

Drawing Conclusions:

**An imagological survey of Britain and the British
and Germany and the Germans
in German and British cartoons and caricatures,
1945-2000**

von

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On Satire

Satyr is a sort of Glass, wherein Beholders do generally discover everybody's Face but their own; which is the chief Reason for that kind of Reception it meets in the World, and that so very few are offended with it. But if it should happen otherwise, the Danger is not great; and I have learned from long Experience never to apprehend Mischief from those Understandings I have been able to provoke.

'The Preface of the Author' in Jonathan Swift, *The Battel of the Books*
(London, [1697] 1704)

And Symbols

Heil dem Geist, der uns verbinden mag;
Denn wir leben wahrhaft in Figuren.
Und mit kleinen Schritten gehn die Uhren
neben unserm eigentlichen Tag.

Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), *Sonette an Orpheus*, XII: erster Teil (1922)

'Using other people to think with'; that is, using them as symbols for points on your map, values in your scheme of things. When you get used to imposing meanings in this way, you silence the stranger's account of who they are; and that can mean both metaphorical and literal death. Death as the undermining of a culture, language or faith and, at the extreme, the death of tyranny and genocide. [...]

The collective imagination needs the outsider to give itself definition - which commonly means that it needs somewhere to project its own fears and tensions. [...] Living realities are turned into symbols, and the symbolic values are used to imprison the reality. At its extreme pitch, people simply relate to the symbols. It is too hard to look past them, to look into the complex humanity of a real other.

Rowan Williams, *Writing in the Dust*
(London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2002), pp. 67-68

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Abbreviations used in the text

BAOR	— British Army of the Rhine
BSE	— bovine spongiform encephalopathy
CAT	— British Cartoon Art Trust
CCC	— ‘Cartoon Caricature Contor’, Munich
CDU	— Christlich-Demokratische Union
CSU	— Christlich-Soziale Union
<i>CWTR</i>	— <i>Coping with the Relations</i>
<i>DAS</i>	— <i>Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt</i>
EC	— European Community
ECU	— European Currency Unit
EEC	— European Economic Community
<i>ES</i>	— <i>Evening Standard</i>
EU	— European Union
<i>FAZ</i>	— <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
FDJ	— Freie Deutsche Jugend
FDP	— Freie Demokratische Partei
<i>FR</i>	— <i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>
<i>FT</i>	— <i>Financial Times</i>
GDR	— German Democratic Republic
NATO	— North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDR	— Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Hamburg
NRZ	— <i>Neue Rhein-Zeitung</i> , Düsseldorf
NWDR	— Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk, Hamburg
<i>NOZ</i>	— <i>Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung</i>
[n.a.]	— artist/author unknown
[n.p.]	— page(s) unknown
[n. place]	— place of publication unknown
[n. pub.]	— publisher unknown
[n.y.]	— year unknown
ORF	— Österreichischer Rundfunk, Vienna
repr.	— reprinted
reprod.	— reproduced
<i>RP</i>	— <i>Rheinische Post</i> , Düsseldorf
SPD	— Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
<i>SZ</i>	— <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>
<i>THES</i>	— <i>Times Higher Education Supplement</i>
<i>TLS</i>	— <i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>tz</i>	— <i>tageszeitung München</i>
<i>WAZ</i>	— <i>Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
WDR	— Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Cologne
ZDF	— Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen, Mainz

0 INTRODUCTION

On 16 September 1992 the British government was forced to withdraw sterling from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. Over a decade has passed since the day that became known as ‘Black Wednesday’, a low point in the United Kingdom’s relationship with its European Union partners and particularly with its most important EU trading partner, the Federal Republic of Germany. The commemoration of this event in the media in 2002 demonstrated that if it no longer occupied a place in the public consciousness, it was to find one as it was linked into a larger and longer discourse about Britain’s place in Europe. During the closing decade of the last century the public perception in Germany and Britain of the ‘otherness’ respectively of the British and the Germans since the end of the Second World War was brought to the fore during pivotal events involving both countries, such as ‘Black Wednesday’. Cartoons successfully reflected (and reflected upon) that perception in both countries.

The Archbishop of Canterbury’s epigraph remark on the perverse attractive power of the symbol as a substitute for reality was written in the light of the most calamitous event to mark the beginning of our new century. It holds true for the public reaction to the tragic events of 11 September 2001 as it does for the public reaction to many incidents in British-German relations since 1945. Our anxieties and our tensions have been projected onto the ‘other’ in situations of national concern, and an image that we have dearly held of the perceived adversary has often been paraded as a substitute for a more complex human reality.

0.1 Aim

This dissertation is a contribution towards a visual-textual imagology of contemporary British-German relations and an attempt to understand the complexity of those relations through their projected images of ‘self’ and ‘otherness’. The latter in this study specifically means cultural otherness or alterity, that is the state of being other or different. There are two sides to cultural alterity. It can either be portrayed as something to be admired and emulated or as a bogeyman to be distrusted. As Emig points out, what represents the bogeyman in the other generally displays close affinities with what a culture perceives as negative and threatening in itself, whilst on the other hand,

we love in the cultural Other that which seems to stand for ourselves, not necessarily our real existing self, but the ideal image that we liked to entertain of ourselves. In this scenario, Germans would love to be as culturally sophisticated as they imagine the British to be. The British, and this is perhaps the only good thing that can be said about

their *Bierfest* cliché of German *Gemütlichkeit*, would love to let their hair down in a manner that is both unrepressed and jovial (rather than unrestrained and aggressive).¹

Hugo Dyserinck, the father of German comparative image studies, poses the fundamental question which lies at the heart of this study:

Wie sehen sich (etwa) Deutsche, Franzosen, Engländer usw. jeweils gegenseitig, und welche Lehren sind aus diesem Netz von Vorstellungen, Mißverständnissen, Abgrenzungsversuchen usw. für das Verständnis des betreffenden multinationalen (z.B. innereuropäischen) Mechanismus von nationalen Hetero- und Autoimages zu ziehen?²

In the following chapters my aim has been to explore these perceptions within the German-British discourse. I have taken as my primary texts the political and social cartoons published in each country from the end of the Second World War to the close of the twentieth century that have this international relationship as a central referent. In drawing conclusions, I seek to place this specific dynamic within a larger multinational European context.

0.2 Hypothesis and analytical approach

This study attempts to show that the depiction of the ‘other’ and the ‘own’ in the British and German cartoons and caricatures of one another reflect symbolically and critically the often uneasy relations between the two countries: as erstwhile arch-adversaries, political allies since 1949, military allies since 1952, and as economic partners in the European project since 1974.

The content analysis that has been undertaken focuses on testing this hypothesis both quantitatively through the frequency of specific imagery (signifiers), and qualitatively and systematically through the nature of these signifiers, their place, function, positive or negative value, importance and development over fifty-five years. In this process information is furnished about general and developmental characteristics as well as thematic trends.

0.3 Textual focus

Cartoons have conventionally been undervalued as serious research material in themselves because they have been seen as merely humorous or flippant. They have received little attention in comparison with other forms of mass communication. Berger points out we have been taught to consider humour unimportant, including by literary scholarship.³ Cartoons and caricature have rarely been considered worthy of academic investigation, a fact lamented by

¹ ‘Introduction: Contemporary Anglo-German Relations’, in *Stereotypes in Contemporary Anglo-German Relations*, ed. by Emig (Basingstoke: Macmillan and Anglo-German Foundation, 2000), pp. 1-12 (p. 9).

² ‘Zur Entwicklung der Komparatistischen Imagologie’, *Colloquium Helveticum: Schweizer Hefte für allgemeine und vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*, 7 (1988), 19-42 (p. 23).

³ A. Berger, ‘An Equilibrium of Idiocies: Cartoons as Instant Communication’, *Public Communication Review*, 1 (Fall 1981), 42-46 (p. 43).

Riffe et al. in the mid-1980s when stating that up till then ‘studies have generally ignored cartoonists’ whilst ‘little systematic research exists on editorial cartooning’.⁴ Where an analysis of cartoons and caricature was undertaken within this period this generally happened without much theoretical recourse. There were a few notable exceptions such as Gombrich and Kris’s ‘The Principles of Caricature’ (1952), ‘a celebrated essay’ in the field of art history.⁵

In the last twenty-one years cartoons and cartoonists have been the focus of a number of doctoral dissertations. These have included a study of the role and function of metaphors as argument in editorial cartoons; a content analysis of international political cartoons as a rhetorical medium; an attempt to establish a theoretical framework for the sociological investigation of cartoons; the investigation of the relationship between a leading cartoonist and publisher; and an analysis of the role of the political cartoon during wartime.⁶

This study endeavours to help correct the prejudice against cartoons as ‘merely humorous’, as texts unworthy of scholarship and of insufficient significance for content or textual analysis. Indeed, as will be seen in what follows, very often cartoons can be deeply serious, whilst at other times the humour is a key to their import as visual and textual satire. This study also demonstrates the value of a comparative interpretation of both domestic and foreign cartoons on a nation’s relationship with another country as a source of insights that may not necessarily be gained from other media:

C’est un véritable jeu des miroirs que le chercheur peut tenter d’interpréter, où s’entrechoquent des préjugés et des souvenirs historiques, des amitiés mais aussi des contentieux, des affinités mais aussi des incompréhensions, et où se lisent les épisodes principaux qui rythment les relations entre deux Etats. C’est donc bien une source

⁴ D. Riffe, D. Sneed and R. Van Ommeren, ‘Behind the Editorial Page Cartoon’, *Journalism Quarterly*, 62 (1985), 378-83 (p. 378); They listed the few studies that had been undertaken in the American context: qualitative histories by A. Handelmann, ‘Political Cartoonists as They Saw Themselves during the 1950s’, *Journalism Quarterly*, 61 (1984), pp. 137-41, and E. Dennis, ‘The Regeneration of Political Cartooning’, *Journalism Quarterly*, [51] (Winter 1974), pp. 664-69; and a few cartoon ‘effects’ studies such as those by D. Brinkman, ‘Do Editorial Cartoons and Editorials Change Opinions?’, *Journalism Quarterly*, 47 (1968), 723-24, and L. Carl, ‘Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers’, *Journalism Quarterly*, 45 (1968), 533-35; cf. G. Dines-Levy, ‘Towards a Sociology of Cartoons: A Framework for Sociological Investigation with Special Reference to *Playboy* Sex Cartoons’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Salford University, 1990), p. 7.

⁵ In E. Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953), pp. 189-203; S. Bann, ‘Cartoon, Art and Politics’, in *Getting Them in Line* (Canterbury: CCSC, 1975), pp. 33-37 (p. 33); cf. Dines-Levy, p. 8.

⁶ B. Banks, ‘Metaphors as Argument in Editorial Cartoons’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1982); J. Gordon, ‘International Political Cartoons As Rhetoric: A Content Analysis’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1990); Dines-Levy (1990); T. Benson, ‘Low and Lord Beaverbrook: The Case of a Cartoonist’s Autonomy’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 1998); M. Bryant, ‘Behind the Thin Black Line: Leslie Illingworth and the Political Cartoon in Wartime’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Kent, 2002).

d'une extraordinaire richesse que ces dessins de presse [...] rassemblés, qui permettent une sorte de sondage, au sens géologique du terme, dans les mentalités collectives en mêmes temps qu'ils renseignent, plus directement, sur l'histoire politique et des relations internationales. [...] [P]ar ses excès mêmes, la caricature de presse se prête beaucoup plus aisément à l'attaque directe que l'article de journal [...]. Elle est donc révélatrice du 'non dit'.⁷

The major focus in this study has been on cartoons published in the newspaper and magazine press of both the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. These cartoons, appearing in major dailies, weeklies, and monthlies in each country, have contributed – sometimes in no small way – to the overall reporting and perception of the other country in the printed medium. They have been published as editorial or pocket cartoons, as visual articles in their own right, or have illustrated editorial articles, comment or analyses. Likewise included in this study have been cartoons first published or reproduced in books. Although they form the minority of images, they are equally significant as information-bearers and transmitters and should be accorded no less an impact. They are exposed in many cases to as substantial a readership, yet enjoy a permanence in print which is not the preserve of the same images published in the ephemeral press.

Cartoons, whether in books or newsprint, operate at different levels, often at the same time; providing light relief, opening a window into the complexity of an issue, commenting on current international affairs, and/or picking up on a peripheral item of news and depicting it in a way that may reinforce – or indeed confront – a popular image of the 'other'. Whilst the significance of such imagery should not be overrated in determining or influencing public opinion and the perception of a national otherness, they nonetheless form part of a total media package, perhaps at times in conflict with its other constituent elements but also frequently reinforcing in static visual terms what is expressed in written text or the moving image.

0.3.1 Limitations

The term 'cartoon' has a number of different meanings and connotations. It is therefore necessary to narrow the field. Print media cartoons alone have been considered for the primary literature of this study, in order to set genre limits. Excluded have been comics, animated cartoons, multiframe newspaper jokes and strip cartoons (with one or two exceptions, where these have served as editorial, political or social comment), graphic novels,

⁷ J.-F. Sirinelli, 'La caricature politique, une mine pour l'historien', in *De Gaulle through British eyes - vu par les Anglais* (Canterbury: University of Kent, 1990), pp. 69-71 (p. 69).

humorous advertising or satirical puppetry, as these belong to different genres and would require a separate analysis.⁸

Very little East German material has been used for this research. Such material as has been gathered was not excluded from the study as it derived from sources that were readily accessible to a West German readership. This is particularly the case with the work of Herbert Sandberg (discussed in chapter four). However, this study does not encompass a treatment of the image of Britain in the German Democratic Republic because of the different circumstances there. Principally, the East German state did not allow a free press, using its media, information and educational resources to pursue ideological goals, which disavowed any meaningful give-and-take with the Federal Republic in these fields.

The cartoon has been described as ‘more intimate than any history, less formal and conventional than any diary, conceived by some of the skilfullest [*sic*] hands [...] and for that reason is worth the doing, as it is worth close and repeated study and examination.’⁹ This study focuses on satirical drawings from newspapers, magazines and some books. This material is satirical rather than merely humorous because it is concerned with national images.

0.4 Sources of material

Compared with more established areas of literary scholarship, image studies have been disadvantaged by having to cope without many of the basic tools which aid research – such as comprehensive bibliographies, systematic documentation of primary sources and the like.¹⁰ Locating the primary texts required considerable time and energy, with the gathering of the corpus of the study an ongoing process begun in earnest in early 1992. It could not have reached its present size if it had not been for the help offered by various librarians, collectors, practitioners, and the access (often on a periodic basis) to a variety of collections and archives, both in Germany and the United Kingdom. Foremost amongst these archives has been the *Pressedokumentation des Deutschen Bundestages* in Bonn, whose Director Walther Keim first established a systematic cartoon archive of (predominately German) press cuttings in the mid-1970s, organized thematically by featured country, issue, and personality. Material has also been obtained from the *Spiegel-Archiv* in Hamburg, the Centre for the Study of Cartoons and Caricature (hereafter referred to as CSCC) at the University of Kent, and the

⁸ cf. *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists: 1730-1980*, comp. by M. Bryant and S. Heneage, (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994), p. viii; G. Dines, ‘Toward a Critical Sociological Analysis of Cartoons’, *Humor*, 8-3 (1995), 237-255 (p. 251).

⁹ M. Spielmann, ‘The Cartoons of “Punch”’, in *Cartoons from Punch* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, 1906), I, pp. v-xii (p. vi).

¹⁰ cf. E. O’Sullivan, *Friend and Foe: The Image of Germany and the Germans in British Children’s Fiction from 1870 to the Present* (Tübingen: Narr, 1990), ‘Acknowledgements’, [n.p.].

BBC Press Cuttings Archive (now deposited at CSCC). A significantly large number of cartoons has been gathered from various published sources, which are identified in the text.

0.5 The sample

From this collection of primary texts a selection of some thousand cartoons was made for each country, which formed a sample for closer analysis and research. The images referred to in the course of this study are drawn from this sample. They include all the cartoons selected for the 'Coping with the Relations' exhibition as well as those included in the updated third edition of the exhibition catalogue.

The majority of cartoons in the sample were selected on the basis of their representative imagery and symbolism, themes and trends, and/or because of the development they evidence in these fields over fifty-five years. A small number were chosen because they displayed unique or innovative interpretative or symbolic qualities.

0.6 Context of research

Image studies have traditionally focussed on (canonical) literary texts in their analyses of national auto- and heteroimages.¹¹ Over the last fifteen years, however, the field has broadened to include studies of children's books, teaching practice and textbooks, films, advertising, sport, the mass media, and popular literature, in a more contemporary time-frame.¹² This study represents a further extension of the remit of image studies by choosing to focus on texts that are primarily visual and pictorial whilst also containing written and verbal elements. Thus, the analysis of national symbolism that is central to the imagological method can be applied to a medium in which the employment of such symbolism is central to the

¹¹ See, for example: P. Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin: Variations on a Literary Stereotype 1890-1920* (Lewisburg, PA: Associated University Presses, 1986).

¹² Examples of each are: E. O'Sullivan's *Das ästhetische Potential nationaler Stereotypen in literarischen Texten: auf der Grundlage einer Untersuchung des Englandbildes in der deutschsprachigen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur nach 1960* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1989), and *Friend and Foe* (1990); H. Husemann, 'Stereotypen in der Landeskunde: Mit ihnen leben, wenn wir sie nicht widerlegen können?', *Neusprachliche Mitteilungen*, 2 (May 1990), pp. 89-98; P. Doye and M. Byram, 'Images of Britain in German Textbooks for Teaching English', in *As Others See Us*, ed. by H. Husemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 29-40; R. Falcon, 'Images of Germany and the Germans in British Film and Television Fictions', in Husemann (1994), pp. 7-27; D. Head, 'Having the Last Laugh: "Made in Germany" Advertising in Britain Today', in *Anglo-German Attitudes*, ed. by C. Cullingford and H. Husemann (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), pp. 91-103; Head, 'Jürgen Klinsmann, Euro 96 and their Impact on British Perceptions of Germany and the Germans', in Emig, pp. 95-119; J. Brooker, 'Stereotypes and National Identity in Euro 96', in Emig, pp. 79-94; G. Cumberbatch and G. Wood, 'Media Blitzkrieg: The Portrayal of Germans in the Mass Media', in Cullingford and Husemann, eds, pp. 105-119; Husemann, 'We Will Fight Them on the Beaches', in Emig, pp. 58-78; M. Schnöink-Juppe, 'The Image of Nazi Germany in British Popular Literature', in *Beyond Pug's Tour*, ed. by C. Barfoot, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 393-411.

creative process. Moreover, with the exception of O'Sullivan's dual studies of British-German children's books, most have been Anglocentric, focusing on the image of Germans and Germany in Britain alone without considering the German perspective. This study investigates both sides of the equation to obtain a more balanced, comparative approach.

