raemaekers and Low created images that were widely disseminated throughout the world, making political cartoons even more effective and capable of shaping historical change than what was previously considered possible. It is the artist’s job to take a situation and manipulate the audience’s perception towards a specific outcome. If an artist can do this well, he or she receives a certain degree of recognition if not in name, then at least in style. Raemaekers and Low shaped public perception of the Germans, initially in the countries they drew for, then eventually expanding abroad to other Allied nations. Raemaekers’s approach appealed to the Allied public’s emotional responses through his depictions of German atrocities. Low focused on political events unfolding at the time, often ridiculing Hitler, while still portraying Germany as a legitimate threat. The heated reactions each cartoonist received from Germany’s political leaders during their

respective wars show how ways of thinking about Germans could be significantly shaped by the stroke of a pen.

## Theoretical Background

Political cartoons have been a useful medium for disseminating information to the public since the seventeenth century. Their characterizations of people and events call for a critical analysis. The Political Cartoon by Charles Press lists the three main types of cartoons: comic art, social cartoons, and political cartoons. Comic art, Press explains, is designed to amuse or entertain. This can be most readily seen through the Sunday Funnies in newspapers. Social cartoons are similar in that they seek to amuse, yet they are different in that they draw on a particularly frustrating or upsetting social issue and attempt to make it more tolerable by “bring[ing] a wry smile of recognition” to the viewer. Finally, the political cartoons champion a specific political faction or point of view.<sup>1</sup> Their purpose then is to influence the viewer with “regards to specific political events of the day” or “predispose them to a particular action.”<sup>2</sup>

Samuel A. Towers alludes to the phrase “a picture is worth a thousand words” by reasoning that because a person’s primary contact with the universe is visual, “the impact of one image is a thousand times more immediate than the impact of a thousand words.”<sup>3</sup> This sense of immediacy was especially vital when less of the populace was literate. Even now, however, political cartoons still find relevance in that they make their audience confront the current debates facing their community (whether it be local or international). Thomas Milton Kemnitz argues that it is also because of this immediacy that cartoons are “an ideal media for suggesting what cannot be said by the printed word.”<sup>4</sup> What might be difficult to put into words might work better as an image. For example, writing about a leader’s weight might be

offensive, but drawing them in a way that exaggerates their weight still makes the point, but now in a humorous way and without having to explicitly put it into words.

Caricatures can be used in this humorous context to help the audience identify the particular person the cartoonist is drawing. Kemnitz describes caricatures as a cartooning technique involving the “exaggeration or distortion of features,” which Victor S. Navasky adds is rooted in stereotypes. Kemnitz goes further to state that “political cartoons are specific: they depend on the viewer’s recognition of the characters, subjects, and events depicted.” In such instances, caricatures can act as an aid in recognition.<sup>5</sup> According to cartoon historian W.A. Coupe, “a theoretical understanding of political caricature involves an understanding of caricature itself.”<sup>6</sup> Looking at the way a person’s features have been distorted can tell you not only how they were perceived, but also what the artist is hoping to convey by choosing to exaggerate specific features. Applying that to political cartoons, such as those included throughout this article, certain elements in the scene or the positioning of the figures can tell the viewer what the artist is choosing to highlight in addition to uncovering his overall message.

Charles Press also argues that a repeated theme in cartoons is the way in which the artist highlights the contrast between what is the reality and what could be considered as the ideal.<sup>7</sup> However, Tower suggests, “political cartoonists work best ‘against’ rather than ‘for’ a subject.”<sup>8</sup> This idea is particularly relevant when thinking about the political cartoons that appeared during wartime. Rallying the population against an enemy is much easier than rallying them for a particular wartime policy. You can dispute the need or effectiveness of victory gardens, but you cannot dispute the (potentially gruesome) deaths of hundreds of your country’s soldiers at the hands of the enemy. German historian Eberhard Demm claims that political cartoons actually take on a new function during wartime: “its task is to mobilize the population both morally and intellectually for war, explain setbacks, confirm beliefs in the superiority of the fatherland and proclaim the hope of final victory.” This change in function is in contrast to their previous antagonism of society and the government during peacetime.<sup>9</sup> The cartoonists’ focus shifts from issues within their country to issues outside of their country.

Something that is utilized in cartoons—during both peace- and wartime—is the continued focus on a particular subject matter, such as a country’s leader. Thomas Rowlandson was the first to introduce a regular cartoon character in his pieces in 1812. Also around that time, James

Gillray invented many of the stock characters for different countries (ex. Germany, France, England, and Russia) that are still being used today.<sup>10</sup> Portraying a recurring character combined with using the stock characteristics to easily define a particular country has been highly influential in the way people view and understand cartoons, because it shapes their view of that country or figure—a view that was possibly nonexistent before—into whatever the cartoonist or government producing the image wants. Some might argue that shaping the public’s views in such a way would not be possible or effective. However, David Turley explains that famous World War II cartoonist David Low was shocked that “ordinary Americans were ‘ill informed and irresponsible about politics outside their own local affairs.’”<sup>11</sup> If the people you are delivering this information to do not have any prior knowledge about the leader or country, they have no reason to suspect that what they are being fed was exaggerated or untrue. This makes the cartoonists’ jobs easier, because they only have to help the public form an opinion instead of change it. However, that is not to say that all cartoonists can easily produce an effective cartoon.

Defining what makes a “good” political cartoon is difficult; instead, Press argues that it is easier to identify a “bad cartoon.”<sup>12</sup> To put it simply, it all comes down to the strength of the message that is presented. For example, if a cartoon has a message that the audience can recognize as disingenuous, then it is a “bad” cartoon. The cartoonist can have highly developed artistic skill, but if their message lacks genuine sentiment or has a contrived enthusiasm, it cannot be considered a “good” cartoon. Press says “artistry is supplementary and contributory rather than central” to a cartoon and that it should not contain “unnecessary complications in its imagery or its title.”<sup>13</sup> In other words, the message needs to be concise, powerful, and straightforward.