Whilst there have been several studies of international relations using cartoons as a basis for historical and cultural analysis, precious little academic research has been specifically undertaken on the use of national images in cartoons. Szarota has analysed the image of the Pole in German cartoons from the First to the Second World Wars, and included cartoons in his study of the German autostereotype *Deutscher Michel*¹³; Husemann has provided an overview of European national stereotyping in cartoons and caricature¹⁴; whilst Douglas, Harte and O'Hara have charted the Anglo-Irish relationship through political cartoons from Ireland and Great Britain over 200 years.¹⁵

Manning Nash asserts that 'stereotyping is a form of caricature of cultural, index features of group differentiation.'¹⁶ The close link between cartoons and stereotyping is established in the next two chapters. May it suffice at this stage to quote Professor Keim, who asserts that the cartoon provides an especial resource for the investigation of public perceptions, prejudice and opinions:

Gerade weil die Karikatur diese Meinungsbilder, Vorurteile und Urteile wie kaum ein anderes Medium interpretieren und visualisieren kann, ist sie als Quelle für historisch bedingte Feindbilder oder aktuelle Denkweisen und Einschätzungen von besonderer Bedeutung.¹⁷

0.7 Form and language usage

Where they are known, details of the artist, place, date and page of publication and reproduction are given in the text. Otherwise a page reference is provided for the third edition

¹³ 'Der Pole in der deutschen Karikatur (1914-1944): Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung nationaler Stereotype' in *"Nachbarn sind der Rede wert": Bilder der Deutschen von Polen und der Polen von Deutschen in der Neuzeit*, ed. by J. Hoffmann (Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1997), pp. 69-102; *Niemecki Michel: Dzieje narodowego symbolu i autostereotypu* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988); *Der deutsche Michel: Geschichte eines nationalen Symbols und Autostereotyps*, trans. by K. Zentgraf-Zubrzycka (Osnabrück: Fibre Verlag, 1998).

¹⁴ 'I think, therefore I stereotype, therefore I caricature, therefore I am', in *Coping with the Relations: Anglo-German Cartoons from the Fifties to the Nineties*, ed. by K. Hermann, Husemann and Moyle, 3rd edn (Osnabrück: Secolo Verlag, 1995), pp. 10-19; A German translation of the essay appears in the same source: pp. 20-29.

¹⁵ *Drawing Conclusions: A Cartoon History of Anglo-Irish Relations 1798-1998* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1998).

¹⁶ 'Core Elements of Ethnicity', in *Ethnicity*, ed. by J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (Oxford: OUP, 1996), pp. 24-28 (p. 25), cited in H. Husemann, 'We Will Fight Them on the Beaches', in Emig, pp. 58-78 (p. 72).

¹⁷ W. Keim, 'Michels historischer Schatten', in *Deutschlandbilder*, ed. by P. Rösger and Haus der Geschichte (Munich: Prestel, 1994), pp. 8-13 (p. 11).

of the exhibition catalogue *Coping with the Relations* (Osnabrück: Secolo Verlag, 1995), abbreviated hereafter as *CWTR*.

The idiosyncratic masthead rendering of publication titles such as *Die ZEIT*, *BILD-Zeitung* and *stern* has been avoided in favour of a consistent normative first letter capitalization. The same applies to the rendering in capitals of artists' autographs such as JAK, IRONIMUS, and LUFF, and the citation of publishers.

The semantic bias inherent in this study is towards England and the English in using the term British. For example, all the British newspapers cited in this study are those published in England. Other newspapers such as the Scottish newspapers, the *Scotsman*, the *Herald*, the Scottish editions of the *Sun* and the *Express*, and the *Mirror*'s Caledonian counterparts the *Daily Record* and the *Sunday Mail* have not been considered.

This dissertation has been written and updated in accordance with the guidelines set out in the *MHRA Style Guide* and *The Oxford Manual of Style*, giving preference to the former where there are stylistic differences.¹⁸ The forms of punctuation, orthography, citation and bibliography are based on their recommendations.

¹⁸ *A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*, ed. by G. Price and others (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2002); *Manual of Style*, ed. and comp. by R. Ritter (Oxford: OUP, 2002).

1 IMAGIOLOGY – CONCEPTS AND APPROACH

1.0 Introduction

This comparative study of the image of Germans and Germany in British press cartoons and Britain and the British in German press cartoons since 1945 has been conducted as an imagological investigation. In what follows the imagological approach and its key concepts will be examined as the analytical foundation of my research.

In the first section of the chapter the nature of Image Studies, its aims and methodology are explained. Those concepts at the heart of Image Studies such as ‘stereotype’, ‘cliché’ and ‘image’ will then be explored and delimited to obtain working definitions. These concepts bear directly upon the nature of cartooning and its peddling of social and – particularly relevant for this study – national images. In conclusion, stereotyping will be analysed as a discursive tool, with the focus here on the way it functions rhetorically and aesthetically in a communicative medium such as cartoons.

1.1 Image Studies

Image Studies or Imagology had its genesis as a sub-discipline of Comparative Literary Studies (*littérature comparée/Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft*) in the French tradition.¹⁹ From the mid-twentieth century on, it gained theoretical and academic respectability, largely through the work of the comparatist Hugo Dyserinck (b. 1927), leading to the growth of imagology in German intellectual soil.²⁰ Imagology is concerned with the ways in which perceived national/ethnic/racial/cultural character and identity – both one’s own and that of others – are expressed in a broad range of discourses including cartoons.²¹ The stress is upon perception (Jean-Marie Carré first put it thus: ‘comment nous voyons-nous entre nous’²²), not the real truth or accuracy of an image.²³ The imagologist seeks to understand the structure of images and to demonstrate their conventional nature. In doing so (s)he addresses the

¹⁹ cf. M. Fischer, ‘Komparatistische Imagologie’, *Zeitschrift für Sozialpsychologie*, 10 (1979), 30-44 (p. 33).

²⁰ For a fuller survey see P. Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, [1986]), pp. 181-86.

²¹ cf. J. Leerssen, ‘As Others See, among Others, Us: The Anglo-German Relationship in Context’, in *As Others See Us: Anglo-German Perceptions*, ed. by H. Husemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 69-79 (p.72).

²² Cited in H. Dyserinck, ‘Zur Entwicklung der Komparatistischen Imagologie’, *Colloquium Helveticum*, 7 (1988), 19-42 (p.22). Carré’s *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand, 1800-1940* (1947) was an early comparative imagological study, albeit biased. cf. Firchow, p. 182.

²³ J. Leerssen, ‘Echoes and Images: Reflections upon a Foreign Space’, in *Alterity, Identity, Image*, ed. by R. Corbey and Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991), pp. 123-138 (p.128); likewise Leerssen, ‘Image and Reality – and Belgium’, in *Europa provincia mundi*, ed. by Leerssen and K. Syndram (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), pp. 281-91 (pp. 282, 288).

intersection between verbal (aesthetic/rhetorical) and historical (ideological/socio-cultural) aspects of the discourse.²⁴

Attention to the historicity of images has led to imagologists being accused of having a political, prejudicial agenda.²⁵ Certainly, the imagological approach is by nature a political one. Imagologists have sought to highlight the political context of their work and not to pretend to illusory objectivity.²⁶ Moreover, Dyserinck sees the recognition of the ideological character of images and their cultural-political relativity as one of the main theoretical achievements of Image Studies. For irrational concepts such as that of genetically-determined national character are demystified by analysing the reasons for their very existence.²⁷

Any comparative image study should serve to promote amity and better understanding between nations by drawing attention to the socio-cultural differences and similarities between them and the way they think about themselves and each other.²⁸ Comparatists have come to see this self-other dichotomy as pivotal in understanding national perception and representation.²⁹ It is also described as the dialectic of identity and alterity, where ‘identity’ is the affirmation of who we are by means of contrast with others, and ‘alterity’ the discourse on the otherness of people, particularly those outside our domestic environment. The one cannot exist without the other as they invest each other with meaning.³⁰

1.2 The imagological approach

The comparative imagologist’s starting position is essentially anthropological: Given that groups and cultures differ, the question is then one of how these differences are treated in mutual imagery.³¹ This is often not just a matter of analysing what is explicit in a discourse but also what is inherent in its (communicative) structure.³² Thus, identifying the ideology creating and maintaining an image is a necessary part of imagological research, bearing in mind that the popular attitude toward a particular nation, for example, is more likely to be

²⁴ Leerssen (1991), pp. 125,133.

²⁵ Notably by the North American comparatist René Wellek in the nineteen fifties. See Firchow, p. 182.

²⁶ Firchow, pp. 182-83.

²⁷ (1988), pp. 25-26; and ‘Komparatistische Imagologie jenseits von “Werkimmanenz” und “Werktranszendenz”’, *Synthesis*, 9 (1982), 27-40 (p. 36).

²⁸ Firchow, p. 183; M. Fischer citing J.-H. Pageaux (1981) in ‘Literarische Imagologie am Scheideweg: Die Erforschung des “Bildes vom anderen Land” in der Literatur-Komparatistik’, in *Erstarrtes Denken*, ed. by G. Blaicher (Tübingen: Narr, 1987), pp. 55-71 (p. 69).

²⁹ Leerssen (1991), p. 127.

³⁰ P. Voestermans, ‘Alterity/Identity: A Deficient Image of Culture’, in Corbey and Leerssen, pp. 219-50 (p. 219).

³¹ cf. D. T. Campbell, ‘Stereotype and the perception of group differences’, *American Psychologist*, 22 (1967), 817-29 (p.823).

³² Fischer (1987), p. 63.

determined by its position in the popular imagination than by reality.³³ In terms of contemporary British-German relations, one cannot understand the political undercurrents in the European debate without acknowledging the role played by the images popularly held by Britons and Germans of each other.³⁴

Of particular interest to the imagologist is not the fact that an author/artist uses, say, national stereotypes in a composition; but **how** and **why** they are used. Thus the researcher's primary tasks are to investigate the form and function of the image within its discursive context, its influence and its role in (inter-)cultural encounters, as well as showing the historical correlations surrounding its development. Placing an image in its cultural and historical context is seen as an essential component of an integrative analysis, not only providing a satisfactory answer to questions about function, particularly with respect to national images, but also contributing to greater international understanding:

Eine großzügige und umfassende historische Kontextualisierung, die allein eine befriedigende Antwort auf die Frage nach der Funktion nationaler Images gestattet, liefert den Schlüssel für den Zugang auch zu literarischem Bildmaterial. Solche geschichtliche Aufklärung ist unabdingbare Voraussetzung dafür, daß die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Bildern vom anderen Land zu der erstrebenswerten Verständigung zwischen Völkern einen bescheidenen Beitrag leisten kann.³⁵

This approach involves questions about the extra-textual function of images, such as what the author/artist wants to achieve by employing them, and others about the text-based function of images, such as how the author/artist handles stereotypes in the work:

- Are stereotypes used as a starting point for a characterization?
- Are they played with or do they simply serve as identifiers?
- Are they thematized?
- Are they used to 'go against the grain'?³⁶

The imagological method involves more than categorizing and cataloguing. It also focuses on the way images of others help define the group identity and solidarity of both author/artist and audience. It aims to demonstrate how important images are in international relations and

³³ cf. Fischer (1979), p. 36; Firchow, p. 183.

³⁴ C. Cullingford, 'My Country Right or Wrong? Nationalism and Cultural Values', in *Anglo-German Attitudes*, ed. by Cullingford and H. Husemann (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), pp.1-18 (p.16).

³⁵ H.-J. Müllenbrock, 'Trugbilder: zum Dilemma Imagologischer Forschung am Beispiel des englischen Deutschlandbildes 1870-1914', *Anglia*, 113 (1995), 303-29 (p. 329).

³⁶ This paragraph based on: E. O'Sullivan, *Das ästhetische Potential nationaler Stereotypen in literarischen Texten* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1989), pp. 66, 217; Fischer (1987), p. 57.

to draw conclusions about those who develop and use these images.³⁷ An analysis should place the image in both its macro- and micro-contexts; that is to say, in its socio-cultural context as well as in terms of the publication in which it appears and its target audience.³⁸ Where possible the audience and critical reception of a particular image should also be investigated, although this often poses practical, empirical problems.

At the same time the researcher needs to be wary of too much detailed analysis and guard against the danger of ‘not seeing the wood for the trees’.³⁹ This is certainly a temptation when dealing with the detailed graphics of some cartoons. Likewise, an imagological study needs to be limited to a specific, easily definable area, as the conclusions will be different, according to the specific audience for whom a category of works was originally designed.⁴⁰ This was one of the major factors in deciding to exclude cartoons from the German Democratic Republic in this study.⁴¹

1.3 Imagological concepts and their definitions

‘Stereotype’, ‘cliché’, ‘prejudice’, ‘image of the enemy’ and ‘image’ are closely related imagological concepts that are sometimes used loosely or interchangeably. In the following, definitions are developed for each of these that will govern their use in this thesis.

1.3.1 Stereotype

‘Stereotype’ is perhaps the key concept in imagological research. Its etymology reflects some of the theoretical difficulties with the term. From the Greek *stereos* meaning firm, solid or stubborn, it was originally used to refer to the cast metal printing plate made from a *papier mâché* mould, an eighteenth-century innovation that enabled the mass reproduction of caricatures and remained the standard method of printing until the 1960s.⁴²

In everyday speech, a stereotype is a caricature of group characteristics, a perception which exaggerates the differences between the stereotyped group and others. This definition is largely due to the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon developed in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the socio-psychological investigation of the stereotype has continued apace, leading in recent years to a significant reappraisal.⁴³

³⁷ O’Sullivan, p. 49; This was my aim also in ‘The Ridley-Chequers Affair and the German Character’, in Cullingford and Husemann, pp. 165-180.

³⁸ Firchow, p. 185.

³⁹ J. Riesz, ‘Zur Omnipräsenz nationaler und ethnischer Stereotype’, *Komparatistische Hefte*, 2 (1980), 3-11 (p. 10).

⁴⁰ Firchow, p. 184.

⁴¹ As well as the difficulty of accessing material published in East Germany over this period.

⁴² cf. S. Platt, ‘The Right To Be Offensive’, *New Statesman*, 18 March 1994, p. 28.

⁴³ See C. McCauley, ‘Are Stereotypes Exaggerated?’, in Y.-T. Lee, I. Jussim and McCauley, *Stereotype Accuracy* (Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1995), pp. 215-43 (p. 238); see also *Stereotypes and Prejudice*, ed. by C. Stangor (Philadelphia:

In what follows, the concept of the ‘stereotype’ and its development will be explored in order to arrive at a working definition for this study.

1.3.1.1 Development of stereotype theory

While the use of the term ‘stereotype’ to describe social behaviour can be traced back to 1824, it was not until the twentieth century that the concept was subjected to analysis.⁴⁴ Walter Lippmann (1899-1974) was the first to discuss stereotyping in a social scientific sense in his seminal work *Public Opinion*, and the contemporary understanding of stereotypes has been greatly influenced by his ideas. Lippmann describes stereotypes as ‘pictures in our heads’ which are a culturally classified and mediated system of ‘accepted types’, ‘current patterns’ and ‘standard versions’ of things in our environment, and which are in place in our minds before we experience the world for ourselves.⁴⁵ These ‘interior representations’ make up a ‘pseudo-environment’ lying between us and the real environment. They act as a filter, and are a ‘determining element in thought, feeling, and action’:

For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture. [...] We notice a trait which marks a well-known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads.⁴⁶

Lippmann saw stereotypes as constituting ‘a very partial and inadequate way of representing the world’ (p. 110). They were seen to be rigid in the sense of being ‘obdurate to education or to criticism’ and insensitive to reality (pp. 98-99). Yet he argued that they fulfilled an important function in helping us cope with and make sense of our environment:

For the real environment is altogether too big, too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it. (p. 16)

Taylor & Francis, 2000), pp. 1-16, and C. McGarty, R. Spears and V. Yzerbyt, ‘Conclusion: Stereotypes Are Selective, Variable and Contested Explanations’, in *Stereotypes as Explanations*, ed. by McGarty, Yzerbyt and Spears (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 186-99.

⁴⁴ In his book *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824), James Morier refers to stereotypes and stereotyped behaviour as not inaccurate or negative but indicating common ancestry and intercultural affiliation: cf. F. Rudmin, ‘The Pleasure of Serendipity in Historical Research on Finding “Stereotype” in Morier’s (1824) *Hajji Baba*’, *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, 23 (1989), 8-11 (pp. 9-10).

⁴⁵ W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922), title of first chapter; p. 85.

⁴⁶ Sources in Lippmann for preceding quotations are consecutively pp. 15, 27, 81, 89. Further page references are given in the text.

He argued, further, that the system of stereotypes not only serves to create order and clarity for us but is also closely bound up with our individual identity:

It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are, therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them. They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defenses we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy. (p. 96)

Lippmann's concept of stereotypes was non-normative and based on an understanding of stereotypes as intrinsically and irrevocably part of human make-up. He saw stereotypes as solidified but modifiable and as playing an important part in making decisions easier.⁴⁷ Lippmann's advice was not to try to live without stereotypes but to learn to use them in a reflective and self-critical way: 'If our philosophy tells us that each man is only a small part of the world, that his intelligence catches at best only phases and aspects in a coarse net of ideas, then, when we use our stereotypes, we tend to know they are only stereotypes, to hold them lightly, to modify them gladly.' (pp. 90-91)⁴⁸

Studies from the 1930s to the 1970s focused on identifying the defining properties of stereotypes and became less value-free. Stereotypes were described by researchers as rigid, inflexible or persistent beliefs, images or representations; or as over-generalizations which were either wholly factually inaccurate or contained only a kernel of truth.⁴⁹ The question of stereotype accuracy was, in fact, one of the prevalent theoretical debates of the period. However, few attempts were made to study accuracy **empirically** and those that did were poorly done or open to multiple interpretations.⁵⁰

Two influential perspectives developed during this period. The first saw stereotypes as the shared products of our worst cultural tendencies, the second as mostly the products of minds whose shallow rationality could not buffer deep insecurities. The dominant liberal ideology maintained that the stereotype and its close relation prejudice were due to faulty education

⁴⁷ cf. O'Sullivan, p.18.

⁴⁸ cf. L. Bredella, 'How is Intercultural Understanding Possible?', in *Perceptions and Misperceptions: The United States and Germany*, ed. by Bredella and D. Haack (Tübingen: Narr, 1988), pp. 1-25 (pp. 8-9).

⁴⁹ These were the positions taken notably by: Katz and Braly (1933) who undertook the earliest empirical investigation of social stereotypes and were primarily concerned with their relation to prejudice; Adorno (1950/1969) whose post-war research identified stereotypes as the characteristic mode of thinking for people with authoritarian or pre-fascist personalities and who later saw stereotyping as a foundation of ethnocentrism; and Allport (1954) who expounded on Katz and Braly's exaggeration hypothesis; cf. K. Henwood and others, 'Stereotyping and Affect in Discourse: Interpreting the Meaning of Elderly, Painful Self-Disclosure', in *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, ed. by D. Mackie and D. Hamilton (San Diego: Academic Press, 1993), pp. 269-96 (pp. 270-71).

⁵⁰ V. Ottati and Y. Lee, 'Accuracy: A Neglected Component of Stereotype Research', in Lee and others, pp. 29-59 (p. 32).

and corrupt culture. As one commentator expresses it: 'It was comfortable knowing that prejudice and stereotype could be localized in the Archie Bunkers of this world'.⁵¹

While there may be many different categories of stereotypes, the work done by social psychologists on social stereotypes (i.e. stereotypes of human groups) dominates the field and provides the framework for this treatment of national images in cartoons. Since the 1970s two general approaches have dominated the study of stereotyping in social psychology. The social cognition approach, with its emphasis on cognitive process, error and bias, has been predominant in North America and owes its development to Gordon Allport (1897-1967). He first articulated the extent to which stereotyping and prejudice are fundamental cognitive processes. The second approach has been primarily European and is based upon the social identity and self-categorization theories, expounded principally by Henri Tajfel (1919 - 1982).⁵²

Yet the view that stereotypes were fundamentally flawed has continued to prevail, despite a lack of empirical support. Most research has been laboratory-based, rather than fieldwork, and has been concerned with inaccurate, negative stereotypes, thus dealing with only one pairing in this complex of variables.⁵³

1.3.1.2 Towards a contemporary definition of 'stereotype'

Contemporary thinking on stereotypes echoes in many ways Lippmann's. Stereotypes are a functional aid to orientation, employed by us all to make cognitive sense of the constant stream of new impressions we are exposed to. However, far from being rigid and insensitive to contradiction, stereotypes appear to be fluid and variable according to intergroup relations, context, and the needs, values and purposes of the stereotyper.⁵⁴

Oakes et al. provide a widely accepted contemporary definition of social stereotypes by describing them as a collection of attributes believed to define or characterize members of a social group. Thus, they argue, stereotypes are 'categorizations at the level of social identity,

⁵¹ D. Schneider, 'Modern Stereotype Research: Unfinished Business', in *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, ed. by C. Macrae and others (London: Guilford, 1996), pp. 419-53 (p. 420).

⁵² A Polish-born Holocaust survivor, Tajfel was the influential first Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Bristol. See *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henry Tajfel*, ed. by W. Robinson (Oxford: Heinemann, 1996); cf. C. Stangor and J. Jost, 'Commentary: Individual, Group and System Levels of Analysis and their Relevance for Stereotyping and Intergroup Relations', in *The Social Psychology of Stereotyping and Group Life*, ed. by R. Spears and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 336-58 (p. 337).

⁵³ Little work has, for example, been done on accurate, negative stereotypes; accurate, positive stereotypes; or inaccurate, positive stereotypes. cf. L. Jussim, C. McCauley and Y.-T. Lee, 'Why Study Stereotype Accuracy and Inaccuracy?', in Lee and others, pp. 3-28 (p.17).

⁵⁴ P. Oakes & others, *Stereotyping and Social Reality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 211-12.

in which people are defined in terms of the characteristics of the group as a whole'.⁵⁵ Rather than being fixed mental images imposed upon our view of the world, as Lippmann's theory suggests, stereotypes are 'the product of a dynamic process of social judgement', constructed flexibly to explain, describe and justify intergroup relations (pp. 211-12). Lippmann's picture metaphor is also considered misleading in the sense that a picture represents characteristics as exceptionless generalizations. Research shows that stereotyped characteristics are rarely if ever considered by subjects to apply to all members of the stereotyped group. Rather, stereotypes are better understood as probabilistic perceptions of group difference.⁵⁶

There is no empirical evidence to suggest that stereotypes per se are unjustified, inaccurate, exaggerated or oversimplified. It is also premature to conclude that they reflect ethnocentrism. In short, it appears that stereotypes have been stereotyped.⁵⁷

Demythologizing the concept of stereotype may mean the loss of its seductive charm for some:

In today's cognitive world, stereotypes are just generalizations, for better or worse, the products of everyone's minds. We have removed much of the historical fact from stereotypes. They are no longer seen as necessarily sour or rotten; they are not even flavored by the spice of everyday interaction in a multicultural society. In contemporary social psychology, stereotypes have no flavor at all.⁵⁸

However, as Schneider points out, we must face the fact that the stereotypes we most cling to are the ones that are negative, inaccurate, and culturally conditioned (p. 449). For stereotypes are like diamonds: they have many facets, reflecting the light of reality in different ways at different times.⁵⁹ They may be positive or negative; fair or unfair; rational or irrational; exaggerated or true to life.

1.3.1.3 In- and out-groups: hetero- and autostereotypes

Social psychologists argue that, in addition to the function of stereotypes as an aid in the cognitive structuring of the individual's environment, they are an integral part of social identity. While first hand personal experience plays a decisive role in stereotype development, many, if not most, stereotypes result from a process of socialization involving parents, schools and the media.⁶⁰ Thus they become widely shared within a given society or culture. According to self-categorization theory, an individual's sense of self is derived from the

⁵⁵ *ibid.*; see also S. Worchel and H. Rothgerber, 'Changing the Stereotype of the Stereotype', in Spears and others, pp. 72-93 (p. 74).

⁵⁶ McCauley, p. 239.

⁵⁷ Jussim and others, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Schneider, p. 419.

⁵⁹ Image used by Worchel and Rothgerber, p. 74.

⁶⁰ W. Ruf, 'Der Einfluß von Bildern auf die Beziehungen zwischen Nationen', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 23 (1973), 21-29 (p. 22).

group to which (s)he belongs: the ‘in-group’.⁶¹ The in-group can exist at various macro- and micro-levels, from nationality or race to peer-group or club affiliation. Identifying with the in-group means internalizing its stereotypes in order to be similar to other in-group members.⁶² Other social groups, to which the individual does not belong or identify with, are then ‘out-groups’.

Stereotypes are likewise classified according to the group to which they refer. Those an in-group creates and maintains of itself are ‘autostereotypes’: a kind of self-image at group level.⁶³ Those stereotypes that relate to out-groups are termed ‘heterostereotypes’. Autostereotypes tend to be more complex than heterostereotypes, whilst heterostereotypes would appear more likely to be exaggerated than autostereotypes.⁶⁴ Different perceiver groups frequently share a similar heterostereotype of a particular target group. Such perceptual convergence may be evidence that stereotypes can accurately reflect the target group’s ‘objective’ characteristics. According to Allport’s ‘earned reputation theory’ (1954), this sort of convergence most often occurs when perceivers have had direct interaction with the target group.⁶⁵

In the development of stereotypes there is a group dynamic tendency to contrast the in-group with an out-group, usually by setting a positive autostereotype against a negative heterostereotype. There is a long pedigree of imputing negative characteristics to national neighbours and social outsiders while promoting one’s own positive counter-image.⁶⁶

Such contrastive stereotyping fulfils a number of functions at both intra- and intergroup levels. At the intragroup level a group’s own identity can thus be defined and circumscribed, and an awareness of it amongst group members strengthened. Group weaknesses are warned of, and possibly undesirable aspects of a desired self-image are criticized by identifying them as elements of a negative heterostereotype. An idealized autostereotype also draws attention to the need for collective responsibilities particularly at times of change or crisis.⁶⁷

⁶¹ See J. Turner, ‘A Self-Categorization Theory’, in *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*, ed. by Turner and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), pp. 42-67.

⁶² M. Cinnirella, ‘Ethnic and National Stereotypes: A Social Identity Perspective’, in *Beyond Pug’s Tour*, ed. by C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 18-51 (p. 44).

⁶³ Ottati and Lee, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁴ McCauley, p. 240.

⁶⁵ Ottati and Lee, p. 35.

⁶⁶ For this paragraph: G. Blaicher, ‘Zur Entstehung und Verbreitung nationaler Stereotypen in und über England’, *DVJS für Literaturwissenschaft & Geistesgeschichte*, 51 (1977), 549-74 (p. 550); E. Sagarra, ‘The Longevity of National Stereotypes: The German “National Character” from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day’, in *German Reflections*, ed. by J. Leerssen and M. Spiering (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 1-28 (pp. 2-3).

⁶⁷ Sources for this paragraph: O’Sullivan, pp. 62, 63, 66; R. Corbey and J. Leerssen, ‘Studying Alterity: Backgrounds and Perspectives’, in Corbey and Leerssen, pp. vi-xviii (p. vi); Blaicher, p. 569.

At the **intergroup** level, stereotypes contribute to the creation and maintenance of group ideologies, explaining or justifying a variety of social actions against out-groups. Within a society, also, stereotypes are used ideologically by the dominant groups and, as a consequence, cement the existing structures of control.⁶⁸ Secondly, they help the in-group create and/or maintain positively valued differentiations of themselves from out-groups.⁶⁹ Typically the in-group is favoured and idealized and the out-group depreciated, increasing self-esteem amongst in-group members and giving rise to ethnocentrism.⁷⁰ This is particularly the case when seeking to depict one's neighbours as enemies or barbarians and has been successfully employed as a mechanism in international relations for all of recorded history.⁷¹

As Dyserinck points out, every construction of a heterostereotype is accompanied by that of an autostereotype.⁷² They exist in a bilateral, photographic relationship where the autostereotype appears as the negative of the heterostereotype and vice-versa.⁷³ Representations of others (heteroimage) are also indirectly representations of self (autoimage), so much so that changes identified in the former tend rather to reflect changes in the circumstances of the perceiving group or their relationship with the perceived group.⁷⁴

In the context of cartoons, the cartoonist is the 'stereotyper' by employing/making use of an in-group's stereotypes, where the in-group is the cartoonist's target audience. This is usually the national readership of the newspaper printing the cartoons.

1.3.1.4 National stereotypes

As this study is primarily concerned with the cartoon portrayal of Britain and Germany the focus will be on **national** stereotypes as the chief component of these images. National stereotypes are a particular category of social stereotype and involve the general application of specific characteristics to members of a nation or inhabitants of a particular country held to

⁶⁸ H. Lutz, *'Indianer' und 'Native Americans': Zur sozial- und literaturhistorischen Vermittlung eines Stereotyps* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1985), p. 11.

⁶⁹ H. Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories* (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), p. 146.

⁷⁰ W. Stroebe and C. Insko, 'Stereotype, Prejudice, and Discrimination: Changing Conceptions in Theory and Research', in *Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing Conceptions*, ed. by D. Bar-Tal and others (New York: Springer, 1989), pp. 3-34 (p. 5).

⁷¹ M. Beller, 'Who Is a Barbarian?', *Il Confronto Letterario*, supplement to no. 24 (1996), 135-46 (pp. 138, 143). He cites the following superb *OED* etymological entry: 'A barbarian is a person who does not talk as we talk, or dress as we dress, or eat as we eat; in short, who is so audacious as not to follow our practice in all the trivialities of manners' (J. Hare, *Guesses at Truth*, 1827). The term originally referred to anyone who was not a Greek; then to anyone living outside the pale of the Roman Empire and its civilization. Later it was used for non-Christians.

⁷² (1988), p. 37. Dyserinck uses the term 'image' instead of 'stereotype' for reasons which will be explained in 1.3.5.

⁷³ T. Bleicher, 'Elemente einer komparatistischen Imagologie', *Literarische Imagologie. Formen und Funktionen nationaler Stereotype in der Literatur*, 2 (1980), 12-24 (p.18); Dyserinck (1982), p. 33.

⁷⁴ J. Nederveen Pieterse, 'Image and Power', in Corbey and Leerssen, pp. 191-203 (p. 200).

be representative thereof.⁷⁵ These characteristics are identified variously, for example on the basis of 'historical evidence' or popular myth. These stereotypes act in turn as myths and symbols to explain a group's socio-historical existence and its relations with others.⁷⁶ Few national stereotypes have any direct relation to the modern national reality of ethnic, cultural and political diversity.

Studies of national stereotypes show a consensus and stability of belief about the attributes of national groups.⁷⁷ They have often been developed over the course of centuries. Sometimes the historical reasons for the existence of some stereotypes may be veiled by time and/or their semantic core has taken on another value (for example, has become derogatory) because of changed relations between the group that employs the stereotype and the group that is stereotyped.⁷⁸ The stereotype of the avaricious Jew, so frequently featured in Nazi hate propaganda, is an example of this, with its roots in the Medieval restriction on the sorts of trades Jews could perform.

National stereotypes transcend the individual and may be modified by group experience and/or changes in the socio-cultural systems of in-group or out-group. Intergroup conflict and alliances are a major factor that can lead to dramatic changes in established stereotypes. Thus the political and economic relationship between two countries has a significant bearing upon the development and maintenance of their stereotypes of themselves and each other.

To traverse the world men must have maps of the world. Their persistent difficulty is to secure maps on which their own need, or someone else's need, has not sketched in the coast of Bohemia.⁷⁹

Lippmann's analogy of the dilemma of stereotyping points to a further truth about this phenomenon, namely that stereotypes of other nations, just as of other social groups, often

⁷⁵ Even iconic figures like the Apostle Paul have not blinked when using such generalizations. In a pastoral letter ascribed to him a clearly negative stereotype is held as authoritative: 'One of themselves, *even* a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies. This witness is true.' Titus 1.12-13a (Authorized Version; original italics and spelling). Here is the paradox of self-reference, a clash of incompatible meanings (for if he is right then he must be wrong) that is meat for both logician and pictorial satirist. cf. E. Gombrich, 'The Wit of Saul Steinberg', in *The Essential Gombrich*, ed. by R. Woodfield (London: Phaidon, 1996), pp. 539-45 (p. 540).

⁷⁶ K. Krakau, 'Einführende Überlegungen zur Entstehung und Wirkung von Bildern, die sich Nationen von sich und anderen machen', in *Deutschland und Amerika*, ed. by W. Adams and Krakau (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1985), pp. 9-18 (p. 12).

⁷⁷ Stroebe and Insko, p. 28: They cite studies by Katz and Brady (1933), Gilbert (1951), and Karlins (1969); M. Fischer (1979), p. 34.

⁷⁸ O'Sullivan, p. 28.

⁷⁹ Sources for this quotation and paragraph are consecutively: Krakau, p. 13; Stroebe and Insko, p. 29; Jussim and others, p. 8; H. Duijker & N. Frijda, *National Character and National Stereotypes* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing, 1960), p. 130; Lippmann, p. 16.

shed more light upon the stereotyper than the stereotyped. The highlighting of particular national characteristics can reveal a great deal about the norms, lifestyles and fears of the stereotyping nation.⁸⁰ Psychoanalytical theory explains that the ‘other’ is part of the self and is used as a screen onto which ideals, judgements and fears or longings can be projected or as a location to which problematic feelings about the self can be displaced.⁸¹

Contemporary problems can be portrayed and criticized by projecting them onto a national out-group and thus enabling the development of an ideal image for the in-group. Hence insights about a nation can be gained from an examination of its portrayal of and views about another.⁸² Zijderveld suggests stereotypes are ‘a kind of language which enables people to think and speak about their own national identity, by way of a detour’, containing folk wisdom and recalling collective experiences relating to the stereotyped nation.⁸³

1.3.1.5 A working definition

For the purpose of this study ‘stereotype’ will be defined as a shared, generalized belief about a group of people, an event or an institution. Such a belief could concern a personality trait, physical attribute, societal and/or historical role or even a specific behaviour. The group may be the in-group or an out-group; the event part of an in-group, out-group, or intergroup experience, such as the Second World War; the institution part of the in-group or out-group environment, or one in which both converge, such as the European Union.

Leaving aside text-related rhetorical and aesthetic considerations for the moment, the stereotype can be seen to function in a number of social-psychological ways. It may serve as diagnostic information about social groups; simplify a complex social environment; provide positive feedback about the stereotyper and the in-group and help create social self-esteem; and it can justify existing attitudes or social situations. There is no evidence to show that one function is more important than another.⁸⁴

Implicit in this definition and functional breakdown is the understanding that a stereotype says more about those who express and employ it than about that to which it refers. It is a route for self-discovery, for the way we look at others is also a way of looking at ourselves. Indeed, it is argued that only by looking at others can we really see ourselves, or by changing the way we look at others can we also change ourselves.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ O’Sullivan, p. 29.

⁸¹ E. van Alphen, ‘The Other Within’, in Corbey and Leerssen, pp. 1-16 (pp. 11,13).

⁸² O’Sullivan, p. 62 (citing Kruse, 1979) & pp. 64-65.

⁸³ ‘On the Nature and Functions of Clichés’, in Blaicher (1987), pp. 26-40 (p. 26).

⁸⁴ C. Stangor, ‘Content and Application Inaccuracy in Social Stereotyping’, pp. 280-81; McCauley and others, ‘Stereotype Accuracy’, p. 306: both in Lee, Jussim and McCauley.

⁸⁵ Firchow, p. 186.

It is worth remembering that the ‘stereotype’ is a construct, an abstraction, and is as such only accessible through verbal expression or symbols such as are contained in cartoons.⁸⁶ Moreover, the imagological investigation is centrally concerned with content rather than veracity; function rather than fact.

In conclusion, stereotypes are not necessarily bad. They can be used to challenge or maintain the status quo, and their application can have positive or negative consequences. Rather than being dysfunctional, distorted or prejudiced, they are formed to explain aspects of and relations between social groups and to help us make sense of the world we live in.⁸⁷ As such, they can act as a force for good:

Stereotypes can reflect real differences and identities between cultures or social groups. Accepting these cultural differences and identities may promote greater understanding among cultures. Furthermore, the recognition of real cultural differences may further enable us to understand and resolve realistic conflicts among groups.⁸⁸

1.3.2 Prejudice

‘Stereotype’ and ‘prejudice’ are not especially clear terms as we have seen about ‘stereotype’, and both carry a lot of political baggage.⁸⁹ Originally used as a judicial term meaning a prejudgement that may be either legitimate or improper, prejudice has been categorized generally as a negative expression of human cognition since the time of the Enlightenment.⁹⁰ The modern understanding has run closely with the definition of the term provided by Louis, Chevalier de Jaucourt (1704-80) in the *magnum opus* of that period, Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* :

PRÉJUGÉ, [...] faux jugement que l’âme [*sic*] porte de la nature des choses, après un exercice insuffisant de facultés intellectuelles; ce fruit malheureux de l’ignorance prévient l’esprit, l’aveugle & le captive.⁹¹

The distinction between stereotype and prejudice parallels that which is commonly made between beliefs or opinions and attitudes. Stroebe and Insko define the two as follows:

⁸⁶ S. von Bassewitz, *Stereotypen und Massenmedien* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 1990), p.18.

⁸⁷ McGarty and others, pp. 193-94, 198, 199.

⁸⁸ Ottati and Lee, p. 51.

⁸⁹ O’Sullivan, p. 24; Schneider, p. 445.

⁹⁰ See H.-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode*, 3rd edn (Tübingen: Mohr, Siebeck, 1960), pp. 255-261. Gadamer argues in favour of a fundamental rehabilitation of the concept of prejudice and a recognition of the fact that there are legitimate prejudices.

⁹¹ *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*, ed. by D. Diderot and J. Le Rond d’Alembert, 17 vols ([Paris]: Faulche, 1751-65), XIII (1765), 284-85 (p. 284); see also E. Wallner, *Vorurteil und Völkerverständigung*, *Nachbarn* 10 (Bonn: Kulturabteilung der Königlichen Niederländischen Botschaft, 1970), p. 7.

Stereotypes are beliefs or opinions about attributes of a social group or members whereas prejudice is conceptualized as a negative intergroup attitude. An attitude is a tendency to evaluate an entity with some degree of favor or disfavor. A prejudice is an attitude towards members of some outgroup and in which the evaluative tendencies are predominantly negative.

Moreover, they suggest that stereotypes must have some bearing upon the expression of prejudice because of the nature of this belief-attitude interrelationship:

Even though the existence of a prejudice toward some social group does not imply that all stereotypic beliefs about this group have to be negative, there should be a close relationship between a person's attitude towards some group and at least some of his or her beliefs about that group.⁹²

Social psychologists identify stereotype, prejudice and discrimination as the three components of category-based reactions to out-groups: stereotype is taken as the most cognitive component, prejudice as the most affective component, and discrimination as the most behavioural component. All three are seen as partly automatic and socially pragmatic, yet at the same time individually controllable and responsive to social structures.⁹³ While Allport saw a close relationship between prejudice and discrimination, other researchers have seen the connection as less direct.⁹⁴

Prejudice need not imply a dislike based on irrational beliefs about an out-group, because sometimes out-group rejection may have legitimate causes in particular intergroup contexts (Jews disliking Nazis, for example). Neither should it imply that all intergroup attitudes are negative, because an out-group can also be perceived favourably, as is the case, for example, between friendly nations.⁹⁵

As with a stereotype, the sharing of a prejudice by members of an in-group is a mark of group identity and belonging. Allport explains that all groups develop a way of living with their own characteristic codes, beliefs, standards and 'enemies' to suit their need for a corporate identity, and the acceptance of group stereotypes and prejudices is brought about by the individual's need to belong.⁹⁶

Prejudice differs from stereotype in that it also contains a behavioural component. Artists/authors making generalizations and rash assumptions, which do not contain this component, should be described as engaging in stereotyping rather than expressing prejudice.