Up until the end of the nineteenth century, magazines were the preferred medium in which artists would publish their cartoons. However, around the turn of the century, there was a switch to newspapers as the source for cartoons. Tower claims this was for two reasons: the first being that the cartoonists “were so powerful that they made enemies;” the second that the cartoonists were lured away from the magazines because the newspapers hired them to illustrate cartoons every day instead of only once a week. This then led to new techniques in cartoons, such as a heavier use of symbols to quickly sum up a political situation (e.g. the Republican elephant or the Democrat donkey).<sup>14</sup>

With this switch to newspapers and an increased use of symbols, political leaders were also depicted more in

comics. Eberhard Demm revealed the advantage of using those who represented “the destiny or the politics of the enemy countries” (i.e. kings, politicians, generals) to pitch the public against the desired enemy. Personifying these leaders allowed “hatred [to be] directed against a concrete person, depicted as ridiculous or horrid, and then by transfer of emotion, against the country as such.”<sup>15</sup>

Dutch artist Louis Raemaekers directed considerable hatred towards Germany and Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Raemaekers is considered the most influential cartoonist in World War I by many, including historian Isabel Simeral Johnson and former President Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>16</sup> According to Demm, Raemaekers’ cartoons were so powerful that “the English distributed millions of copies of [them] all over the world” and were considered “one of the most dangerous weapons against Germany.”<sup>17</sup> In one of the collections of Raemaekers’ cartoons that was published in 1916, H. H. Asquith—the Prime Minister of England at the time—celebrated Raemaekers because he was able to “show us our enemies as they appear to the unbiased eyes of a neutral” country such as the Netherlands.<sup>18</sup> According to Isabel Simeral Johnson, the country’s neutrality in addition to Raemaekers’ “eye-witness of the invasion of Belgium” gave Raemaekers an “authority” to unbiasedly report the actions of the Germans.<sup>19</sup> The ferocity with which he wanted to convince the rest of the world of Germany’s maliciousness in such instances gave him even more credibility in his cartoons. In Franklynn Peterson’s article “The Powerful Pen of Louis Raemaekers,” he describes how the Germans were quite aware of Raemaekers’ influence; Kaiser Wilhelm II had “the blatantly anti-German cartoonist” arrested and accused of treason in 1914. When he was acquitted, they put a bounty out on his head. He sought refuge in England, but was later sent to the United States “where it was hoped he might help influence Allied participation in the war.” His cartoons began being published regularly by William Randolph Hearst and the Herald Tribune Syndicate, where they reached the eyes of millions of Americans. People everywhere were now being exposed to the impassioned cartoons of Louis Raemaekers.<sup>20</sup>

Raemaekers’ World War II equivalent was David Low. Low was originally from New Zealand, but produced his famous cartoons of Hitler for the Evening Standard in London.<sup>21</sup> Timothy Benson asserts that Low, “the most celebrated political cartoonist of the last century,” was someone who “contributed more than any other single figure and as a result changed the atmosphere in the way people saw Hitler.” It was his “humanitarian instincts and Liberal leaning [that] gave him a strong determination to

oppose Hitler and everything he stood for” in his cartoons.<sup>22</sup> Benson also describes how Low’s work was seen as prophetic because he “noticed how Hitler made plain his ambitions for a greater Germany and domination of Europe” and included those seemingly unfathomable ambitions into his cartoons. Low took Hitler seriously in the 1930s when others did not, giving him “remarkable insight as events unfolded” and ultimately earning him a reputation for predicting the events of the war.<sup>23</sup>

Like Raemaekers, Low faced outside pressures because of the effectiveness of his cartoons. Before World War II officially started, German and British leaders met multiple times on the basis of maintaining a good relationship. Benson explains that it was because such meetings that British foreign policy personnel pressured Low’s editors and consequently Low himself to tone down his cartoons.<sup>24</sup> Lord Halifax, who met with Joseph Goebbels, told the Evening Standard’s manager that “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.”<sup>25</sup> Unable to subdue Low’s cartoons of Hitler, it later became public knowledge that “Low’s name had been highly placed on the Nazi death list” had Germany succeeded in invading Britain.<sup>26</sup> While these cartoonists share many similarities in terms of their beginnings and overall importance during the wars they were drawing in, the contexts for which they each drew were vastly different, which therefore affected the styles in which they drew their cartoons.

### Louis Raemaekers

World War I began in the summer of 1914 after Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Austria-Hungary then declared war on Serbia, and each country’s chains of allies entered the war as well, creating what was deemed “the Great War.” Throughout the war, Germany was the main aggressor. They made the first real military move of the war by attacking France in launching their Schlieffen Plan that involved an assault through neutral Belgium. This was met by outrage from the Allies, eventually pushing Britain into joining the World War I by declaring war on Germany.

Germany’s push through Belgium also sparked the indignation of cartoonist Louis Raemaekers. Raemaekers was born in the Netherlands to a Flemish father and German mother in 1869. He was fluent in German, Flemish, French, and English, which would later prove useful with the widespread popularity of his cartoons. In 1909, the

Amsterdam Telegraf began publishing his cartoons, but according to an article by Franklynn Peterson, Raemaekers began publishing cartoons attacking Germany in 1907. It was not until almost a decade later—during World War I—that people began to take notice.<sup>27</sup>

Raemaekers' cartoons depicting the atrocities committed by the German army on their trek through Belgium was one of the first instances where his cartoons received widespread attention. So strong were Raemaekers' opinions about the German atrocities in Belgium that he illustrated a booklet written by Emile Cammaerts that described the acts committed by the Germans.<sup>28</sup> Depicting atrocities became a major focus in Raemaekers' cartoons. According to Baker, Raemaekers' cartoons were meant to "[draw] particular attention to the physical characteristics of the depicted Germans in order to emphasize their ridiculousness or their loathsomeness."<sup>29</sup> One of the common themes Raemaekers would draw on in his cartoons was that Germans were subhuman and animalistic; for example, depicting Germans as savage apes. Another common depiction used by Raemaekers and other war propagandists was the threat Germans were to the innocent—normally depicted as white women. Finally, Raemaekers used Kaiser Wilhelm II in his cartoons to act as the figurehead or source of blame for all of the death that the war caused.

In "See the Conquering Hero Come," Raemaekers draws the Germans as primitive and ape-like (figure 1).<sup>30</sup> This cartoon actually distinguishes Germany's primitive and ape-like features from each other: leading the pitiful pack is a man wearing nothing but a cape and warrior skirt; two gorillas are holding up the end of the man's cape and trudge along in his wake; and a vulture dripping with blood flies above and slightly behind the man. The man encapsulates the visage of a barbarian well with his scraggly beard, his bare feet and chest, the heads of his victims hanging from his belt, his "scepter" (which is really a child's hand stuck on the end of a stick), and his look of "ineffable self-satisfaction and arrogant disdain." According to Arthur Shadwell—who wrote the corresponding commentary on the cartoon published alongside it in the collection—the apes behind the primitive man are meant to represent the German army and navy as "dull and brutish. They are incapable of moral judgment; they follow their instincts and know no better." They unthinkingly follow their master who is of superior mind in submission. There are also skeletons in the background, as if the disembodied heads hanging from the man's belt are not enough indication of the scene's barbarity.