⁹² Stroebe and Insko, pp. 8, 10.

⁹³ S. Fiske, 'Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination', in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. by D. Gilbert, Fiske and G. Lindzey, 4th edn, 2 vols (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill, 1998), II, 357-414 (p. 357).

⁹⁴ M. Koch, 'Die Veränderung von Stereotypen in der Öffentlichkeitsarbeit', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 3 (1973), 36-46 (p. 44).

⁹⁵ This paragraph is based on: Stroebe and Insko, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁶ *The Nature of Prejudice* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1979), pp. 39-40.

Thus, while both prejudice and stereotypes have socio-psychological relevance, only the concept of stereotype is applicable to the textual analysis of a medium like cartoons. Whilst contemporary commentators warn against lightly assuming that stereotypes bear a *close* relation to prejudice, recent research suggests that the link is not insignificant and that modifying stereotypes may be a more reasonable way to reduce prejudice than trying to change personality traits.⁹⁷

1.3.3 Clichés

The concept of cliché is so closely related to that of stereotype that they are often considered interchangeable. Zijderveld, however, convincingly delimits these two terms by arguing that ‘all stereotypes are clichés, but not all clichés are stereotypes’ because they do not always possess the moral and metaphysical dimensions stereotypes have.⁹⁸ Many clichés are simply hackneyed turns of phrase, images or gestures that have nothing to do with the expression of racism or ethnocentrism, do not give rise to prejudice, and so do not contain the same socio-psychological import as stereotypes.

The classic Tenniel cartoon allegory ‘Dropping the Pilot’ is an example of a caricatural cliché that cannot be considered a stereotype. It is frequently used in cartoons commenting on political resignations, or those that are desired, such as in Low’s depiction of Chancellor Adenauer clinging fast to the helm of state during high seas with Erhard looking on as the disgruntled captain.⁹⁹ The use of this cliché is not connected with any specific social, political or national type.

Zijderveld tenders the following definition of cliché:

A cliché can be defined as a traditional form of human expression (in words, emotions, gestures, acts) which – due to repetitive use in social life – has lost its original, often ingenious, heuristic power. Although it thus fails to contribute meaning to social interactions and to communication, it does function socially, since it manages to stimulate behaviour (i.e. cognition, emotion, volition, action), while it avoids reflection on meanings. (p. 28)

Very few contemporary cartoons employ clichés that are not, in some way, part of a stereotype.

⁹⁷ J. Dovidio and others, ‘Stereotypes, Prejudice and Discrimination: Another Look’, in *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, ed. by C. Neil Macrae, C. Stangor and M. Hewstone (London: Guilford, 1996), pp. 276-319 (p. 311); W. Stephen and others, ‘On the Relationship between Stereotype and Prejudice: An International Study’, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20 (1994), 277-84 (p. 283).

⁹⁸ (1987), p. 28.

⁹⁹ David Low, ‘Pilot that won’t be dropped’, [New Statesman], 1 July 1959, in which Erhard remarks to his officers: ‘Trouble is the old man thinks he’s the wheel.’

1.3.4 The image of the enemy / *Feindbild*

The concept of the enemy is an extreme form of stereotype and exists as part of the dichotomic friend-foe schema, by which out-groups are categorized in strict 'either/or' terms, depending upon whether their beliefs and/or behaviour accord with those of the in-group or not. It is a central category determining the perception and interpretation of political events, particularly at international level, reducing political complexities and avoiding ambiguity and insecurity. It has been commonly employed in times of war or national crisis.¹⁰⁰ Such an image is rarely plucked out of the air but developed from existing national stereotypes often by the ruling elite.¹⁰¹ Its basic motto is that you should hate your enemies as much as you love yourself.¹⁰²

Unlike national stereotypes, which allow positive and negative characteristics to coexist (for example, 'the Germans are humourless but hard-working'), the image of the enemy tends to contain only exaggerated negative evaluations that are designed to elicit feelings of animosity and in-group solidarity from in-group members: 'Feindbilder sind ein Sonderfall von Stereotypen, jener Sonderfall, in dem das feste Bild so negativ besetzt ist, daß es in uns Abwehrbereitschaft, Feindseligkeit, Aggressionen auslöst.'¹⁰³

The friend-foe pattern serves two major functions. First, it assists in the integration of a bloc of friends because it makes the need to be unified against a real or imagined enemy more plausible. Secondly, the concept of the enemy provides an appropriate target for the projection of in-group problems and the outlet of aggression.¹⁰⁴

It is rare to find images of the enemy in the fullest sense in the British cartoons surveyed, although occasions such as the Gulf War and the 1992 currency crisis produced images attacking the Germans so vehemently that they were tantamount to *Feindbilder*. Where such images have occurred they have mirrored anti-German public opinion and/or a deterioration in Anglo-German relations, as in these two examples. Most cartoons that could be interpreted as presenting an image of Germans as the enemy appeared in the period immediately before, during and after the process of German reunification. As such it can be seen that they reflected the feelings of suspicion and deep concern which this process engendered for many

¹⁰⁰ In analysing the rich fund of *Feindbilder* produced in the First World War the German cartoon researcher Ferdinand Avenarius felt the need for further classification. He distinguished three kinds: *Hetzbilder* (rabble-rousing images) designed to incite animosity; *Wutbilder* (rage images) to discharge the tension of hate; and *Speibilder* (vomit images) to besmirch the enemy. F. Avenarius, *Die Weltkarikatur in der Völkerverhetzung* (Munich: Kunstwartverlag Callwey, 1921), p.182.

¹⁰¹ O'Sullivan, p. 35.

¹⁰² Ostermann and H. Nicklas, *Vorurteile und Feindbilder* (Munich: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1976), p. 30.

¹⁰³ M. Schmolke, 'Stereotypen, Feindbilder und die Rolle der Medien', *Communicatio socialis*, 23 (1990), 69-78 (p.70); cf. also McCauley, p. 240.

¹⁰⁴ Ostermann and Nicklas, p. 31.

people in Britain. Michael Cummings's cartoon at the height of the Gulf War showing a bloated Chancellor Kohl with an Iron Cross tie pointing maniacally to four huge German-made missiles about to land on a tank containing the allied leaders has something of the venom of a *Feindbild* about it (CWTR, pp. 124-25).¹⁰⁵

I have found no evidence of images of this nature being used in German cartoons of the British over the last fifty years. Certainly Britain and Mrs Thatcher in particular were depicted in bellicose terms during the Falklands War, but no image could be said to approximate an image of the enemy, not least because this was not an Anglo-German conflict. It is not something one would expect to find in German cartooning anyway since 1945. Transforming images into *Feindbilder* was a speciality of the Nazi propaganda machine, and Germans experienced it to excess during the dictatorship (as others have done and continue to do under dictatorships everywhere). This has conditioned Germans certainly those who have long memories – against any form of caricature that employs unfairly harsh stereotypes, particularly of national or ethnic out-groups.¹⁰⁶

1.3.5 Image

The concept of image is generally considered synonymous with that of stereotype, although some commentators hold that 'image' should be understood as being different from 'stereotype'.

O'Sullivan sees a basic difference related to individual and group (that is, shared) perceptions. The image of a particular country may be determined by national stereotypes, but can additionally be influenced by the personal knowledge and attributions of individual authors/artists as well as the projections of their own wishes, problems, dreams and vision. Bleicher sees an image as being based upon elements that were only valid for a set period of time. However, when an image remains constant despite historical changes it becomes a stereotype or cliché.¹⁰⁷

Both image and stereotype are forms of reality recognition and may have a common development and function. However, Dröge argues that, whereas the relationship between the stereotyper and the stereotyped is one of interdependence, with 'image' subject and object are

¹⁰⁵ Caldwell's 'March of the Fourth Reich' (*Daily Star*, 20 February 1990), Heath's Bundesbank bombers (*Independent Magazine*, 25 July 1992), and Cummings's pound crisis cartoon (*Sunday Express*, 27 September 1992) are all further examples which depict Germany in terms reminiscent of a time when Germany was Britain's declared enemy.

¹⁰⁶ cf. M. Rehs, 'Nationale Vorurteile – ein Problem internationaler Verständigung', *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 23 (1973), 3-9 (p. 5).

¹⁰⁷ O'Sullivan, pp. 42-3; Bleicher, p. 15.

functionally entirely separate. Marten maintains that image tends to be used in contemporary language to refer to stereotypes transmitted by the media.¹⁰⁸

‘Image’ can be seen as the most neutral of all the imagological concepts presented here, lacking the definitional sharpness and the moral and emotional charge **commonly** associated with the other terms:

So kann etwa ein Auslandsbild richtig sein oder falsch, differenziert oder vage, es kann positiv oder negativ gefärbt sein und einer feindseligen oder freundlichen Haltung entsprechen. Es kann auch, ja es wird meist vorurteilvolle und stereotype Vorstellungen enthalten.¹⁰⁹

‘Image’ can be interpreted as being a sort of umbrella term, encompassing and existing above the other concepts dealt with in this chapter: ‘Ein Bild bezeichnet die Summe der auf eine Person, eine Gruppe von Personen oder auf Dinge der Umwelt bezogenen Vorstellungen, die aus der Bewußtwerdung des eigenen Ichs in bezug auf anderen entstehen.’¹¹⁰

‘Image’ is to be understood in what follows as referring in general terms to national depictions in the work of cartoonists in German and British publications and includes both their individual perceptions and interpretations as well as the stereotypes and clichés they employ.

1.4 Rhetorical and aesthetic considerations

Stereotypes can fulfil equally important text-based functions and serve as a valuable tool in the fashioning of communicative discourse. They always represent a foundation upon which every description of the stereotyped group will be written and read. They are integrally part of the conventional stockpile of every linguistic and cultural community, whose members readily understand and recognize them.¹¹¹ Stereotypes may have little to do with historical exactness or the situation to which they are applied. They are more usually projections of previously existent facts which have been long superseded before the stereotypes became publicized.¹¹²

The aesthetic potential of stereotypes can be realized on this foundation by the author/artist who employs them to meet the expectations of the readership, or contradict these

¹⁰⁸ F. Dröge, *Publizistik und Vorurteil* (Münster: Regensberg, 1967), pp. 124-25; E. Marten, *Das Deutschlandbild in der amerikanischen Berichterstattung* (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag, 1989), p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ G. Prinz, ‘Heterostereotype durch Massenkommunikation’, *Publizistik*, 15 (1970), 195-210 (p. 201).

¹¹⁰ D.-H. Pageaux, ‘L’imagerie culturelle: de la littérature comparée à l’anthropologie culturelle’, *Synthesis*, 10 (1983), 79- 88 (p. 86); paraphrased in A. Schwarz, *Die Reise ins Dritte Reich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), p. 21.

¹¹¹ O’Sullivan, p. 42.

¹¹² Fischer (1979), p. 35.

expectations. Or the author/artist may choose not to employ them in those places where they are expected in order to frustrate the intended readership. As stated in the above, stereotypes can be thematized, used to 'go against the grain', played with and/or allowed a specific function in the text. This, then, is part of the creative dynamic between author/artist and subject matter. In Eco's formulation the material is interrogated by the former and 'reveals a natural law of its own, but at the same time contains the recollection of the culture with which it is loaded', which Eco describes as 'the echo of intertextuality'.¹¹³

Stereotypes work as signals for the readership and are an important part of a system of recognition and association, which the author/artist needs to exploit in order to put a point across to the readership.¹¹⁴ Stereotypes may thus be used in a variety of productive and creative ways and should not necessarily be seen as inferior or primitive means in textual discourse. This said, O'Sullivan sees here a deconstructive imperative with negative stereotypes: 'Bei negativen Stereotypen müßten diese Möglichkeiten dazu benutzt werden, sie aufzubrechen.' (p. 218)

Cartoonists in particular can gain distinct advantage from appealing to the stereotype foreknowledge of their readership, which may be in the form of images. The readership is given an aid to orientation in the text and can quickly identify and categorize the foundation image. It can thus be effectively led into a more complex communicative structure, which might otherwise be seen as impenetrable and immediately passed over. Whether this is advantageous overall depends very much on how the stereotype is used and integrated in the text, how it is received by the readership, and whether it is deconstructed if negative. Often the author/artist has no other choice but to use stereotypes as a starting point, because the image of a nation has been so laid down by social and historical conditions that to ignore them would be to alienate the audience.¹¹⁵

Stereotypes have an additional, emotional appeal to a readership which authors/artists are keen to exploit. They might be used to elicit strong feelings about a subject; usually those of animosity. Or they have a humorous content (albeit at the expense of the stereotyped group) which may be primitive but no less effective in its impact on the readership.¹¹⁶ This is of great consequence in cartooning, because it is what the readership has come to expect for quick satisfaction and tension relief:

¹¹³ U. Eco, *Reflections on the Name of the Rose* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985), p. 8; see O'Sullivan, p. 67.

¹¹⁴ O'Sullivan, p. 216.

¹¹⁵ For this and the preceding sentence: O'Sullivan, pp. 218, 67.

¹¹⁶ cf. Forster's 'flat character' theory in *Aspects of the Novel* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962): 'One great advantage of flat characters is that they are easily recognized by the emotional eye, not by the visual eye which merely notes the recurrence of a proper name', p. 76.

Viele Stereotypen, gerade die beliebtesten, entspringen nichts weiter als einem Zeitvertreib des Homo ludens – er pflegt seine Vorurteile wie einen guten Witz, und möchte ihnen entsprechend oft begegnen. Auch die Zwillingschwester des Stereotyps, die Verallgemeinerung, gehört in den Kontext des kulturellen entertainment. [...] Wir genießen die Unrichtigkeit der Übertreibung, weil wir ohne sie gar nicht auf den Begriff kämen.¹¹⁷

The functional role national stereotypes play in a work is something that needs to be valued, for removing them could mean a loss of concretization and the construction of persons and places without a specifically recognizable national identity. As O’Sullivan points out, this would be counterproductive:

Eine derartige ‘gesichtslose’ Internationalisierung wäre aber kaum ein Beitrag zur Völkerverständigung, denn zu einer Verständigung der Völker [...] gehören nun einmal die Wahrnehmung und Tolerierung der nationalen Eigenarten und die Auseinandersetzung mit den Bildern, die in einer Nation von einer anderen vorhanden sind. (p. 218)

1.5 In conclusion

The purpose of this section has been to explain the method and terminology employed in this study. Central to the imagological approach is the context-related analysis of form and function of images as well as an investigation of the ideology they represent. This rests on the belief that the image we have of the ‘other’ reflects the image we have of ourselves and aids the construction and maintenance of our own group identity. As part of the image complex, stereotyping has been identified as an intrinsic and inescapable part of human cognition, helping us to cope with our environment and define ourselves against others. Stereotypes as generalizations are, therefore, not to be seen as bad or wrong per se. They may bear little relation to reality, may be irrationally fixed but are, nevertheless, subject to change. They may give rise to prejudice, and this is when they become a cause for concern. National images develop as part of entertainment and informational discourses. National stereotypes, in particular, are useful as rhetorical and aesthetic tools.

In the next chapter these observations will be related to press and print cartooning in Germany and Britain from 1945 to 2000. A definitional treatment and an overview of the historical development of the genre will provide the background for an investigation of the contemporary practice of this media art form in each country. Attention will be given to those areas especially relevant to the imagological agenda, such as the function and influence of cartoonists and their position in the structure of the German and British print media.

¹¹⁷ T. Kielinger, ‘Die Rolle des Stereotyps in der internationalen Politik – Das Beispiel der deutsch-britischen Beziehungen’, in *Festschrift für Martin Kriele*, ed. by B. Ziemeke and others (Munich: Beck, 1997), pp. 1513-28 (p. 1513).

2 CARTOONS AND CARICATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the second foundation for this study of British and German caricatural images of each other by examining the medium of cartoons and caricatures in general. In the first section, the process of defining the two terms is charted over time to arrive at a contemporary differentiation appropriate for their usage here. The second section presents an historical overview of the application of caricature and cartooning as a satirical and critical means in the modern age. Particular attention will be given to the expression of the genre in the two countries under consideration, Britain and Germany. The third section deals with facets of the nature of cartoons and caricature relevant to the areas of imagological analysis outlined in the previous chapter.

The focus in the fourth section will be on the functions, influence and practical parameters of cartooning as part of the print media as variously defined by commentators and cartoonists themselves. In the penultimate section the relationship between cartoons and the print media will be investigated further to give a more contextualized picture of the position cartoonists occupy in the publications for which they work, as well as the way they contribute to the press package on offer. The final section is concerned with the concept of stereotype in the context of cartoons and the media.

2.1 Definitions and typology

Cartoon and caricature are not the same thing, although the two terms function almost interchangeably. The areas to which the terms are applied and their content cover such a wide spectrum that a Babel of meanings easily results; a fact not helped by the limited degree of consensus amongst art theorists about the defining qualities of cartoons and caricatures.¹¹⁸ One difficulty is that caricature is seen as the protégé of satire, the technique that uses wit in the form of irony, innuendo or outright derision to expose human vice or folly; yet cartoon, as the child of caricature, is not necessarily satirical. Another complexity is philological. The usage and meaning of the words varies from one European language to another.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ B. Woschek, *Zur Witzigkeit von Karikaturen* (Moers: Edition Aragon, 1991), pp. 10, 16.

¹¹⁹ French differentiates between *portrait chargé*, *caricature* and *dessin humoristique*; Dutch between *karikatuur* and *spotprent*; Italian between *caricatura* and *vignetta*. The first term in each roughly equates to the British English sense of caricature. The German usage complicates matters: *Karikatur* or *Zerrbild* can be both a caricature and a political satirical cartoon, while *Cartoon* is used generally for humorous, non-satirical drawings. Over the last few decades 'cartoon' in US-American English has come to be generally associated with the animated variety unless otherwise specified. cf. Woschek, pp. 14-15; J. Fritz, *Satire und Karikatur* (Brunswick: Westermann, 1980), p. 40.

Because the use of the word caricature in the context of satirical art predates that of cartoon and because caricature is one of the fundamental building blocks of the cartoon it is logical to begin by defining caricature.

2.1.1 Caricature

The word ‘caricature’ is derived from the Italian verb *caricare* meaning to load or exaggerate. The first use of the term ‘caricatura’ occurs in the preface of *Diverse figure* (1646) which is itself the first theoretical discussion of the technique.¹²⁰ It describes the artistic exaggeration of specific, naturally imperfect human features for the purpose of entertainment and to achieve their idealized representation:

Il valoroso artefice, che sà alla natura porgere aiuto, rappresenta quell’alteratione assai più espressamente, e pone avanti à gli occhi de’ riguardanti il ritrattino carico alla misura, che alla perfetta deformità più si co[n]viene.¹²¹

The talented draughtsman, who knows how to help nature, depicts that alteration much more expressly and puts it before the beholder as a small exaggerated portrait in a way more suitable for a perfect deformity. [My translation]

Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) advanced the significance of caricature, seeing it as a way of reproducing, through exaggeration, quirks both of appearance and personality, and so revealing a truer portrait of an individual. In a verse satire published anonymously in 1648, a session of caricaturing is described involving Bernini and the poet. Addressing the reader, the latter explains depicting an individual by this means:

S'egli have membro alcun mal fatto o torto,
O che da gli altri sia lontano, o presso
Piu del dovere, o troppo lungo, o corto:
Quella sproporzion si cresce: e spesso,
Ben chè venga più brutto assai, diresti
Somiglia più che'l naturale stesso.¹²²

¹²⁰ In a text attributed to the Mannerist painter Annibale Carracci (1560–1609).

¹²¹ *Diverse figure*, preface by G. A. Mosini (Rome: Grignani, 1646), p.16. For a copy of and commentary on the preface see D. Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and History* (London: Warburg, 1947), pp. 231-275; cf. also G. Unverfehrt, ‘Karikatur – Zur Geschichte eines Begriffs’, in *Bild als Waffe*, ed. by G. Langemeyer and others, 2nd rev. edn (Munich: Prestel, 1985), pp. 345-54 (p. 346); B. Bornemann, *A. Paul Weber: Seine zeitkritische und humoristische Druckgraphik von 1945 bis 1976* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1982), p. 57.

¹²² Paolo Giordano Il Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, *Parallelo fra la città e la villa – satire undici* (Bracciano) 8th satire; cited in A. Muñoz, *Roma barocca* (Milan: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1919), pp. 369-70; cf. also Mahon, p. 261, for sourcing. This insight about caricature’s ability to reflect the essence of the subject is also ascribed to Annibale Carracci by Gombrich and Kris, who provide without source the following paraphrase in *Caracature* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940), pp 11-12:

‘Is it not the caricaturist’s task,’ he is reported to have said, ‘exactly the same as the

If he has a misshapen or distorted limb,
 Or [is] far from the others or too close,
 Or too long or too short,
 This disproportion is magnified: and often
 Although he is shown much uglier, you could say
 That it is a more accurate resemblance. [My translation]¹²³

From the eighteenth century on ‘caricature’ was used in English to describe all humorous and satirical drawings, particularly until the mid-nineteenth century.¹²⁴ A contemporary definition limits the use of the term to those artistic techniques which distort the human image through the exaggeration of specific individual characteristics (or other deviations from an ideal norm), thus reflecting the original principles outlined above.¹²⁵ The pioneer German cartoon historian Eduard Fuchs (1870-1940) adds that caricaturing also involves a process of reduction, so that only the essentials of an appearance remain to visually accost the viewer. He describes this in characteristically florid fashion as the aim of caricature:

Mit ihren Mitteln, seien es nun die der Grotteske, der Symbolik, der Allegorie u.s.w., all die charakteristischen Merkmale, die physischen und psychischen, einer Erscheinung herauszuholen und in geistreicher Weise dieselbe auf Grundlinien ihres Wesen zu reduzieren. Damit schält sie aber eine Erscheinung von allen Nebensächlichen los und rückt deren geniale Größe oder ebenso deren kleinliche und ängstlich verborgen

classical artist’s? Both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance. Both try to help nature accomplish its plan. The one may strive to visualise the perfect form and to realise it in his work, the other to grasp the perfect deformity, and thus reveal the very essence of a personality. A good caricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself.’

Acknowledging the source as the Mosini preface, Gombrich states whilst the word ‘essence’ does not occur in the section ascribed to Carracci, ‘those who knew the theory understood that where [Carracci] speaks of carrying out Nature’s real intentions he refers to the Aristotelian theory of “essence” or *ousia*.’ (Letter to the author, 31 December 1998). Nevertheless, the use of the term ‘personality’ in the paraphrase is not only vague (does it mean ‘individual’ or ‘temperament’?) but also outside the language of the preface. The final point in the paraphrase is, also in my reading of it, not one made there or by Carracci.

¹²³ A freer translation recreating the rhyming verse of the original would be:

This art makes of disproportion,
 Exaggeration or contortion,
 In body or mind
 [Whatever you may find],
 A truer likeness than you’ll see
 By simply looking at him, her or me.

[by Will Baynes for the author, December 2002]

¹²⁴ Such drawings were also called in English ‘madde designes’ (notably by Charles I), ‘hieroglyphics’ (in the reign of George II), and ‘pencilings’ (initially by *Punch*). M. Bryant and S. Heneage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists: 1730-1980* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994), p. vii; M. Spielmann, *The History of “Punch”* (London: Cassell, 1895), p. 186.

¹²⁵ H. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 33.

gehaltenen Schwächen in eine derart grelle Beleuchtung, daß sie selbst dem ungeübtesten Auge zur klaren Erkenntnis kommen.¹²⁶

While arguing that the boundaries of caricature are fluid, Hofmann also maintains that the principal features are those of exaggeration and distortion.¹²⁷ This though, as Woschek points out, depends on problematic definitions of each of the latter, leading that commentator to conclude: ‘Es gibt keine allgemeingültigen, notwendigen oder hinreichenden Bedingungen, die den Gebrauch des Begriffs “Karikatur” beschreiben.’¹²⁸

While exaggeration (or the more generic term ‘distortion’¹²⁹) is a common element of caricature, it does not account for the whole caricatural palette. Metaphorical transmutations such as depicting Helmut Kohl as a piranha or Margaret Thatcher as a bellicose Britannic sea-monster are not explicit examples of exaggeration.¹³⁰ In an exposition of the term by Rivers, which will guide its use in this study, caricature is defined as the artistic use of deformation for satirical purposes. Such deformation can be achieved not just by exaggeration or distortion but also by substitution, juxtaposition, or metamorphosis, or by combinations of these, which serve to individualize the representation.¹³¹

Caricature is generally used to refer specifically to ‘anti-portraits’ of recognizable individuals.¹³² This involves the (frequently comic) deformation of personal characteristics, which are usually but not always facial, accentuating the most negative features, so that the

¹²⁶ *Die Karikatur der Europäischen Völker*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Berlin: Hofmann, 1904), 1: *Vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit*, pp. 8, 10. Fuchs was an extraordinary figure in modern German art history. Promoted from bookkeeper to editor-in-chief of the satirical working-class paper *Süddeutscher Postillon* at the age of 22, he was an unconventional researcher – writing amongst other things a history of erotic art – prodigious collector, poet and cultural revolutionary, whose life and work was directed by staunchly socialist beliefs. A member of the Spartacus League and later the German Communist Party, he was Rosa Luxemburg’s intermediary to Lenin during the November Revolution and was forced to flee Germany in 1933. His fellow Parisian exile Walter Benjamin wrote a philosophical tribute: ‘Eduard Fuchs, der Sammler und Historiker’, *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 6 (1937), 346-81. See T. Huonker, *Revolution, Moral and Kunst: Eduard Fuchs, Leben und Werk* (Zurich: Limmat, 1985), pp. 316-355.

¹²⁷ ‘Die Karikatur – eine Gegenkunst’, in Langemeyer and others, pp. 355-83 (pp. 357, 359). This is an abridged version of his introduction to *Die Karikatur von Leonardo bis Picasso* (Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1956). Hofmann is seen as the most influential German-language caricature theorist after Fuchs. Woschek, p. 17.

¹²⁸ Woschek, pp. 193, 18-26. He nevertheless lists four characteristics which carry weight and are more or less shared by all caricatures: 1. Its specific meaning lies in the joke; 2. Its relationship to the subjects rests on extreme, formal deviations, which emphasize the characteristics of the subject; 3. Its relationship to the subject is metaphorical; 4. Its [hidden] objects are aggression and /or sexuality [p. 27].

¹²⁹ Basically, it entails depicting the features of someone or something as substantially exaggerated, disfigured, or overly simplified.’ *Transmutations* (Lanham, MD: UPA, 1991), p. 9.

¹³⁰ For examples, see *CWTR*, pp. 46-49, 55-57, 160-61 (Adenauer as a dragon), 200-1.

¹³¹ Rivers, p. 5.

¹³² J. Geipel, *The Cartoon* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972), p. 13.

individual appears grotesque while remaining recognizable. Thus, caricature is almost always negative and critical in intent, yet never so divorced from reality as to be unassimilable.¹³³

2.1.2 Cartoon

'Cartoon' in its original and now secondary meaning refers to a preliminary sketch or design for a major artistic composition. In 1843 *Punch*, in its third year of publication, published a series of six satirical sketches entitled 'Punch's Cartoons' referring to a competition and exhibition organized by Prince Albert to provide designs for frescoes to adorn the newly rebuilt Houses of Parliament.¹³⁴ Thereafter, the term became permanently associated with satirical illustrations commenting on current events.¹³⁵

Like its progenitor the caricature, the cartoon (in the satirical sense) is a difficult thing to define closely. Basically any illustration containing elements of caricatural deformation could be called a cartoon.¹³⁶ Yet while many cartoons contain caricatural elements, many do not.¹³⁷ A realistic drawing with a joke or witticism does not constitute a caricature but is widely considered to be a cartoon.¹³⁸

Cartoons are generally more complex in their communication than caricatures, generating meaning by use of signs, symbols, literary and historical allusions, visual analogies and written texts, all of which belong to a specific cultural context.¹³⁹ While consisting primarily of a visual image, a cartoon is unlike a caricature in also being a text, which is meant to be read and not just looked at. Words are contained in captions, speech balloons or within the drawing itself and are often essential for an understanding of the cartoon as a whole. As one

¹³³ For this and the preceding sentence: cf. E. Dennis, 'The Regeneration of Political Cartooning', *Journalism Quarterly*, [51] (Winter 1974), 664-69 (p. 666). Meanwhile, David Low cuts through all the theoretical postulating to assert in characteristically pithy fashion that 'the essential feature of caricature is that it should be a lark.' C. Seymour-Ure and J. Schoff, *David Low* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985), p. 144.

¹³⁴ The exhibition itself was satirized in the first sketch drawn by John Leech (1817-64) and superscribed 'Cartoon, No. 1' (*Punch*, 15 July 1843, pp. 22-23). The cartoon criticized the use of public money for such purposes, rather than for the alleviation of poverty. See Spielmann (1895), p. 187.

¹³⁵ After 1843 a distinction was made between cartoons and caricatures, with the latter only being used for portrait caricature (Bryant and Heneage, p. viii). It was not until the 1860s that humorous cartoons became separated as a distinct genre from social and political cartoons. G. Dines-Levy, 'Towards a sociology of cartoons' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Salford University, 1990), p. 21.

¹³⁶ cf. R. Harrison, *The Cartoon* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981), p. 17.

¹³⁷ A point made by one of the greatest practitioners of the art, David Low: 'A cartoon is an illustration of a political or social idea, served up sometimes in caricatural draughtsmanship, sometimes not.' *Ye Madde Designers* (London: Studio, 1935), p. 40.

¹³⁸ As was typical of the Victorian *Punch* style; recall, for example, the cartoon which gave the English language the expression 'a curate's egg' (9 November 1895, 109, p. 222).

¹³⁹ A. Berger, 'An Equilibrium of Idiocias: Cartoons As Instant Communication', *Public Communication Review*, 1 (1981), 42-46 (p. 43).

commentator has put it, ‘das Wort kann der Punkt auf dem “i” sein’.¹⁴⁰ Thus, cartoons represent a combination of iconic and discursive modes, with the emphasis being on the former.¹⁴¹ Bornemann defines the term ‘cartoon’ as broadly embracing all forms of graphic representation which are satirical or humorous:

Im weitesten Sinne umfaßt Karikatur [...] alle graphischen Darstellungen, die sich in tendenziöser, kritisch-satirischer Absicht gegen bestehende Normen und Autoritäten sowie Mißstände richten oder auf untendenziöse, humoristische Weise vorgegebene Ordnungen in Frage stellen. (1982, p. 146)

This provides a useful general definition. It is complemented by Kurt Tucholsky’s declaration that the stuff of caricature, satire, is at its very core unfair, causing the just to suffer with the unjust (cited by Fritz, pp. 208-9), as well as by Geipel’s reflection on the cartoon’s underlying character:

Regardless of the purposes to which it is put, which may range from scorching satire to harmless persiflage, the cartoon is at base an aggressive medium, an offensive weapon whose effect can be devastating. (p. 21)

For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘cartoon’ will be used to mean a pictorial satire, which may contain caricature within the context of a particular situation or analogy, produced for publication in the print media.¹⁴² Almost all of the illustrations dealt with in this study are, therefore, cartoons rather than merely caricatures.

In what follows the term cartoon will be used to include caricature, unless the latter is specifically stated.

2.1.3 Cartoon typology

A cartoon need no more be humorous than it need be satirical. Several terms are used to typologize cartoons and these will be clarified in what follows.

‘Political cartoons’ are understood as commenting on current political affairs in the regular press and, while satirical, are not necessarily funny. Indeed they may be deadly serious. Heuss

¹⁴⁰ B. Bornemann, ‘Theorie der Karikatur’, in *Karikaturen – Karikaturen?*, ed. by F. Baumann (Berne: Benteli, 1972), pp. 5-23 (p. 13).

¹⁴¹ cf. B. Banks, ‘Metaphors As Argument in Editorial Cartoons’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1982), p. 3.

¹⁴² Commentators do not generally label as a ‘cartoon’ a satirical and humorous drawing produced prior to the *Punch* coinage, preferring to use the period term ‘caricature’ (for both kinds), visual/pictorial/graphic satire, or satirical print/drawing. Likewise, the pre-1843 artists are all called ‘caricaturists’. See Bryant and Heneage, p. viii. However, the terms ‘cartoon’/‘cartooning’ will also be applied here *avant la lettre* to any pre-1843 satirical drawing which is more than portrait caricature and which was produced for public consumption and dissemination. Thus included are the prints which were first published in the windows of London print-shops and reproduced in some quantity, although they generally sold to an elite group of enthusiasts and collectors.

describes them as ‘the most recent form of caricature’ because of their radical, democratic, partly anti-monarchic, partly anticlerical colouring.¹⁴³ They usually involve high degrees of caricature and symbolism. Their appeal is closely linked to their topicality, and their *raison d’être* is often explained by newspaper or magazine articles which they illustrate or comment on. ‘Editorial cartoons’ – so called because they juxtapose the newspaper/magazine editorial in placing and content – are a frequently cited form of this sub-genre. The more generic term ‘press cartoon’ is often used to mean political cartoon but is a particularly ambiguous term, given the whole gamut of cartoons in the press. Political cartoons form the bulk of the primary material of this study.

‘Social cartoons’ are seen to deal with the entire scope of a society’s behaviour and identity, including those of a foreign culture. They are not necessarily topical. Their appeal often rests on their seemingly broad, timeless applicability (and thus their use of stereotypes). A division is sometimes made between political and social cartoons, suggesting they are parallel genres. However, this is problematical because many social issues, such as pollution and abortion, have strong political implications.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, it is often difficult if not impossible to determine the context in which an issue is being addressed or the cartoonist’s intentions.¹⁴⁵ It is more appropriate to classify political cartoons as a species of social cartoon.

‘Comic cartoons’ or ‘joke cartoons’ are those that cannot be described as belonging to any of the above categories. They aim to be humorous, may employ caricatural techniques to achieve this end, but do not have a clearly discernible satirical intent. The focus here is on imaginativeness, punchline, surprise effect and/or on wanting to mislead the receiver.¹⁴⁶ Because the national images under analysis here are a form of social cartoon, the category of pure comic cartoons does not feature in this study.

2.2 Historical survey

Satire in word and image is believed to have existed in all cultural epochs.¹⁴⁷ Some commentators date the oldest caricature to the time of the Pharaohs and cite the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome as referring to forms of the genre.¹⁴⁸ In the following survey the development of the modern caricature and cartoon will be outlined.

¹⁴³ As the young editor of the political magazine *Die Hilfe* Theodor Heuss (1884-1963) wrote a tract on caricaturing entitled ‘Zur Ästhetik der Karikatur’ (1909), reprinted in *Der Deutsche in seiner Karikatur*, edited by F. Bohne (Stuttgart: Bassermann’sche, 1963), pp. 169-190.

¹⁴⁴ J. Gordon, ‘International Political Cartoons As Rhetoric’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1990), p. 50; also Berger, p. 43.

¹⁴⁵ Gordon, p. 50.

¹⁴⁶ Fritz, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ cf. Bornemann (1982), p. 49.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, Gordon, p. 7, citing S. Hess and M. Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1968): ‘Most historians agree the oldest political caricature dates to

2.2.1 Preparing the ground

While satire developed as a rich form of literary expression from Antiquity onwards, its pictorial expression remained limited until the evolution of aesthetics during the Renaissance.¹⁴⁹ This saw the empirical study of visual (physiognomic) reality by artists such as Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), and the establishment of a canon of proportions leading to a concept of ideal beauty, best exemplified by the Mannerist School, as well as allowing artists the creative freedom to improvise and experiment with realities of their own. These innovations anticipated the antithetical concept of perfect deformity (*perfetta deformità*) out of which modern caricature was born.¹⁵⁰

At the same time, the upheavals of the Reformation were granting people unprecedented critical liberty. This was aided considerably by technological advances in graphic art and information dissemination, with woodcuts and copperplate engravings reproduced en masse as illustrated broadsheets by printing presses across Northern Europe.¹⁵¹ In a very real sense, Reformation Germany was the source of the European tradition of modern graphic satire:

It was in the often naive, but often surprisingly sophisticated, pictures of German illustrated broadsheets and frontispiece illustrations that men first learnt the basic techniques of graphic satire, exploiting puns and illustrating metaphors and images drawn largely from the Bible and the popular proverbs and idioms in order to reinforce the message of the texts. And it was in Germany that this tradition of religious polemicism was adapted for the purposes of political satire at the time of the Thirty Years War.¹⁵²

circa 1360 BC and depicts Ikhnoton, unpopular father-in-law of Tutankhamen'; and A. Maurice and anon., 'Caricature', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. by W. Yust, [rev. 14th edn], 24 vols (Chicago: Encycl. Britannica, 1943), iv, 864-71 (p. 864): 'The practice of personal caricature is at least as old as to be recorded by Aristotle and Aristophanes, both of whom tell us something of an artist named Pauson who made pictorial fun of people and was made to suffer for it.'

¹⁴⁹ A tradition of satirical drama was established by the Athenian Old Comedy in Greece, while comical and tragical satire in verse was created by Horace and Juvenal in Rome. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387) and Brant's *Das Narrenschiff* (1494), its prose text accompanied by superb woodcut illustrations, are two prime early examples of satire in western literature. Exaggerated human forms and grotesques were part of the Medieval artistic tradition, but expressed what Baudelaire calls the *comique absolu* – art for art's sake – rather than serving a satirical purpose. cf. W. Hofmann, 'Comic art and modern caricature in the western world', *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), III, 763; C.-P. Baudelaire, 'De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques' (1855), in *Baudelaire critique d'art* (Paris: Club des Libraires de France, 1956), pp. 183-215 (p. 190).

¹⁵⁰ This and previous sentence based on: Hofmann (1960), pp. 763-4; Fritz, p. 198.

¹⁵¹ cf. Bornemann (1982), p. 51.

¹⁵² W. Coupe, *German Political Satires from the Reformation to the Second World War*, 3 parts in 6 vols (White Plains, NY: Kraus, 1985-1993), Part I: *1500-1848* (1993), I, p. xi.

2.2.2 The invention of portrait caricature

The development of modern caricature is seen as closely linked with the emergence of the concept of individuality and a spirit of ridicule and mockery in the seventeenth century. This was part of the process of intellectual liberation from the straitjacket of authority and tradition in the wake of the Reformation:

Erst mit der neuen Anschauung vom Menschen, die sich im 17. Jahrhundert vorbereitete, wird es möglich, einen Menschen ohne jede Konvention zu prüfen und seine Schwächen blosszulegen. Die Karikatur ist bildhafter Ausdruck desselben Geistes, der aus dem von autoritativen und traditionellen Fesseln sich befreienden Kritizismus und Skeptizismus spricht.¹⁵³

The invention of portrait caricature is attributed to the Bolognese brothers, Agostino (1557-1602) and Annibale Carracci (1560-1609).¹⁵⁴ Around the turn of the sixteenth century they practised the comic physical deformation of specific individuals in drawing simply as a studio joke against the formal Mannerist conventions of beauty.¹⁵⁵

Bernini made an advance on their experiments by seeking to expose the very personality of the subject through caricature, thus further popularizing the style and establishing it properly as an artistic genre.¹⁵⁶ His caricature of Pope Innocent XI (soon after his election in 1676) ‘represents a monumental watershed in the history of art’ because it demonstrated for the first time that no one was above caricaturing, so marking a critical step in the development of social satire.¹⁵⁷

This new mode of representation caught on, with connoisseurs and critics of the period taking great pleasure in justifying and defining it in elaborate theoretical treatises.¹⁵⁸ Well into

¹⁵³ H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini* (Berlin, [Bibliotheca Hertziana], 1931), pp. 181-182. At a deeper psychological level Kris maintains that once the irrational power of the image no longer held sway and the taboo of playing with an individual’s likeness was removed – both of which were Medieval hangovers – caricature could be born. *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953), p. 202.