Figure 1: Louis Raemaekers, "See the Conquering Hero Come," in *Kultur in Cartoons* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), 161.

This entire portrayal conveys to the audience that Germans are an unintelligent, brutish people who crudely kill their enemies.

Several of Raemaekers' popular images throughout the war show an apelike German brutally attacking a weaker, feminized country—a common portrayal utilized by Allied propagandists during World War I. One specific example comes from *Kultur in Cartoons*, a collection of Louis Raemaekers' works. Entitled "Germany and the Neutrals" (figure 2), the focus of the cartoon is on the large ape in the center; we know the ape represents Germany because he wears a belt that reads, "Gott mit Uns" ("God with us" in German). His large hands are on the dead bodies of naked women—"the Neutrals"—who are meant to represent neutral countries, like Belgium, that the Germans swept through. He still has one gigantic hand smashed down over one of the women's heads, which is surrounded by a pool of blood. The neutrals are depicted as women to convey their innocence and weakness in the matter. Their naked bodies also show that they were defenseless against their



Figure 2: Louis Raemaekers, "Germany and the Neutrals," in *Kultur in Cartoons* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), 37.

Figure 3: Louis Raemaekers, "We Must So Destroy France That She Can Never Again Resist Us," in *America in the War* (New York: The Century Co., 1918), 145.

attacker. It is meant to create sympathy in the audience to see women fall victim to such a horrible beast. The implied sexual threat to the naked women in the cartoon is meant to arouse indignation in the viewers and fear for the safety of their own wives, sisters, and daughters. There is a skeleton in the background as well. The ape is bearing his teeth and looking to his left, as if there is someone approaching out of the shot. The primitive violence rampant in this image is meant to convey to the audience that the Germans will beat down anyone who gets in their way, even the innocent and defenseless neutrals.<sup>31</sup> This violent and gruesome portrayal was meant to "inspire hatred of the enemy [in addition to] enflaming public opinion against Germany."<sup>32</sup>

Raemaekers often portrayed countries weaker than Germany as innocent women to trigger an incensed response to the horrible events happening during World War I. In figure 3, nothing is left to the imagination: the Germans' cruelty is obvious and grotesque in their dismemberment of a female France's limbs. France is tied to a wooden post. One of her legs and both of her arms have been cut off and are now lying on the floor in front of her. Her clothes are torn to shreds and one of her breasts is exposed. While this is a color image, the only color that really sticks out is the red of France's hat and her blood. The blood is smeared over the coat of the man performing the amputations—perhaps a crazy German doctor—and scattered across the floor. In this image, the feminine character is meant to represent not only innocence, but also pride. This is seen in the defiance of her expression, despite the fact that her neck is tied to the post as well, further constricting her movement. Raemaekers exploits the woman's innocence and vulnerability by showing the Germans sadistically cutting off her limbs. The Germans' male power—manifested through the restrained and scantily dressed France—dominates their female counterpart and shows that she cannot resist Germany, who clearly has the upper hand.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, Raemaekers published a cartoon in 1914 with the caption, "How I Deal with the Small Fry" (figure 4).<sup>34</sup> It depicts Kaiser Wilhelm II crouched over the incapacitated bodies and of female "Belgia" and "Luxemburg." The way his body takes up almost the entire frame further communicates the domineering and powerful position he holds. The Kaiser's right knee is in Belgia's back and his right hand is restraining the back of her neck as he clutches his sword high in his left hand. His left foot is stomped down on the back of Luxemburg. With a murderous gleam in his eye, it is apparent that the Kaiser is about to bring down his sword and kill Belgia, followed

by Luxemburg. Again, Raemaekers' rampant use of female subjects falling victim to the brutalities of Germans such as the Kaiser aims to stir up an emotional response in the viewer, making them want to channel all of their energies to crushing Germany, in turn saving these women. In this instance, Kaiser Wilhelm II has become the personification of the German army that committed horrible atrocities in their invasion and occupation of Belgium and Luxemburg. He is the one to blame for the atrocities committed, therefore it was him that Raemaekers chose to draw committing them.

One of the most famous and deadliest battles of World War One was the Battle of Verdun. This eleven-month struggle in 1916 had over half a million casualties on both sides.<sup>35</sup> The ongoing stalemate was caused by the futile method of trench warfare. Each side dug a network of trenches stretching hundreds of miles from which they would fire back and forth at each other. The stretch of land in between each side's trenches was referred to as "no man's land," and it was in those tens of yards that hundreds



Figure 4: Louis Raemaekers, "How I Deal with the Small Fry," in *Raemaekers' Cartoons, with Accompanying Notes by Well-Known English Writers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), 297.

of thousands of soldiers lost their lives. Upon receiving the order from their officers, soldiers would climb out of their trench and rush at the opposing one in a fruitless attempt to overtake it. However, being an above-ground target with only a helmet and a rifle, it was easy for the opposing side to mow down the soldiers charging at them while they stayed protected in their trench. Lines would move back and forth constantly and infinitesimally so as to give neither side a clear lead. Constantly replacing the ever-growing casualty list of soldiers by throwing more out into no man's land resulted in the high death toll and stalemate seen at Verdun.