¹⁵⁴ Tatransky cites Michelangelo’s representation of the papal Master of Ceremonies da Cesena as the Prince of Hell in ‘The Last Judgement’ (Sistine Chapel, 1536-41) as the earliest known satirical portrait, whilst crediting the Carraccis and Bernini with developing it in its present form. V. Tatransky, ‘Caricature’, *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia* (Danbury, CT: Grolier Interactive, 1997), pp. 1-2 (p. 1) [on CD-ROM].

¹⁵⁵ Mostly informal little sketches of relatives and friends, the first dated portrait caricature is by Agostino from 1594; no authenticated caricatures by Annibale exist. Langemeyer and others, p. 95; Unverfehrt, p. 347; Fritz, p. 68.

¹⁵⁶ Fritz, p. 68; Brauer and Wittkower, p.183; Unverfehrt, p. 347.

¹⁵⁷ I. Lavin, ‘Bernini and the art of social satire’, *History of European Ideas*, 4 (1983), 365-420 (p. 365). Bernini’s treatment was perhaps made easier by the nature of his subject. Innocent XI (1611-1689) was a most irascible, austere, ascetic, and parsimonious individual, who was notoriously indifferent to art. He was beatified by Pius XII in 1956.

¹⁵⁸ Kris, p. 189. A collection of Carracci reproductions was published in Rome in 1646 entitled *Diverse figure*. The introduction to the volume is ascribed to Mosini (believed to be the

the eighteenth century fashionable Italians went to a portrait painter to be caricatured, a service which survives today in popular tourist centres.¹⁵⁹

2.2.3 The birth of the cartoon

Cartooning in its modern sense was an outgrowth of caricature, and its development as an instrument of social and political criticism followed closely the rise of a liberal, tolerant, and democratically-minded (bourgeois) society, whose values it then put to the test.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century such a society was establishing itself in England, providing the location for the melding of caricature and satirical print, which arrived from the Netherlands following the Glorious Revolution of 1688:

There portrait caricature, a new device, recently imported from Italy, was used to quicken the old-style allegorical print in the work of Townshend, Hogarth, and their successors; it was their example that, reexported to the continent, was to lead to the establishment of the grand tradition of European political caricatures in the prints and latterly the journals of the early nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰

William Hogarth's pictorial satires highlighted the iniquities of contemporary English social and political life.¹⁶¹ Whilst Hogarth (1697-1764) denied drawing 'caricatures', preferring to describe his work as 'comic history painting', he developed a new genre of satirical narrative and was effectively the father of topical political cartooning in Britain.¹⁶²

2.2.4 'The Golden Age' in Britain

Graphic satire flourished in England as a settled political system developed under the Hanoverians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The concomitant climate of

pseudonym of the Papal Chamberlain Giovanni Antonio Massani) who relates Annibale Carracci's tongue-in-cheek theory of caricature. cf. Mahon, p. 263; Unverfehrt, p. 345.

¹⁵⁹ Woscsek, p. 13.

¹⁶⁰ Coupe (1993), I, pp. xi-xii.

¹⁶¹ See, for example, C. Ball, *William Hogarths Bildsatiren als künstlerische Form der Sozialkritik* (Essen: Blaue Eule, 2000), pp. 151-58.

¹⁶² Bornemann (1982), p. 52. Hogarth rejected the Italian concept of 'caricatura' because, as he understood it, it was a grotesque invention that ignored 'character'. It was a game, a gimmick, but not true art. In the caption accompanying his print *The Bench* (September 1758) Hogarth writes: 'Now that which has, of late Years, got the name of *Caracatura*, is, or ought to be totally divested of every Stroke that hath a tendency to good Drawing; it may be said to be a Species of Lines that are produc'd rather by the hand of chance than of Skill.' See Unverfehrt, p. 349; *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, comp. by R. Paulson, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale, 1970), I, 238-239 (p. 238). Fuchs did not see Hogarth as a political caricaturist at all but 'the great portrayer of public morality' (*der große Sittenschilderer*), who acted as 'a plebeian Faust' (*plebeiischen Faust*), and the 'guide and tutor' (*Wegweiser und Erzieher*) the burgeoning English bourgeoisie required (pp. 102-103). The caricature historian Champfleury describes him glowingly as 'le premier roi [...] le véritable père de la caricature qui, ce jour-là, élevée par un grand artiste, put inscrire le nom de son initiateur à côté de ceux de Fielding et de Swift [...] cet homme de génie.' *Histoire de la caricature moderne*, 2nd edn (Paris: E. Dentin, 1871), p. xi.

relative liberty encouraged political debate and assertiveness amongst ever widening circles of British society as well as in a burgeoning press, free of censorship.¹⁶³ Technological improvements in woodcut engraving and the invention of lithography at the end of the eighteenth century aided the satirical print in achieving even greater contemporary resonance by making reproduction faster and more affordable.¹⁶⁴

Names associated with this 'Golden Age' of European cartooning include James Gillray (1756-1815), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and George Cruikshank (1792-1878); artists who enjoyed a remarkable freedom of expression also because of their editorial independence. Their etchings were sold as single sheets by printshops and bookshops, principally in London, and only sporadically published in periodicals, while their use in the nascent newspapers was as yet technically and commercially unfeasible.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, there was cut-throat competition for an élite section of the reading public, and artists readily worked both sides of the political divide, selling their talents to the highest bidder.¹⁶⁶ The graphic texts these artists produced were the materialization of free and public opinion and became a natural form of expression in democratic society long before this was possible in Germany or France. Indeed, the seemingly temerarious way in which the country's leaders were ridiculed and vilified in cartoons astounded German observers, who saw it as indicative of the political freedoms enjoyed in Britain.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 1-2. In one of the earliest historical accounts of the art, this point is made with a measure of chauvinistic pride: 'The History of Caricaturing [...] would naturally narrow into that of English Caricatures; for the obvious reason, that in no other country has the art met with equal encouragement, because no other portion of the globe enjoys equal freedom.' J. Malcolm, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing with Graphic Illustrations* (London: Longman and others, 1813), p. iv.

¹⁶⁴ I. Klose, „Karikatur und Satire. Fünf Jahrhunderte Zeitkritik“, *'Aus dem Antiquariat'*, 61 (31 July 1992), A299; Tatransky, p. 1. Alois Senefelder discovered the lithographic process in 1798 using Bavarian limestone, but it remained a closely guarded secret until the publication in Munich of his *Vollständiges Lehrbuch der Steindruckerey* in 1818

¹⁶⁵ Donald, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ R. Porter, 'Seeing the Past', *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), 186-205 (p. 190); R. Altick, 'Pearls for the Swinish Multitude', *TLS*, 20 September 1996, p. 18. Indeed, both Gillray and Cruikshank were open to bribery in their young years. Donald, p. 43.

¹⁶⁷ This and previous sentence based on Donald, p. 2. For example, Gebhardt Wendeborn, a Lutheran pastor resident in London, wrote towards the end of the eighteenth century in *Der Zustand des Staates* (Berlin: Spener, 1788):

Seitdem ich in England bin, hat die Freiheit der Presse zugenommen. [...] So wie es mit der Büchercensur [*sic*] steht, eben so verhält es sich mit den Kupferstichen, dazu ich auch vorzüglich die Carricaturen [*sic*] rechnen mag. Die Großen und die Niedrigen, vom Könige an bis auf den Bettler, werden darin, an den Fenstern der Bilderläden, dem Gelächter der Vorübergehenden preisgegeben. Niemand ist gegen diese Art bitterer Satire gesichert, und ich weiß mich fast keines Beispiels zu erinnern, daß ein Kupfersticher oder Bilderhändler hierüber Gerichtshandel gehabt hätte. (*Vierter Theil*, p. 32.)

Gillray's work, in particular, presented scenes of unrivalled savagery, scurrility and lewdness and was produced at an extraordinary rate and with an extraordinary degree of inventiveness.¹⁶⁸ He soon developed an international reputation largely through the full colour reproductions of his work in the first regular journal to publish cartoons, *London und Paris*.¹⁶⁹ This appeared in Weimar, capital of the enlightened Duchy of Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, from 1798 for the enjoyment of an educated, fashion-minded provincial German readership curious about life in Europe's two greatest metropolises.¹⁷⁰ British caricaturists effectively became the political voice and conscience of the middle classes in the eighteenth century and as such a primary power in public life.¹⁷¹ Their invention of symbols such as John Bull and Britannia surely contributed to the clothing of the emergent bourgeois ideology in symbolic form.¹⁷²

2.2.5 *L'âge d'or in France*

In the nineteenth century cartooning reached a classical high point. Around 1830 the French took up the baton of incisive graphic satire from the English, as the latter entered a period of genteel critical restraint in reaction to the Georgian free-for-all.¹⁷³ In Charles Philipon's

¹⁶⁸ As such they reflected the mood and spirit of the times. Referring to English satirical prints generally in the period following the French Revolution, Donald writes: 'Chaotic, contradictory, ambiguous, negative, often nightmarish and hysterical, they seem to throw more light on the collective pathology of the 1790s than on any calculated didactic intentions.' (p. 142). Of Gillray's reputation Altick writes: 'Immediately after his squalid demise in 1815, Gillray was admired almost as a second Hogarth, but, with the onset of early Victorian respectability, his tumultuous pictorial extravaganzas could not be displayed openly in most households, and only the "moral" Hogarth retained his celebrity. In contrast to Hogarth's well-documented life, we know almost nothing about Gillray, apart from the legend that he was a hopeless drunkard, lived in penury, and died an imbecile.' (p. 18)

¹⁶⁹ The journal astutely informed its readers of the value of these works: 'Die Originale von Gillray's [*sic*] Arbeiten werden schon jetzt von englischen Kunstsammlern neben die besten Mappen gestellt, und werden in Zukunft einen noch weit höhern Werth [*sic*] haben.' *London und Paris* (Halle a. d. Saale), 18 (1806), '5. Stück', p. 10.

¹⁷⁰ D. Kunzle, 'Goethe and Caricature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 164-88 (p. 172-73). Surviving until 1814 *London und Paris* held up models of English political and cultural development and published caricatures critical of Napoleon (a risky venture in those anxious years) until having to censor itself. Fuchs (p.183) describes it as 'probably the most highly respected journal at the beginning of the nineteenth century' ('die wohl angesehenste Zeitschrift Anfang des 19. Jahrhundert'). See also C. Banerji and D. Donald, *Gillray Observed* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 1-44.

¹⁷¹ Yet caricaturists represented a lowly profession and were despised because they violated the rules of art and appealed to the baser instincts. 'They flourished in the gutter along with actors, jugglers, and other sideshows. They were magnificent because they were uncompromising; they played the real game.' R. Steadman, 'It's No Laughing Matter to Some', in *A Sense of Permanence?* (Canterbury: CSCC, 1997), pp. 23-30 (pp. 23-24).

¹⁷² Porter, p. 98.

¹⁷³ Bornemann (1982), p. 53. Of this moment cartoonist and historian John Jensen writes: 'The change from the bawdy world of Gillray and Rowlandson to discreet Victorianism was neatly symbolised by George Cruikshank, whose early, sharp-edged engravings

(1806-1882) successive ground-breaking cartoon publications *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* the highest artistic qualities were combined with modern lithographic technology to achieve the widest public impact.¹⁷⁴ Of this achievement Baudelaire wrote:

Cette fantastique épopée est dominée, couronnée par la pyramidale et olympienne *Poire* de processive mémoire. [...] Avec cette espèce d'argot plastique, on était le maître de dire et de faire comprendre au peuple tout ce qu'on voulait.¹⁷⁵

Philipon's prodigious success was in no small measure due to his partnership with Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), an exceptional drawing talent.¹⁷⁶ Modern political newspaper cartooning with its principles of symbolism and personalization is very much the creation of Philipon.¹⁷⁷

2.2.6 *Punch and the Victorian Age*

Punch, or the London Charivari, the first English journal dedicated to cartooning and comic writing, followed in 1841.¹⁷⁸ Drawings and text could now be more easily integrated on the same page through advances in printing such as the process of steel plate stereotyping.¹⁷⁹ This represented a decisive step in illustrated journalism, cementing an alliance between the press and cartoonists as purveyors of satire.

underwent dramatic change when, ten years into Victoria's reign he – a heavy drinker – became teetotal. Whereupon, not only George Cruikshank sobered up but also his work. He became genteel and polite. He became a Victorian. Cruikshank was not the last of the print engravers but with him, symbolically at least, the Golden Age of Caricature came to its end.' 'The End of the Line', in *A Sense of Permanence?*, pp. 11-18 (p. 14).

¹⁷⁴ *La Caricature* was launched as a monthly on 4 November 1830 and lasted until 1835, when it collapsed under an avalanche of libel suits. It was noted for its attacks on King Louis-Philippe, with Philipon most famously drawing him being transformed into a pear (*poire* meaning 'sucker'). Philipon founded *Le Charivari* in 1832 as the first satirical, illustrated daily broadsheet. It had a more socially critical line. Klose, p. A299.

¹⁷⁵ C.-P. Baudelaire, 'Quelques caricaturistes français', in *Baudelaire critique d'art*, p. 200. Baudelaire analysed caricature as a phenomenon of civilization and was the first to raise it to the rank of a symbolic mode of expression. He saw caricature as having value at a cultural historical level and an artistic level, prefiguring the dichotomy which characterizes contemporary cartoon research. Hofmann (1960), p. 762. cf. Baudelaire, p. 184.

¹⁷⁶ 'The Royal Family became the staple diet of caricaturist Honoré Daumier. So successful was Daumier at his trade that he earned the supreme accolade in 1831: he was imprisoned by King Louis Philippe. His cartoon entitled [*sic*] "gargantua" showing KLP as a bloated monster was worth six months in the pokey.' C. Regan, S. Sinclair, and M. Turner, *Thin Black Lines* (Birmingham: Development Education Centre, 1988), p. 11. Most of the captions for Daumier's cartoons were invented by Philipon. Hofmann (1960), p. 767.

¹⁷⁷ Bornemann (1982), p. 95. See also Maurice, p. 868.

¹⁷⁸ *Punch* was described by one paper at the time as 'the first comic we ever saw which was not vulgar. It will provoke many a hearty laugh, but never call a blush to the most delicate cheek'. Quoted in English without source in Klose, p. A300.

¹⁷⁹ M. Melot, *L'illustration: Histoire d'un Art* (Geneva: Skira, 1984), p. 151; published in English as *The Art of Illustration*, trans. by J. Emmons (New York: Rizzoli, 1984).

The *Punch* school tended to be reflective, more concerned with the quality of draughtsmanship than presenting clever insights or forcing home any weighty political message.¹⁸⁰ The standard cartoon of the period contained long dialogue captions, earning the nickname of ‘three act play’. A quintessentially Victorian publication, *Punch* grew increasingly conservative as the nineteenth century drew on, becoming after 1880 in Melot’s words ‘a magazine of anaemic humour, always a respected institution, but a vehicle of no great meaning’.¹⁸¹

Because of the time required for engraving and the conventions of printing, cartoons were not taken up by daily newspapers in Britain until later in the nineteenth century.¹⁸² When the commercial development of lithography made the inclusion of cartoons feasible, their popularity contributed to the success of newspapers, particularly the mass-circulation, general-interest dailies appearing at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁸³

The aggressive Gillray spirit seemed to have disappeared in Britain when Will Dyson (1880-1938) and David Low (1891-1963) arrived from Australia to, in Low’s words, ‘prove that it had merely been renewing its youth overseas’.¹⁸⁴ They represented a breath of fresh air after decades of smug Victorian gentility.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Of the nineteenth century David Low said that ‘caricaturists metaphorically donned white kid gloves and tried to forget their ribald past.’ As a consequence ‘caricatures had ceased to be a lark and had become a solemn old owl’. *British Cartoonists, Caricaturists and Comic Artists* (London: Collins, 1942), p. 26; *Nation & Athenaeum*, 28 July 1928, cited in Seymour-Ure and Schoff, p. 149.

¹⁸¹ ‘Une revue d’humour anémique, une institution respectée mais vide de sens’: Melot, both edns, p. 155; Few cartoonists today would feel complimented by Prime Minister Balfour’s speech marking *Punch* cartoonist Sir John Tenniel’s retirement in 1901: ‘I think we should all be very fortunate if we were as kindly dealt with by our friends as we have been for many years by the independent critics of *Punch*. I do not believe that the satire of that journal has ever left a wound.’ *Punch*, 4 March 1914: ‘A special supplement to commemorate Tenniel’s career following his death three days short of his 94th birthday’, p. 5.

¹⁸² Papers were strictly divided into narrow columns, with printers loathe to break the ‘rules’ (a page’s vertical lines). R. Nelson, *Cartooning* (Chicago: Regnery, 1975), p. 7. In 1888 Francis Carruthers Gould became the first cartoonist to join the staff of a daily newspaper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Bryant and Heneage, p. 94.

¹⁸³ C. Seymour-Ure, ‘How Special Are Cartoonists?’, *20th Century Studies*, 13/14 (1975), 6-21 (p. 8). While lithography had been used for printing since the beginning of the nineteenth century it was not until the development of offset lithography in the 1860s that this method became widely used by the press. The clear advantage was that illustration and its reproduction could be faster and thus more up-to-date than engraving.

¹⁸⁴ Low (1942), p. 43. Dyson arrived in 1909 and went to work for the Labour-affiliated *Daily Herald*. Low arrived in 1919 and soon after joined the London *Evening Standard* (hereafter abbrev. as *ES*) where he stayed until 1950.

¹⁸⁵ Seymour-Ure (1985), p. 148; Walker, p. 7.

2.2.7 The development of cartooning in Germany

Unlike in Britain, the history of cartooning in Germany is one of 'false starts and disappointments'.¹⁸⁶ Strict censorship and the disinterest or disapproval of potential sources of patronage such as the intelligentsia meant there was no market for native political satire until the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁷ The first political caricatures, notably by J. Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) and Johann Michael Voltz (1784-1858), appeared in the wake of Napoleon's defeats but lost their *raison d'être* after Waterloo.¹⁸⁸ The post-Napoleonic settlement saw the repression of civil liberties, culminating in the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, which instituted amongst other things uniform press censorship in the German Confederation.

Political cartooning went into abeyance until the Revolution of 1830 allowed a brief flowering, before again being suppressed until 1848.¹⁸⁹ The emancipation of German political cartooning that followed gave rise to a host of short-lived publications. Only *Kladderadatsch* (1848) achieved any permanence, providing the model for later journals such as *Der Wahre Jacob* (1879) and *Simplicissimus* (1896).¹⁹⁰ At the same time, the cartoon was gaining in appeal amongst German intellectuals. Rosenkranz in his seminal mid-century study *Die Ästhetik des Häßlichen* (Königsberg, 1853) placed caricature in the canon of true art, thus securing its moral and aesthetic recognition.¹⁹¹

The defeat of the democratic initiatives nurtured in Frankfurt's Paulskirche and the rise of anti-parliamentary pragmatism under Bismarck meant that political cartooning again went into cowed retreat.¹⁹² In this climate a light-hearted, domesticated style of social cartooning developed. Wilhelm Busch (1832-1908) was perhaps its most prominent exponent. In one of

¹⁸⁶ W. Coupe, 'The German Cartoon and the Revolution of 1848', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (1967), pp. 137-67 (p. 138).