It is in this context that Louis Raemaekers drew a cartoon entitled "A Higher Pile" with the caption, "Crown Prince: 'We Must Have a Higher Pile to See Verdun, Father'" (figure 5).<sup>36</sup> In this cartoon, Kaiser Wilhelm II is looking through a set of binoculars and his son is behind him, peering over him on tiptoes into the unseen distance. They stand atop a huge pile of dead bodies; the bodies look all to be German soldiers, indicated by the spiked German



Figure 5: Louis Raemaekers, "A Higher Pile," in *Kultur in Cartoons* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), 19.

helmet most of them seem to be still wearing. The pile of bodies continues in a wide, rough line extending into the background of the scene. The only other landscape is the remains of a barbed wire fence, which was a common defense in no man's land to make the rush to the opposing trench even more difficult for the soldiers. With the caption and overall scene of this cartoon, Raemaekers is implying the triviality with which the German leaders regard human life and that they are disconnected from the destruction they have created. After all, the Kaiser and his son stand on a pile of their fallen men with only a regard for their next move. The next move that will surely and needlessly cost more men their lives. This imagery and pathos convey that the Kaiser does not even care about the lives of his own men, begging the question, why would he show any more humanity to his enemy's men? The Battle of Verdun was a futilely continued battle, which according to this particular cartoon was only good for accumulating massive piles of human bodies for the heartless Kaiser have a good vantage point for the next fight. Raemaekers used his impassioned feelings about what was happening in World War I to stir up similar feelings in his viewers by portraying Germans as apelike beasts that would prey on innocent women and portraying the Kaiser as being manifestation of the death and destruction caused by German armies.

Even though Raemaekers' cartoons were originally published in the *Amsterdam Telegraf*, "they were reproduced in every country on the globe."<sup>37</sup> The propagandistic cartoons that he produced were meant to catch the eyes of millions and convince them of Germany's treachery, in turn compelling them to support the war effort against the Germans. David Low's cartoons were similarly circulated. He was drawing for a newspaper four days a week, where his cartoons were "syndicated to a hundred and seventy journals worldwide."<sup>38</sup> This contributed to each cartoonist's vast popularity by expanding their audiences outside of their localities, thereby implanting their ideas and messages in the minds of people all over the world.

### David Low

Eventually knighted in 1962, David Low was born and raised in New Zealand. He was inspired early in life by British comics that had been imported to New Zealand, and he imitated their styles. In 1902, he published his first cartoon at the young age of eleven in the *Christchurch Spectator*, his school's paper. By the time Low was twenty, he was a cartoonist in Australia for the *Sydney Bulletin*. Soon after the end of World War I, Low emigrated to London, landing a job

with the *Star* in 1919. It was not until 1927 that Low moved over to the *Evening Standard*, which was where he published all of his famous cartoons throughout World War II.<sup>39</sup>

World War II began on September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland. However, in the years leading up to the formal declarations of war, Germany was making many changes politically, militaristically, and economically. In 1933, Adolf Hitler was elected German Chancellor under President Paul von Hindenburg. After Hindenburg died in 1934 at the age of 87, Hitler dismissed the democratic government that elected him by declaring Germany to be in a state of emergency. This allowed Hitler to suspend citizens' civil rights, which was done with the purpose of restoring Germany to its former glory before World War I and the Treaty of Versailles. When Germany surrendered and World War I ended, they had been forced to take responsibility for the war and pay the Allied nations billions of dollars in reparations, thereby destroying their economy. Hitler played on the emotions of a struggling nation by telling the German people he could give them jobs and food if they put their trust in him. Now in this totalitarian state, Hitler remilitarized the Rhineland in direct violation of the Treaty of Versailles, eliminated political opposition, and began annexing bordering nations that he felt needed to be united with Germany.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile, the rest of Europe watched. Britain and France made attempts to discourage Hitler from invading other nations, but fearing another world war, they adopted the policy of appeasement.<sup>41</sup> Through it all, David Low was publishing cartoons. However, his unrelenting mockery of Hitler—unsurprisingly displeasing to Hitler himself—also caused problems with the British in their policy of appeasement. The Nazis banned the *Evening Standard* in Germany as well as any other paper publishing Low's cartoons. When Lord Beaverbrook travelled to Germany in an attempt to lift the ban in 1933, "the Nazis told him that the *Evening Standard* would remain banned as long as Low was its cartoonist."<sup>42</sup> Then in 1936, the British government pressured Low to "tone down" his cartoons so as to not "affect [Lord Beaverbrook's] personal relations with the Nazis while on his visit to the [Berlin Olympic] Games." Stanley Tiquet, the Assistant Editor at the *Evening Standard*, said they did not want anything published in the newspapers that would "prejudice international peace and, particularly, the good relations between all the countries now represented in Berlin." The situation escalated into actual censorship; the *Evening Standard's* editor Percy Cudlipp refused to publish one of Low's cartoons because "we do not want ... to run

what will seem to be a cartoonist's campaign against the dictators. . . . I suggest, therefore, that for the present you avoid the dictators altogether."<sup>43</sup> Low was told by his editors to not draw Hitler and Mussolini and even had his work including the dictators refused for publication so that the British government would not offend Germany, thereby maintaining peace with them. Knowing now that none of these attempts to diminish Hitler's militaristic actions would be even remotely successful, it seems ridiculous that the British government would go to such lengths to subdue a cartoonist. However, it also shows just how powerful those images were and the influence they had over those who saw them.

One month before the Olympic games began, Low produced a cartoon entitled, "Stepping Stones to Glory" (figure 6).<sup>44</sup> In the cartoon, the "Spineless Leaders of Democracy" are piled on top of each other, making a staircase, which Hitler climbs. There is a carpet laid out for Hitler to walk on, each step labeled differently: "Rearmament," "Rhineland Fortification," and "Danzig," culminating in "Boss of the Universe." This cartoon is

communicates the frustration Low felt towards the Allies in their appeasement policy. Depicting Hitler goose-stepping—a German army march—conveys his increasing threat of military force. He is also thumbing his nose, a sign of derision and contempt, which is most likely directed towards the democratic world leaders who he is stepping on to get to his end goal of "Boss of the Universe." He is also sticking out his tongue as he is thumbing his nose, another way in which Hitler is mocking the Allies and showing his complete disregard for them. Low draws Hitler in this cartoon as almost juvenile. Hitler has a ridiculous expression on his face because his tongue is sticking out; his fingers are pointed in different directions to draw our attention to the action of thumbing his nose, a childish action, and even though the goose-step can communicate military threats, it would be quite difficult to do going up the stairs without looking awkward and ridiculous.

Hitler has already passed the first couple of steps, and the question marks and exclamation points on subsequent steps are meant to indicate further unknown actions that

Hitler will be making to get to the top. The first three figures have their faces viewable to the audience to place blame directly on them for Hitler's first few unimpeded steps. The rest of the democratic leaders making up the staircase have their faces and bodies sloped down and out of view, in either resignation or death. This could indicate their impending deaths as Hitler continues to take militaristic action or the seeming futility in attempting to stop him, leading to their resignation. Combining the passivity of the democratic leaders in the cartoon with Hitler's silly-looking actions, Low is portraying the "Spineless Leaders of Democracy" simply giving into a spoiled child—Hitler.

This entire scene is meant to criticize the passivity of the Allies and how their current handling of the situation will only perpetuate Hitler's impression that he can walk all over the Allies. Low asserts that this will eventually result in Hitler ruling the world. Of course, that is a bit dramatic, but it shows the path these small steps are leading towards and what the outcome could be if Hitler continues unobstructed. Low is attempting to warn the public that this type of continued inaction will not end well for anyone. While he is commenting on Hitler's actions, this cartoon is more so meant to highlight and criticize the Allies that are allowing it to happen. It is almost as if their compliance and passivity is what is causing Hitler to take such actions. If the Allies were not compliantly lying down en masse, forming this easy staircase for Hitler, he would not be able to fulfill his end goal.

While Hitler was often the subject of Low's cartoons throughout World War II, the focus of his cartoons is not as easily categorized into a common theme as Raemaekers' were, seeing as Low's cartoons were focused more on specific topics rather than broad circumstances. Low used his cartoons to comment heavily on the political matters of the time—such as his displeasure with appeasement—always inserting some hint of sarcasm or satire to amuse the audience and keep them interested. In this sense, Low's drawings more fully follow Press's definition of a social cartoon in that they seek to amuse by making a frustrating social or political issue more tolerable.<sup>45</sup> Raemaekers's cartoons very clearly fell under the categories of political cartoon and propaganda, because they had a firm position on a subject and sought to lead their audience into a specific action or opinion based on that position.

This difference in technique in depicting the enemy is on full display when comparing the cartoons of Raemaekers and Low. Kemnitz asserted that "techniques vary with subject matter," which is exactly what is seen with Raemaekers

and Low.<sup>46</sup> Raemaekers takes the approach of vilifying the enemy by depicting them as atrocity-committing monsters, while Low played on Hitler's "impassioned" personality by often depicting him making wild gestures, though Low also frequently showed Hitler as a purveyor of death like Kaiser Wilhelm II. While their purposes were the same—to turn public opinion against Germany—their focuses were fundamentally different, shaping the techniques each cartoonist employed. This created differently negative perspectives of the Germans in the eyes of the viewers.

Despite the many facets of Low's cartoons, I will be focusing on his depiction of Hitler because that was what gave him the most trouble as well as increased his fame. Low himself conceded that Hitler's severe displeasure at his cartoons only fueled him to continue. It was especially the way in which Low portrayed Hitler—as a "harmless fool"—that seemed to irk the dictator so much. Low acknowledged, "No dictator is inconvenienced or even displeased by cartoons showing his terrible person stalking through blood and mud. . . . [It] feeds his vanity. . . . What he does not want to get around is the idea that he is an ass, which is really damaging."<sup>47</sup> There has been debate among scholars as to which is a more effective way of portraying the enemy: drawing them as dangerous monsters or as ridiculous fools. Both aim to turn the public against the enemy, but the opinions they have of said enemy will be vastly different. When portraying the enemy as an atrocious beast (like Raemaekers did in World War I), the viewers will see him as a serious threat and respond with animosity. Conversely, if one tries to discredit the enemy by depicting him as an blundering fool (like Low does in World War II), those being discredited will respond with animosity. It also runs the risk of the primary viewers not necessarily understanding the enemy for the threat they actually pose: he will be seen as an easily crushed opponent, and perhaps not with the seriousness the situation calls for.<sup>48</sup>

This contrast in technique is particularly noticeable when examining Raemaekers's and Low's cartoons. Out of the Raemaekers cartoons discussed above, only figure 1 ("See the Conquering Hero Come") shares a similarity to Low's style. Raemaekers is attempting to discredit the Germans by drawing them as ridiculous oafs, with their primitive dress and the leading figure's unintelligent, smug expression. However, at the same time, Raemaekers employs the characteristic of portraying them as subhuman by drawing the latter two as apes. With that characterization comes the idea of barbarity, and from that, a fearfulness for their animalistic brutality. In this particular cartoon from



Figure 6: David Low, "Stepping Stones to Glory," in *Years of Wrath: A Cartoon History: 1931-1945*, ed. Quincy Howe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946).



**YOU MAY HAVE BEGUN MAN - BUT I, ADOLF HITLER, WILL FINISH HIM** (Copyright in All Countries)

Raemaekers, the scary violence is not as immediate—even though there are detached heads and skeletons in the scene—because of the blank expressions of the primitive German apes. But when looking at the next image (figure 2, “Germany and the Neutrals”), that fear of animalistic barbarity is present. The same type of barbarity and carelessness for humanity is present in the following cartoons of Raemaekers as well as most of the cartoons he published throughout World War I. Raemaekers tended to rely on the barbarity of the Germans as the fuel to portray his subjects instead of drawing them as fools as Low tended to do. Perhaps Raemaekers agreed with those scholars who hold that drawing the enemy as foolish tends to not elicit the correct reaction from the audience.

Low was quite the opposite; he preferred a hint of subtle humor in his cartoons instead of emphasizing the overwhelming despair and barbarity that war caused. Early in the war—1939—Low published a cartoon of Hitler captioned, “You May have Begun Man—but I, Adolf Hitler Will Finish Him” (figure 7).<sup>49</sup> Hitler is standing on the mighty hand of God, which has descended from the

heavens. With one fist raised and the other pointing back at God, Hitler shouts his proclamation printed in the caption. Hitler’s tiny frame fits entirely on God’s pinky finger and his screaming with his arms above his head could be a way to make himself seem large and threatening, even though God clearly has the upper hand. The intent here is to exaggerate the scene and Hitler’s overall exuberance to diminish his reputation. It is difficult to believe someone’s seemingly far-fetched proclamations; however, Low himself stated that he took Hitler’s claims seriously and drew about them. While insulting Hitler by depicting him as an overly exaggerative, tiny man who is no threat for God, Low is also bringing more awareness to Hitler’s claims and the seriousness of them. The difficulty here is that one cannot judge if it was cartoons like this one that confused the public into thinking Hitler was a silly and outrageous man instead of a fanatical man capable of atrocious acts.