¹⁸⁷ One of the chief German intellectuals was Weimar resident J. W. von Goethe (1749-1832) an outspoken opponent of caricature who saw it not only as a 'triumph of the formless over form' but an evocation of the vicious power of the lower classes. He made his hostility clear in Cotta's *Taschenbuch für Damen auf das Jahr 1801* with a story about the presentation of 'Karikaturen' to a group of ladies by Sinklair, a gentleman with a significantly British name. One of the ladies, no doubt voicing the author's own views, dismisses them as ugly and malicious. This opinion eventually holds sway. Goethe's attitude was to change following his friendship with Rodolphe Toepffer (1799-1846) the Swiss writer and father of the comic strip. Caricature was certainly made known by authors like Lavater, whose *Physiognomische Fragmente* appeared in 1775-79, and through the work of foreign artists like Hogarth, who became immensely popular amongst German middle and lower-middle classes, thanks to brilliant commentaries by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. Hence Goethe's antipathy. Kunzle, pp. 171, 164, 169, 166-67.

¹⁸⁸ Kunzle, p. 175.

¹⁸⁹ Klose, p. A300. Political cartoons did not gain a foothold even in liberal Weimar, despite the tolerance of rulers like Duke Charles Augustus (1757-1828) who famously ordered that the graffiti left by students imprisoned on political charges be reverently preserved. cf. Kunzle, p. 177.

¹⁹⁰ Coupe (1993), I, p. xiv.

¹⁹¹ Bornemann (1982), p. 58.

¹⁹² cf. W. Keim, 'Karies und Caritas', *Truppenpraxis*, 1 (1990), 23-28 (p. 27).

the earliest histories of cartooning Parton writes: ‘Coming from the French comic albums and papers to those of the Germans, is like emerging, after sunrise, from a masquerade ball, all gas, rouge, heat, and frenzy, into a field full of children playing till the bell rings for school.’¹⁹³

By the end of the nineteenth century, and with unification, Germany achieved a degree of social and political stability which allowed the restoration of independent, critical commentary on public affairs. This was the role adopted by *Simplicissimus*, which showcased graphic satire of unprecedented artistic and critical distinction.¹⁹⁴ Such was the success of the periodical that it came to assume the role of de facto opposition in the Wilhelmine Empire.¹⁹⁵ What began as an ‘April Fool’s joke of the German bourgeoisie’ became the journal of the liberal-progressive middle classes, with a national stance that sought to be above party politics.¹⁹⁶ Its artists included journal co-founder Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948) – the ‘spiritus rector’ of the artist collective, imprisoned for *lèse-majesté* in 1899 – and Norwegian-born Olaf Gulbransson (1873-1958). The journal followed a zig-zag course in tandem with the development of the German bourgeoisie, exchanging its critical stance for full patriotic

¹⁹³ On the absence of German political cartooning at this time Parton cynically suggests that ‘perhaps their beer has offered too ready and cheap a resource against the chafing resentments that tyranny excites.’ J. Parton, *Caricature and Comic Art in all Times and Many Lands*, (New York: Harper, 1877), pp. 242, 247. Busch’s picture stories (most famously *Max & Moritz*, 1865) with their heavy dose of Schadenfreude, surrealism and comic absurdity prefigured modern comic strips. *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. by J. Turner, 34 vols (London: Macmillan; New York: Grove’s, 1996), v, 758.

¹⁹⁴ Gerhart Hauptmann described it at the turn of the century as ‘the fiercest and most ruthless satirical force in Germany’ (‘die schärfste und rücksichtsloseste satirische Kraft Deutschlands’). Quoted without source in *Der freche Zeichenstift*, ed. by H. Sandberg (Berlin: Eulenspiegel, 1963), p. 7. Fuchs sees a downside to this satirical severity, though, in comparing French and German cartoons of the period: ‘Bei den Franzosen, den Meistern der Satire, soll die Karikatur unter allen Umständen amüsieren, sie gleicht dadurch gewissermaßen ihrem Salat, dem sie dreimal mehr Öl und dreimal weniger Essig zugeben als wir Deutschen. Bei uns Deutschen dagegen muß sie moralisierend sein, schulmeisterisch, darum ist ihre Gangart mitunter auch so pedantisch.’ (p. 15).

¹⁹⁵ J. Filippow, *Die Medizin in der Karikatur bei Thomas Theodor Heine* (Düsseldorf: Tritsch, 1978), p. 6. Hated by the Junkers, the Church and the military, the magazine was frequently confiscated and its artists hauled up before the courts. Nevertheless, the absence of a tradition of opposition towards the state and particularly the monarch remained noticeable in German cartooning throughout this period. E. Demm, ‘Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28 (1993), 163-92 (p. 166); S. Heinisch, *Die Karikatur: über das Irrationale im Zeitalter der Vernunft* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), p. 140.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Ein Aprilscherz des deutschen Bürgertums’: Sandberg, p. 7. The journal began life on 1 April 1896 in the Munich publishing house of Albert Langen. Sandberg describes it and *Le Charivari* as having ‘a firm place in the history of art as a critical sponsor of the bourgeois concept of freedom’ (‘einen festen Platz in der Geschichte der Kunst als kritischer Förderer des bürgerlichen Freiheitsgedankens’, p. 7).

fervour in the First World War.¹⁹⁷ It proved unable to recover its pre-war critical faculty during the years of the Weimar Republic, leading to its complete capitulation to National Socialism in the thirties.¹⁹⁸

2.2.8 From the First to the Second World War

During the First World War cartoonists in Britain and Germany were restrained by censorship and propaganda guidelines. There is even evidence on the German side of systematic cooperation with the authorities.¹⁹⁹ Cartoonists in both countries successfully waged a propaganda war against each other.²⁰⁰ Baker judges the German cartoons of the First World War to be more vital and confident than their mild and effete British counterparts, ascribing this to the neutering influence of *Punch*.²⁰¹ However, some of the most vitriolic cartoon attacks were launched from the British side in the cartoons of Will Dyson and Edmund Sullivan (1869-1933).²⁰² Their work is marked by a concentration on caricaturing leaders, particularly William II as a symbol of militarism and evil, rather than using national symbols.²⁰³ In fact, Dyson's anti-Kaiser cartoons were so forceful and useful as propaganda that he became almost acceptable to the British Establishment he so hated.²⁰⁴ Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that from 1916 German pictorial propaganda was becoming more defensive than aggressive and increasingly concerned with self-image.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁷ Sandberg, p. 7. In 1914 the editor Ludwig Thoma, who was against armament and sought to expose the myth of a popular war, proposed ceasing publication but was successfully opposed by Heine. Demm, pp. 168, 185.

¹⁹⁸ It continued to be published, albeit as a Nazi organ, until September 1944 when, with almost all of the German press, it was extinguished by paper shortages. C. Schulz-Hoffmann, 'Zur Geschichte der illustrierten satirischen Zeitschrift', in *Simplicissimus 1896-1914*, ed. by Schulz-Hoffmann (Munich: Haus der Kunst, 1977), p. 51.

¹⁹⁹ In 1917, for example, Heine and Gulbransson worked with the German Foreign Ministry in compiling cartoon albums for use as propaganda in neutral countries. Demm, p. 166.

²⁰⁰ Demm, p. 186.

²⁰¹ 'The Prejudice of Nations', *Daily Telegraph*, 13 January 1996, section A, p. 8.

²⁰² Each of them published anthologies of their work. In 1915 Dyson produced *Kultur Cartoons* (London: Stanley Paul) and then *War Cartoons* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916). Sullivan, whose best work was arguably the illustrations for Carlyles's *Sartor Resartus* (1898), published *The Kaiser's Garland* in 1915 (London: Heinemann); a collection described as a 'wholehearted hymn of hate', yet 'what fascinating, excellent pen drawings they are and how perfectly every detail is realized'. J. Thorpe, *English Masters of Black-and-White* (London: Art and Technics, 1948), p. 33.

²⁰³ Darracott, *A Cartoon War* (London: Cooper, 1989), pp. 11, 13.

²⁰⁴ M. Walker, *Daily Sketches* (London: Muller, 1978), p. 12. A radical socialist, Dyson had his work exhibited at the London Savoy in 1916. He was later ashamed of having succumbed to the mass emotionalism of the time. J. Jensen, 'A Sort of Bird of Freedom': *Will Dyson 1880-1938* (Canterbury: CSCC, 1996), pp. 15, 16-17.

²⁰⁵ This is the conclusion of poster research by Jeffrey Verhey. See '„Helft uns siegen" – Die Bildersprache des Plakats im Ersten Weltkrieg', in *Der Tod als Maschinist*, ed. by B. Ulrich and R. Spilker (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1998), pp. 165-175. Certainly the intention of Ernst Schulz-Besser's 1916 compilation, *Die Karikatur im Weltkrieg* (Leipzig: Seemann), was to convince its German readership with oppositional cartoons that Germany was a nation

In the twenties the illustrated press flourished in Britain, and political cartooning generally reflected editorial policy.²⁰⁶ Yet cartoonists are credited with having often played a socially beneficial role in the inter-war years, by putting their finger on problems more effectively than the politicians were doing.²⁰⁷ There is no better example of this than Low, whose reputation as Britain's premier graphic satirist had been established by the late thirties with insightful, indeed prophetic comments on the turn of events, particularly in Europe. His international celebrity status was achieved by syndication as well as by the universal appeal of the characters he created, like the reactionary Colonel Blimp.²⁰⁸

The Weimar period in Germany saw talents like Georg Grosz (1893-1959) caricaturing capitalist corruption and exposing the violence associated with the rise of fascism. The National Socialists' assumption of power in 1933 led to an internal and external migration of cartoonists in Germany.²⁰⁹ Yet none of the great names was able to function as effectively outside of the environment that fed their outrage.²¹⁰ The loss of political liberty spelt the downfall of satire, and caricature was degraded to the level of a crude propaganda and party media tool.²¹¹

At the outbreak of the Second World War cartoonists were again enlisted for the war effort as part of a wider media propaganda programme.²¹² While editorial cartoonists like Low and Sidney Strube (1892-1956) were public personalities in Britain, the work of German cartoonists had low status in Goebbels's war propaganda.²¹³ Those that were produced against the Allies in the Second World War were generally tame, lacking the wit and inventiveness

feared throughout the world. J. Schmoll, 'Macht und Ohnmacht der politischen Karikatur' in Schulz-Hoffmann ed., pp. 13-22 (pp. 15-16).

²⁰⁶ Post-war British cartooning returned to its pre-war status quo: 'In England the cartoon, no longer the weapon of venomous attack, has come to be regarded as a humorous or sarcastic comment upon the topic uppermost in the nation's mind, [...] rather than as an instrument for the manufacture of public opinion. It has almost wholly lost its rancour; it has totally lost its ferocity – the evolutionary result of peace and contentment, for satire in its more violent and more spontaneous form is but the outcome of the dissatisfaction or the rage of the multitude.' M. Spielmann, 'Cartoon', *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. by J. Garvin, 13th edn, 32 vols (London: Encycl. Britannica, 1926), v, 434-35 (p. 434).

²⁰⁷ R. Douglas, *The World War 1939-1943: The Cartoonist's Vision* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 352.

²⁰⁸ Darracott, p. 148.

²⁰⁹ Bornemann (1982), p. 56. Of those that stayed some worked for the illegal press, many were arrested, while others hid themselves in related professions. Sandberg, p. 10.

²¹⁰ Steadman, p. 24

²¹¹ Keim, p. 28.

²¹² Darracott, p. 33. Fifteen hours after war was declared the RAF was dropping cartoon leaflets over Germany. In response German cartoons were launched against British targets in V1 rockets. Langemeyer, p. 11.

²¹³ Both Low and Strube were employed by press baron Lord Beaverbrook, who recognized the mass appeal of cartoons in an age still free of television and extensive media photography. Cartoonists' work was seen by increasing numbers of people as British newspaper circulation figures rose in a boom that lasted until 1950. Darracott, pp. 67, 77.

evident in much of the work of Allied artists.²¹⁴ As things became more desperate, the old primitive hate images appeared more frequently.²¹⁵

2.2.9 German cartooning since 1945

The occupying forces exercised control over the reconstruction of the German media, principally through the granting of press licenses. This was particularly important in the British and US zones where many facets of British and American newspaper publishing were adopted, including the editorial cartoon commenting on current affairs which appeared in the same place each day in the newspaper.²¹⁶ It was a time for newcomers amongst cartoonists. Many of those who had gone into exile stayed abroad or returned much later; few of those that had remained were free from the taint of Nazi collaboration.²¹⁷ A remarkable number of artists who began their careers at this time, were still working at the end of the century, indeed some even for the same titles.²¹⁸

By 1950 the press was establishing itself as an integral part of West German democracy, and the satirical drawing was party to that process. Removed, however, was the bile and spleen associated with the destructive propaganda of the preceding decades.²¹⁹ It was felt that in the horrors of total war and dictatorship, satire had reached its limit.²²⁰ Yet this did not mean that cartooning lost its moral purpose, for new challenges needed to be addressed. As Keim states:

Parallel zum Aufbau der Demokratie und der damit verbundenen Minderung sozialer Spannungen und Gegensätze, im Angesicht der gegenüber früher harmloseren Manager

²¹⁴ cf. Schulz-Hoffmann, p. 51. For a comparative survey of cartoon art during the Second World War see M. Bryant, *World War II in Cartoons* (Swindon: Smith, 1989).

²¹⁵ cf. Heinisch, p. 4.

²¹⁶ R. Hachfeld, 'Die Pausencloawns', *tageszeitung*, 17 April 1996, p. 15. See also: *Zeichner der Zeit*, ed. by C. Ferber (Berlin: Ullstein, 1987), p. 333.

²¹⁷ Hachfeld, p. 15.

²¹⁸ They were Felix Mussil (b. 1921) who started with the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in 1948; Fritz Wolf (1918-2001) for the *Neues Tagesblatt* (later becoming the *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*) in 1949; E. M. Lang (b. 1916) for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in 1949; and Klaus Pielert (b. 1922) for the *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* in 1947, moving in 1961 to the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine*. Pielert tells how he was seen as a small-time Wilhelm Busch when he began work as a political cartoonist, because political cartooning had yet to establish itself again in post-war Germany. Tape-recorded interview at the artist's home in Düsseldorf, 28 October 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this text unless otherwise stated.

²¹⁹ Pielert recalls the images he grew up with in the Nazi media organ *Der Stürmer*, resolving never to be so injurious in his own drawing. Quoted in M. Hüllenkremer, 'Hofnarr der Demokratie', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 5/6 April 1997, p. 3. This no doubt accounts for his charming, almost 'nursery book' style of drawing.

²²⁰ Hofmann (1956), p. 57.

und Lobbyisten, wurde die moralische Absicht der Karikatur stärker als ihre aggressive Tendenz.²²¹

Moreover, post-war graphic satire in Germany was marked by a further evolutionary step: the use of the *comique absolu*, of nonsense, as best seen in the work of artists belonging to the *Neue Frankfurter Schule*.²²² Their innovative work during the sixties provided a breath of fresh air in German graphic satire by deliberately steering clear of political judgementalism.²²³ The satirical journal *Pardon*, begun in Frankfurt in 1962, provided an outlet for their ideas.²²⁴

Commentators seem to agree that German cartooning pains no one much any more. In a press environment where broad-based regional newspapers predominate and cartoonists usually serve more than one title with the same sketch, it is commercially wise to keep as many editors and subscribers sweet as possible.²²⁵ That means deliberately avoiding the jugular, whatever colour the political blood might be that courses through it. Despite this (or perhaps because of it) the political cartoon has experienced a boom in recent years in Germany. The reprinting of cartoons increased by more than thirty per cent from 1989 to 1994, no doubt in part due to the momentous events of the period.²²⁶

2.2.10 British cartooning since 1945

The immediate post-war period saw a decline in political cartooning. The evil of Naziism had been defeated and with it much of the crusading impetus for artists like Low had gone. The nation's tastes became more attuned to the populist social critique of artists like Carl Giles (1916-1996). Perhaps the most important new development in British cartooning was the appearance of the satirical weekly *Private Eye*, born in 1961 the child of the short-lived sixties satirical 'boom'. It provided a medium for the revival of a more acerbic style of

²²¹ 'Michels historischer Schatten', in *Deutschlandbilder*, ed. by P. Rösgen and Haus der Geschichte (Munich: Prestel, 1994), pp. 8-13 (p. 10).

²²² F. W. Bernstein (b. 1938), Robert Gernhardt (b. 1937) and F. K. Waechter (b. 1937), are three of its principal exponents.

²²³ J.-C. Gardes and D. Poncin, 'La caricature allemande actuelle', *Allemagne d'aujourd'hui*, 133 (July-September 1995), 82-84 (p. 83).

²²⁴ *Simplicissimus* was revived in 1954. Although having some of the most talented artists amongst its contributors (including A. Paul Weber, Horst Haitzinger, E. M. Lang) and presenting social and political satire of a high standard, it was overtaken by *Pardon* and went bankrupt in 1967. *Pardon* better represented the *Zeitgeist* of the sixties, providing a forum for erotic humour and nonsense and voicing the opinions of students and the left wing. In 1979 artists of the *Neue Frankfurter Schule* helped launch a new satirical magazine, *Titanic*, successfully challenging *Pardon*, which ceased publication in 1982. G. Lammel, *Deutsche Karikaturen* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), pp. 244-45. See *Titanic Online* <<http://www.titanic-magazin.de>> [accessed 21 October 2003].

²²⁵ Hachfeld, p. 15.

²²⁶ Keim (1994), p. 8.

cartooning in showcasing the talents of precocious young artists such as Michael Heath (b. 1935), Willie Rushton (1937-96), and Ralph Steadman (b. 1936).²²⁷

Yet the overall impression remained of a dearth in biting graphic satire. Writing in the pre-Thatcherite Britain of 1978 Walker was convinced that the spirit of the Golden Age had well and truly died and was not likely to be resurrected in a country still so much in thrall to past glories:

Most sadly, the vicious energy, the sheer violence of political hatred which were the essence of Gillray and Cruikshank, has long since ceased to be the dominant style. Dyson had it, Scarfe and Steadman have touched it, but the constant, merciless screech of the Regency cartoonist has settled in the Twentieth Century to a well-mannered murmur. [...] And there is something else, very much more subtle, which has blunted many of the pens of our own day. It is a kind of smugness about Britain, perhaps an inheritance from the war, when cartoonists like Low and Strube were in the front line of the propaganda battle for the Home Front. Cartoonists learned (and were expected) to celebrate and to promote some of our comforting British myths about ourselves. (pp. 20-21)

One of the long-term effects of the ensuing eleven years of hardline partisan premiership may well have been the sustained rejuvenation of the satirical cartoon in Britain. A new generation of talented practitioners have come to prominence – in many cases ‘anti-children of Thatcher’ – such as Steve Bell (b. 1951), Martin Rowson (b. 1959) both of the *Guardian*, Chris Riddell (b. 1962) of the *Observer*, Peter Brookes (b. 1943) of *The Times*, and Dave Brown (b. 1957) of the *Independent*. They have been described as constituting ‘a squad unrivalled even in the satirical 60s’, yet they are largely confined to the ‘quality’ press. The increasing preference for photomontage in the ‘popular’ press is sounding the death knell of political cartoons and caricatures there.²²⁸

2.2.11 In conclusion

It is generally agreed that the unique power that caricature once possessed has weakened.²²⁹ This has been attributed to the various movements in modern art, which have adopted the caricatural qualities of pathos and exaggeration²³⁰, as well as to the advent of other image

²²⁷ References for this paragraph: Gordon, p. 22; L. Lambourne, ‘Selector’s Apologia’, in *The Art of Laughter*, ed. by Lambourne and A-J. Doran (London: CAT, 1992), p. 14. H. Carpenter, *That Was Satire that Was* (London: Gollancz, 2000), pp. 158-71, 180, 311. N. Hiley, ‘A History of Satire’, *BBC – Arts – Tate @ BBC*, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/tate/cruikshank/satire.shtml>> [accessed 28 October 2003]. See also P. Marnham, *The Private Eye Story* (London: Deutsch, 1982), p. 232.