A few years later, in July 1942, Low came out with another cartoon entitled, “In Occupied Territory” (figure 8).<sup>50</sup> Hitler and Heinrich Himmler—head of the SS—are in the foreground on the right, and behind them are five people who have been hanged. Below them lies a pile of bodies—their predecessors. Those who are hanged have their hands tied behind their backs, and their heads and necks are just above the top of the picture, so the viewer cannot see them. Is this perhaps to spare the public from the grotesque image of a broken neck hanging from a rope? Raemaekers would have drawn something like that to stir up an emotional response to the treachery, perhaps focusing on a woman and showing her naked or with her clothes in tatters like in figures 2–4. Raemaekers would highlight the domineering German and the savageness with which he is treating the innocent, defenseless woman. The justified indignation of such horrible acts fueled the public’s hatred of the Germans in World War I; it was these “hate cartoons” that were “brought forth in such abundance in the shape of allegorical ogres and atrocity jokes . . . [i.e.,] pictures of babies on bayonets.”<sup>51</sup> However, Low does not touch on that at all. Low wants the emphasis to be on Hitler and his caption instead of the depressing and atrocious behavior that is exhibited. Why?

This fundamental difference in focus demonstrates the difference thirty years has made. What worked for pictorial propaganda in World War I is different than what worked in World War II. With the collective memory of World War I and its tragic images still in the public’s head, cartoonists such as Low sought to shape people’s perceptions in a different way. Emotions are not always rational, so instead of trying to

solely create blind hatred, the public was informed through witty political cartoons in addition to propaganda to shape their opinions against their enemies. That is not to say that people were not shown horrible images, but perhaps there was a realization that showing only those types of images can deflate morale. In addition, if there was more humor inserted into the situation, it might lighten the depressing mood and make the news of all of the terrible events slightly more bearable.

“In Occupied Territory” combats that potential deflation of morale by inserting a caption meant to invoke a wry sense of humor during a depressing situation, keeping with how social cartoons operate. In the cartoon, Hitler looks at Himmler and says, “Why don’t they like us, Heinrich?” This cartoon was published in July 1942 and, therefore, reflects the despairs of the time with a little cheek. This was when it was clear that Hitler was having the Einsatzgruppen and the SS round up Jews to be killed or deported to concentration camps to be killed later. What Hitler says in the caption is perhaps a legitimate question for him, due to the neutral expression on his face, but is turned into a ridiculous comment by drawing the people he has had killed directly behind him. This dry sense of deadpan humor was a way to cope with the terrors that one was seeing or hearing about on a daily basis. While it does not make the viewer lightheartedly laugh, it still allows them to grin at the grim situation. Low’s recognition of this and his ability to capture both despair and frustration in one witty sentence was what made him and his cartoons so popular. He was able to synthesize such horrible acts with the satire of political figures’ actions to inform and subtly influence the public and its perception of Hitler and Germany.

Later that year in December 1942, Low published a more somber cartoon commenting on what was happening to the Jewish population under Hitler’s command (figure 9).<sup>52</sup> In “I’ve Settled the Fate of Jews”—“and of Germans,” Hitler is depicted as a monstrous beast, skulking in front of the cloaked Nemesis—the Greek goddess of divine retribution—with an open-topped train car packed full of people in the background. The train car is labeled “Jews to the slaughter house,” an obvious reference to the Holocaust. There is debate among scholars as to what extent the Allied governments and public knew that the Holocaust was happening in 1942, but based on this cartoon, it is clear that people like David Low took notice of what was happening or suspected to be happening to the Jews that the Nazis were deporting.



Figure 7: David Low, “You May Have Begun Man—but I, Adolf Hitler, Will Finish Him,” in *Years of Wrath: A Cartoon History: 1931-1945*, ed. Quincy Howe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946).

Figure 8: David Low, “In Occupied Territory,” in *Years of Wrath: A Cartoon History: 1931-1945*, ed. Quincy Howe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946).

In the cartoon, there is a boxcar filled with Jews in minimal to no clothing—it is difficult to tell because the cartoon only shows the tops of their heads. They are packed into the car so that there is little to no room for them to move, as if they were shepherded into the train car like cattle.<sup>53</sup> They all have distressed expressions on their faces, and some of their arms are stretched up in worry and prayer due to the hopeless situation. Hitler stands crouched in the foreground and is caricatured as a beast. The man is definitely Hitler based on the haircut and facial structure, but he is growling and has devilish pointed ears that contort his face. He is hunched over in a wide stance with his arms spread

out like an ape. His hands are rough-looking and claw-like with his fingertips coming to points. He looks as if he is transforming into a ferocious ape before the sinister-looking Nemesis.

The goddess Nemesis is facing away from the audience; the only part of her that is not covered by her cloak is her hands, which look bony and harsh. Based on the way the cloak hangs off of Nemesis, she appears to be quite thin, or perhaps the cloak is much too large for her. The goddess of divine retribution exacted punishment for those who showed arrogance towards the gods. She is writing a list labeled, “The horrors to be repaid.” Professor Binita Mehta

describes the scene as Nemesis standing “watch, keeping record of Hitler’s hubris and cruelty” that he must pay for later. Mehta says that Low “implicates the whole of Germany, embodied in Hitler, in the destruction of the Jews. . . . The cartoonist draws the dictator in an animal-like position, representing the lack of humanity in the perpetrators of the Holocaust.”<sup>54</sup> This cartoon is meant to signify that while Hitler has determined the fate of the Jews (i.e., slaughter), Nemesis is taking account of it all and therefore determining the fate of the Germans as well.

It was in early 1942 at the Wannsee Conference that German officials came up with the “Final Solution to the Jewish Problem,” which was to exterminate all the Jews of Europe. By the end of 1942, when Low published this cartoon, the Germans had begun implementing their plans by deporting Jews to death camps, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka, and Sobibór, on a large enough scale that the rest of the world took notice. With Low’s cartoon, he is commenting on these horrors and the inhumanity of Hitler who is sending thousands of Jews “to the slaughter house.” Surely no human being could commit such a heinous act against his fellow man; therefore, Hitler has been transformed into an apelike beast. This change in tone of Low’s cartoons from witty and cheeky to horrible and grave demonstrates just how seriously he viewed the situation and wanted others to view it. While “Stepping Stones to Glory” served as a warning as to what not defying Hitler might lead to, there was a goofy and humorous element to it. However, three years later Hitler’s true colors and aggression have become apparent, and the situation Low depicts in the “Fate of Jews” cartoon is deathly serious. There is no place for humor; millions are being carted to their deaths.

Low’s depiction of Hitler here is more in line with something one would see from Raemaekers. The German leader looks very animalistic and savage, skulking in front of a Death-like figure. His features are distorted, making him appear more threatening and terrifying. This man is a monster to be feared. Similar to “How I dealt with the small fry” (figure 4), it is clear that Germany’s leader is directly responsible for the fate of these innocent people. While in figure 4, Kaiser Wilhelm II is drawn overwhelmingly large to indicate his role and the image’s overall focus, figure 9 recognizes that same sense of blame and responsibility even though Hitler is not the only focus, indicated by his smaller size (comparatively to the Kaiser in figure 4).

Even when first viewing the image, Hitler is not the first sight that catches one’s eye: it is the boxcar of Jews being led “to the slaughterhouse.” Low meant it to be this

way because while he wants people to know that Hitler is responsible, this is an unthinkable act that is happening to thousands of people. He wants us to identify with those carted off to their deaths and the immorality of it all. Our focus should be on saving them—surely Hitler will be made to pay for his atrocities if not by the Allies than by a higher power—because it is happening now and it must be stopped. Low goes much farther with his imagery and message in his cartoons than Raemaekers. This again brings up the debate as to whether a simplistic and direct message is more effective than a witty or detailed one. The difference thirty years can make in terms of experiences that have shaped a person’s worldview has clearly affected the cartoons of Raemaekers and Low.

### Conclusion

David Low’s relentless mockery of Hitler is plainly seen in his cartoons, earning him not only wide respect and recognition, but also a top spot on the Nazi death list. Louis Raemaekers was in a similar position in World War I with his portrayal of German atrocities, as there was a large cash reward for anyone that could deliver him to the Germans. Had the Allies failed in beating the Germans in the world wars, the lives and histories of these outspoken cartoonists might have been forgotten. While their names still might not be instantly recognizable today, the fame they acquired during their times for the works they created will be deservedly remembered by scholars and those who lived through it.

### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Madison: Associated University Presses, 1981), 12-13.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.
- <sup>3</sup> Samuel A. Tower, *Cartoons and Lampoons* (New York: Julian Messner, 1982), 8.
- <sup>4</sup> Thomas Milton Kemnitz, “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1 (Summer 1973): 84.
- <sup>5</sup> Kemnitz, “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” 82-83; Victor S. Navasky, *The Art of Controversy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), xiii.
- <sup>6</sup> W.A. Coupe, “Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 1 (January 1969): 79.
- <sup>7</sup> Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 11.
- <sup>8</sup> Tower, *Cartoons and Lampoons*, 14.
- <sup>9</sup> Eberhard Demm, “Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 1 (Jan. 1993): 167.
- <sup>10</sup> Tower, *Cartoons and Lampoons*, 20, 22.

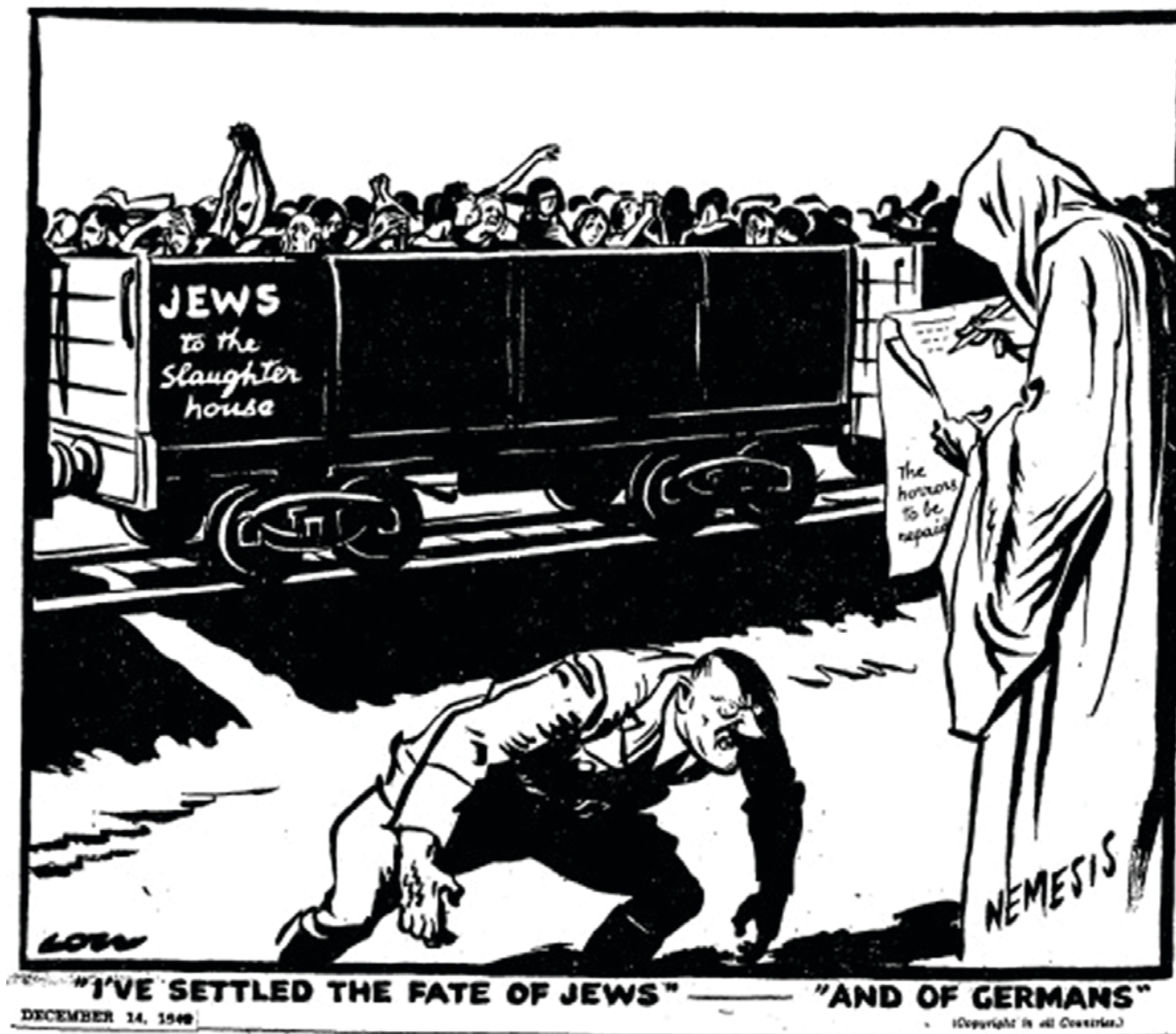


Figure 9: David Low, “I’ve Settled the Fate of Jews”—“and of Germans;” in *Years of Wrath: A Cartoon History: 1931-1945*, ed. Quincy Howe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946).

- <sup>11</sup> David Turley, “David Low and America, 1936–1950,” *Journal of American Studies* 21, no. 2 (1987): 188.
- <sup>12</sup> Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 17.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, 22.
- <sup>14</sup> Tower, *Cartoons and Lampoons*, 146–47.
- <sup>15</sup> Demm, “Propaganda and Caricature,” 178.
- <sup>16</sup> Isabel Simeral Johnson, “Cartoons,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (July 1937): 32; Franklynn Peterson, “The Powerful Pen of Louis Raemaekers,” *Mankind: The Magazine of Popular History* 1, no. 6 (1968): 68.
- <sup>17</sup> Demm, “Propaganda and Caricature,” 181.
- <sup>18</sup> Louis Raemaekers, *Raemaekers’ Cartoons, with Accompanying Notes by Well-Known English Writers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), 7.
- <sup>19</sup> Johnson, “Cartoons,” 32.
- <sup>20</sup> Peterson, “The Powerful Pen of Louis Raemaekers,” 64–8.
- <sup>21</sup> Turley, “David Low and America,” 184.
- <sup>22</sup> Timothy Benson, “Low and the Dictators,” *History Today* 51, no. 3 (March 2001): 35.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.
- <sup>27</sup> Peterson, “The Powerful Pen of Louis Raemaekers,” 67.
- <sup>28</sup> Emile Cammaerts, *Through the Iron Bars: Two Years of German Occupation in Belgium* (New York: John Lane Co., 1917).
- <sup>29</sup> Steve Baker, “Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster,” *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 2 (1990): 24.
- <sup>30</sup> Louis Raemaekers, “See the Conquering Hero Come,” in *Kultur in Cartoons* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), 161.
- <sup>31</sup> Louis Raemaekers, “Germany and the Neutrals,” in *Kultur in Cartoons*, 37.
- <sup>32</sup> Demm, “Propaganda and Caricature,” 181.
- <sup>33</sup> Louis Raemaekers, “We Must So Destroy France That She Can Never Again Resist Us,” in *America in the War* (New York: The Century Co., 1918), 145.
- <sup>34</sup> Louis Raemaekers, “How I Deal with the Small Fry,” in *Raemaekers’ Cartoons*, 297.
- <sup>35</sup> Elisabeth Gaynor Ellis and Anthony Esler, *World History: Connections to Today, The Modern Era* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), 385.
- <sup>36</sup> Louis Raemaekers, “A Higher Pile,” in *Kultur in Cartoons*, 19.
- <sup>37</sup> Johnson, “Cartoons,” 32.
- <sup>38</sup> “David Low,” British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent, accessed December 2, 2015, <https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/artists/davidlow/biography>.
- <sup>39</sup> Maurice Horn, “Low, Sir David (1891–1963),” in *The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons*, vol. 1 (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1980), 364.
- <sup>40</sup> The Rhineland is a region of land between Germany and France, centered around the Rhine river. It was meant to act as a buffer zone between the two countries, which was why the Treaty of Versailles stipulated for it to be demilitarized: “All fortified works, fortresses and field works situated in German territory to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometres to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and dismantled.”

- <sup>41</sup> Appeasement was adopted with the desire to avoid another war like World War I. With an estimated 38 million casualties, World War I’s devastation was still quite poignant in everyone’s collective memory. The British and French tried to “appease” Hitler by initially attempting to negotiate, but eventually giving in to his demands. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, ensured “peace in our time” after putting the appeasement policy into action in 1938. He met with Hitler and agreed to Hitler’s demand to annex the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain did this without consulting the Czechoslovakians or the French.
- <sup>42</sup> Benson, “Low and the Dictators,” 36.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–8.
- <sup>44</sup> David Low, “Stepping Stones to Glory,” in *Years of Wrath: A Cartoon History: 1931–1945*, ed. Quincy Howe (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946). The cartoon was published July 8, 1936, and the Olympics began August 1, 1936.
- <sup>45</sup> Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 12.
- <sup>46</sup> Kemnitz, “The Cartoon as a Historical Source,” 83.
- <sup>47</sup> Benson, “Low and the Dictators,” 36.
- <sup>48</sup> Cartoon historian W.A. Coupe comments on this matter in his article “Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature.” He argues that within the past two centuries, there has been a tendency to “represent enemies and opponents as puny, insignificant creatures who are to be laughed at rather than hated or feared.” Humor is then used as “a defense mechanism, its function being to release tension and neutralize fear” (91). He also comments on David Low’s depiction of Hitler in this context, saying that because Low “showed Hitler as ludicrous . . . [it] did not strike despondency into his readers. . . . [Low] probably contributed to the conviction that it ‘couldn’t happen here.’ Such absurd little men surely could not constitute a serious political threat!” (92). This same quote appears in Benson’s “Low and the Dictators,” but according to Coupe originates from L. H. Streicher’s, “David Low and the Sociology of Caricature.”
- <sup>49</sup> Low, “You May Have Begun Man—But I, Adolf Hitler, Will Finish Him,” in *Years of Wrath*.
- <sup>50</sup> Low, “In Occupied Territory,” in *Years of Wrath*.
- <sup>51</sup> W.A. Coupe, “Observations on a Theory of a Political Caricature,” 91.
- <sup>52</sup> Low, “‘I’ve Settled the Fate of Jews’—‘and of Germans,’” in *Years of Wrath*.
- <sup>53</sup> Many Holocaust survivors attest to the horrid conditions they were forced to endure on these train rides to the concentration camps. They were packed in shoulder-to-shoulder so that no one could sit or lay down, and they were not given any food, water, or bathroom breaks on their multiple-day-long journeys. They were truly treated like animals and without humanity.
- <sup>54</sup> Binita Mehta and Pia Mukherji, eds., *Postcolonial Comics: Texts Events, Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 175.

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