²²⁸ Dugdale, ‘Art of the Political Hit Job’, *Guardian*, 27 November 2000, Media section, pp. 6-7.

²²⁹ Jensen (1997), p. 13.

²³⁰ Michael Heath – now cartoon editor of the *Spectator* – believes all the best satirical jokes have ‘gone to the artists’ like Damien Hirst, famous for his animals in formaldehyde.

media such as photography, film and television.²³¹ Some commentators lament the lack of aggression and bitterness in contemporary cartoons.²³² This may be due to the specific cultural reasons already expounded and/or, paradoxically, a dissipation of the euphoric sense of release from constraint that first came with long-term press freedom.²³³ In other words, our cartoons reflect our democratic complacency.

The future of press cartooning may not look very rosy to some, given the amusement-seeking, technologically diverse culture ours has become.²³⁴ Yet, just as in earlier idealistic times the caricature was the refuge of realism, so today in a world of abstraction it is a sanctuary of the concrete.²³⁵ 'Just as often an avant-garde signal as a pugnacious signet of the people's rights and freedoms' the cartoon has been both a spiritual partner and weapon for social democratization in Europe, particularly since the nineteenth century.²³⁶ Yet, history also testifies to its anti-democratic use, as Fuchs points out: 'Ihr Schuldkonto ist kein geringes! [...] Nicht immer ist sie die gerade Straße der Gerechtigkeit gegangen' (pp. 23-24). History has shown that cartoonists can be chameleons. The work they produce has been and continues to be a barometer of freedom (or the lack of it) on the weather map of a country's politics.²³⁷ When given free reign, they are a chief means of social and political criticism, which is the best defence against the abuse of power.

Quoted in S. O'Grady, 'Satire is Alive and Kicking', *Independent*, 19 November 1998, Review section, p. 5.

²³¹ cf. Hofmann (1985), p. 382.

²³² Ralph Steadman believes that the cartoon has simply become 'the politician's friend and ego-booster. [...] If you haven't been drawn or sculpted by the best cartoonists around, you haven't arrived. Rather than attacking their subject, cartoonists pump energy into a public persona, turning all – well-meaning souls and villains alike – into light entertainment personalities.' After trying in vain to stop politicians being caricatured, he now only draws their legs. Steadman, p. 24.

²³³ As Bornemann notes: 'Erst aus der Spannung von Pressefreiheit und -zensur konnte [die Karikatur], wie es scheint, jene spezifische Schärfe und Aggressivität entwickeln, die sie von der harmloseren, sittenbildhaften Satire unterscheidet.' (1982), p. 91.

²³⁴ See, for example, Jensen (1997), p. 18.

²³⁵ W. Hofmann, 'Bemerkungen zur Karikatur', *Merkur*, 10 (1953), 949-58 (pp. 956-57).

²³⁶ 'Ebensooft avantgardistisches Signal wie kämpfisches Signet für des Volkes Recht und Freiheit [...]. Doch für Demokratisierung der deutschen und europäischen Gesellschaft war Karikatur Partner und Waffe des Geistes, die besonders seit dem 19. Jahrhundert zur freien politisch-sozialen Entwicklung einen erheblichen Beitrag geleistet hat.' Keim (1990), p. 24.

²³⁷ cf. *Caricatures from the Federal Republic of Germany*, ed. by A. Schröder (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1981), p. 9. For example, cartoonists in mainland China have to be sure-footed enough not to overstep the limits imposed by the Communist party. They are not allowed to criticize leaders by name, nor is it wise to caricature specific politicians. (T. Poole, 'Local Hero: Ding Cong: Social Satirist whose Art Lies in Discretion', *Independent*, 11 November 1996, p. 9) It brings to mind the dictat of Hungarian 'minister without portfolio' Gyorgi Marosan in 1957: 'You can, of course, use jokes and satire against hostile and reactionary views, but we will not tolerate jokes against socialism.' Marosan quoted in O'Grady, p. 5.

2.3 The nature of cartoons and caricature

This section explores facets of the complex nature of cartoons and caricatures that inform the way in which they are used as tools of communication about ourselves and others.

2.3.1 Image power: psychological impact

According to psychoanalysts, cartoons (like jokes) provide us with basic enjoyment of the aggressive and obscene which we have otherwise lost through social, moral and logical pressures.²³⁸ The humorous content of cartoons plays an important role in this, with laughter providing a release from the tensions these pressures cause.²³⁹ Thus, they act as a form of catharsis, by realizing visually our suppressed urges.²⁴⁰

Ernst Kris (1900-1957) and Sir Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) were pioneers in the psychological interpretation of caricature. Kris maintained that the power or ‘magic’ of a caricature lies in its ability to speak to the emotions of the observer in a way which words cannot:

Visual images do in fact play a different part in our mind than that played by words. The visual image has deeper roots, is more primitive. [...] Image magic is one of the most ubiquitous forms of magical practice. It presupposes a belief in the identity of the sign with the thing signified – a belief which surpasses in intensity the belief in the magic potency of the word. [...] It is precisely this belief which explains the secret and the effect of the successful caricature. [...] Caricature is a play with the magic power of the image.²⁴¹

The cartoonist’s mastery of expressive features including shape and shade plays a significant role in this:

The cartoonist can *mythologize the world of politics by physiognomizing it*. By linking the mythical with the real he creates that fusion, that amalgam, that seems so convincing to the emotional world. [...] The cartoonist’s armoury is always there in the workings of our mind. [...] Contrasts such as light and shade, beautiful and ugly, big and small, which form the coordinates of the cartoonist’s mythical universe, would not be so effective if we all were not inclined to categorize the world around us in such basic emotional metaphors.²⁴²

²³⁸ Kris sees the cartoonists’ secret as lying in the use they make of controlled regression. The style and use of shapes evoke childhood memories, while the use of symbol and metaphor constitutes a regression from rationality (p. 202).

²³⁹ Bornemann (1972), p. 11.

²⁴⁰ Woschek, p. 196; Heinisch, pp. 110-11.

²⁴¹ Kris, pp. 200-201.

²⁴² E. Gombrich, ‘The Cartoonist’s Armoury’, in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*, 2nd edn (London: Phaidon, 1971), pp. 127-42 (pp. 139-40).

In using techniques of this sort, cartoons allude to our fears, our vanities and our wishes. They evoke associations and, as a consequence, often elicit a strong emotional response, which might be of rage or rejection.²⁴³

Cartoons help us to make sense of the world, using processes akin to stereotyping such as simplification and the reduction of complexity.²⁴⁴ They assist us in keeping our equilibrium and adjusting to the stresses and strains of contemporary life:

Cartoons reveal, graphically, that, as Santayana put it. [sic] “*the universe is an equilibrium of idiocies.*” There is comfort in knowing everyone is slightly irrational and society is full of individuals and groups that are quite bizarre. All of this is grist for the cartoonist’s militancy.²⁴⁵

2.3.2 Relation to reality and truth

Caricatural representation has been described as neither truly realistic nor wholly abstract. The cartoon’s version of reality is, on the one hand, deliberately distorted while, on the other, it has to be firmly based on a recognizable real life model:

Was also die Karikatur einerseits vom Realismus unterscheidet, ist das grelle Überdeutlichmachen; was sie andererseits – trotz ihrer formelhaften Abkürzungen – von der Abstraktion abhebt, ist die Verbindung mit dem Vorbild, die niemals aufgegeben wird, denn immer bezieht sich die Karikatur auf eine empirische Wirklichkeit, die sie umformt.²⁴⁶

There is nothing more characteristic of pictorial satire than its conservatism, both in style and content. It cannot be abstract. It relies on the familiar in order to be understood and tends to draw on the same old stock of motifs and stereotypes.²⁴⁷ What it portrays needs to be recognized easily and quickly.²⁴⁸

The cartoonist has been described as a professional liar with a right to stand truth on his head (for example, by depicting the King as a pear). This will be tolerated as long as the lies are seen as acceptable and for the public good. Low sees benevolent ‘white’ lying as very much part of the job:

²⁴³ Fritz, pp. 40, 51

²⁴⁴ cf. F. Avenarius, *Die Weltkarikatur in der Völkerverhetzung* (Munich: Callwey, 1921), p. 248, where he stresses the need to apply at the same time one’s own reason to the reading of cartoons. Bell, too, suggests that through simplification cartoons give us a hold on reality, imparting ‘a tiny kind of power over a terrifying and incomprehensible world.’ ‘One Thing After Another’, in *A Sense of Permanence?*, pp. 31-38 (p. 33).

²⁴⁵ Berger, p. 46.

²⁴⁶ W. Hofmann, *Bildende Kunst II* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1960), p. 132, quoted in L. Rössner, *Karikaturen zu Politik und Zeitgeschehen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Diesterweg, 1971), pp. 44-45.

²⁴⁷ Gombrich, ‘Magic, Myth and Metaphor: Reflections on Pictorial Satire’, in *The Essential Gombrich*, ed. by R. Woodfield (London: Phaidon, 1996), p. 343.

²⁴⁸ cf. P. Dittmar, ‘Macht und Ohnmacht der Karikatur’, in *5 Karikaturisten* (Hanover: Wilhelm-Busch-Museum, 1980), pp. 6-9 (p. 8).

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. [...] Their spiritual integrity is not in question, and their technical deviations from fact but serve to give to their expression an elasticity eminently suited to the chronicling of life in a madhouse.²⁴⁹

There is a paradox here, for the cartoonist's use of lies and exaggeration is a means to reveal the deeper truths that really matter: truths that are greater than facts.²⁵⁰ As the Austrian cartoonist Ironimus (b. 1928) expresses it: 'so versucht der Zeichner im Übertreiben und im Lügen die Wahrheit zu ergründen.'²⁵¹

This being said, a cartoon must always have a basis in fact.²⁵² It must be rationally justifiable. Otherwise, it simply rests on ideology or prejudice.²⁵³ As a matter of responsibility towards the public, the cartoonist has to orientate himself to the truth 'and not kill' according to Nik Ebert (b. 1954), staff cartoonist of the *Rheinische Post*.²⁵⁴ Perhaps Steve Bell articulates best the ethical dilemma facing the cartoonist: 'Even though we make it all up, we still have an obligation to tell the truth.'²⁵⁵

2.3.3 Cartoons as rhetoric

Cartoonists are rhetoricians. By presenting a depiction of reality as they see it, cartoonists are giving a point of view concerning a particular individual, issue, situation and/or idea and thus employing a rhetorical method.²⁵⁶ The rhetoric of a cartoon is both visual and verbal, with the tropes and figures of the orator corresponding to the visual symbols that are cartoonists' stock and trade.²⁵⁷

Banks identifies two rhetorical strategies in cartoons. One is the 'enthymeme': a claim by the artist that is based on premises supplied by the audience, often made via use of a

²⁴⁹ This paragraph: Dittmar, p. 9, citing David Low; D. Low, *Low's War Cartoons* (London: Cresset, 1941), p. 2.

²⁵⁰ Thus, the cartoon is constantly testing the boundaries of press freedom as well as the application of libel. cf. P. Lester, *Images that Injure* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996), p. 182.

²⁵¹ *Land der Berge, Land der Zwerge* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1986), p. 5. Garland's famous *Spectator* cartoon of Nicholas Ridley daubing Kohl with Hitler features (*CWTR*, pp. 170-71) is, I believe, a good illustration of this. While distorting the bare facts, it pointed to the historical suspicions thought to underlie the politician's attitude.

²⁵² Hachfeld, p. 18.

²⁵³ The Nazi caricatures of the Jews are a good example. 'Karikatur', *Kunst und Unterricht*, 43 (June 1977), 16-45 (p. 20).

²⁵⁴ He refuses to fabricate facts: 'Kohl ist nicht deswegen fett, weil ich ihn so zeichne, sondern weil er es eben ist.' Tape-recorded interview with Ebert, *Rheinische Post*, Düsseldorf, 28 October 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

²⁵⁵ 'No Laughing Matter', *Guardian*, 2 November 1998, Media section, pp. 2-3.

²⁵⁶ Gordon, p. 48.

²⁵⁷ M. Morrison, 'The Role of the Political Cartoonist in Image Making', *Central States Speech Journal*, 20 (1969), 252-60 (p. 253).

metaphor.²⁵⁸ The other is the metaphor itself, which may be sufficient on its own to constitute the message of the cartoon. Cartoonists are trying in the play with metaphors to apply a story or myth known to the receivers of a news event and so link the familiar with the unfamiliar.²⁵⁹ Moreover, in order to be effective communicators cartoonists must not only rely heavily on the existing knowledge and assumptions of their audience but also know and utilize their beliefs, values and attitudes.²⁶⁰ This is why graphic rhetoric relies in part on enthymematic form.²⁶¹

Various rhetorical devices are employed by the cartoonist in constructing a comment. One of the basic and most frequently used forms is that of contrast, which allows cartoonists to convey a message at a single glance and within the confines of a single frame. It invites the reader to consider a range of choices before reaching a conclusion. Vicky's comment on the stationing costs for the British Army of the Rhine is a good example of this dispositional principle (*CWTR*, pp. 166-67). Erhard's bulk and apparent affluence are contrasted visually with Wilson's small stature and tatty appearance. A further contrast occurs with the reader's conception of the German chancellor (what the reader expects him to look like) and the artist's depiction of him as a buxom female. Readers may consider likening the two leaders' relationship to a marriage of exploitation absurd or apposite, whilst their predispositions towards Wilson and Erhard (and their respective countries) may lead them to reach different conclusions about the appropriateness of the analogy. Two other rhetorical forms are commentary and contradiction. The former implies or reflects a cultural or political truism and is evident in Lang's cartoon of President Heuss's visit to Britain in 1958 (*CWTR*, pp. 84-85). In an atmosphere of abiding British mistrust Heuss's task was to help restore good relations between Germany and Britain after the Second World War. Contradiction exposes dichotomies, unmask polarities and involves a clash of both visual and verbal forms, inviting condemnation and allowing no choice as is the case with contrast. With contradiction the cartoonist's conclusion can only be accepted or rejected. Gibbard's cartoon on the Chequers memo is a good example of this technique (*CWTR*, pp. 64-65). The jolly demeanour and magnanimity of Kohl seem so at odds with the attributes of German character on the board that the latter would appear to apply less to the Chancellor than to the spike-nosed Prime

²⁵⁸ Banks, pp. 36, 39, 63, 72. The enthymeme may, for example, rest simply on the readership associating a spiked helmet with Germans as a wartime adversary. By placing it on Chancellor Kohl's head in an EU context the cartoonist can be seen as making a claim about the nature of Germany's European ambitions.

²⁵⁹ Gombrich (1996), p. 342.

²⁶⁰ cf. J. Sproule, *Argument* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980), p. 348.

²⁶¹ M. Medhurst and M. DeSousa, 'Political Cartoons as Rhetorical Form', *Communication Monographs*, 48 (1981), 197-236 (p. 204).

Minister and her shamefaced assistant. The reader is thus encouraged to condemn the memorandum as xenophobic, hypocritical nonsense.²⁶²

Medhurst and DeSousa maintain that, unlike many orators, editorial cartoonists enjoy the advantage of perceived authority, because their work appears in that part of the paper reserved for serious and informed discussion. They are seen as editors-in-chief of graphic comment and are granted the initial presumption of superior insight.²⁶³ However, there are disadvantages, too. Gombrich notes that while visual images are highly successful in arousing emotions, they are limited in their ability to make explicit statements, as we can only recognize in a cartoon what we already know.²⁶⁴

Understanding cartoons as rhetoric explains not only their use as a means of persuasion. It also highlights the significant role they play in maintaining, supporting and promoting a particular ideological position, ordinarily that of the in-group they serve (the publication's readership). Along with other expressions of cultural identity, cartoons thematize and preserve what is present in the community (sub-)consciousness and memory and so embody unspoken attitudes and understandings:

Images throw light on a 'latent' memory that is always being obscured, hidden or displaced. [...] They can be decoded, not as the product of a genial artist [...] but as partisan representations of discursive and pictorial traditions and mentalités.²⁶⁵

2.3.4 Use of symbolism

The cartoon or caricature is an iconic sign operating within a sign system based on symbols.²⁶⁶ The cartoonist's use of symbols conveys both message and meaning to the receiver. They are the part of the imagery with which the cartoonist packages an idea.²⁶⁷

Symbols are representational, usually standing for something immaterial, abstract or too large and complex to be presented by other means. They act as tabs of identity enabling the beholder to recognize and comprehend quickly what the cartoonist has drawn. As such, they have an aphoristic function, encapsulating information about a person or situation.²⁶⁸ The need for brevity and simplicity makes symbols an indispensable part of the cartoonist's 'kit

²⁶² For this paragraph cf. Medhurst and DeSousa, pp. 205, 207.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 232.

²⁶⁴ Cited in *Media and Symbols*, ed. by D. Olson, part I (Chicago: UCP, 1974), p. 19.

²⁶⁵ P. Wagner, 'Introduction: Ekphrasis, Iconotexts, and Intermediality – the State(s) of the Art(s)', in *icons – Texts- Iconotexts*, ed. by P. Wagner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 1-40 (p. 37).

²⁶⁶ cf. Harrison, pp. 53-4.

²⁶⁷ C. Press, *The Political Cartoon* (East Brunswick, NJ: AUP, 1981), p. 20.

²⁶⁸ cf. Geipel, p. 26.

bag'. By the same token, pictorial symbols are inherently ambiguous.²⁶⁹ They can easily obfuscate meaning, particularly where there is doubt amongst receivers as to what they represent.²⁷⁰ Therefore, cartoonists often falls back on symbolism which has stood the test of time and they know will strike a chord with the readership. The link with stereotypes is established. Symbols are building blocks in the construction and maintenance of stereotypes, which can themselves be seen as abstractions of popular thinking about particular groups. Like stereotypes, symbols can be clichéd images.

Figurative devices, symbolic imagery and colloquial metaphor are often not only culturally but also temporally specific, making them inexplicable to later generations. For this reason the allusions and cryptic associations used by cartoonists in previous centuries are sometimes lost on even the most perspicacious of historians.²⁷¹

Drawing upon a font of symbols from art, religion, history, literature and popular culture, cartoonists are also in the business of metaphor construction and elaboration. A cartoonist does this by 'cunningly weaving all kinds of allusions into his picture by juxtaposing and blending concepts that are physically quite incongruous yet share some subtle allegorical association.'²⁷² This process is exemplified in the Cummings cartoon drawn during the pound crisis of 1992 (*Sunday Express*, 27 October 1992). German financial probity coincided with a planned German commemoration of the V2 rocket project. The Helmut Kohl V2 about to hit the besieged pound is just such an amalgam with its iron cross and modified advertising slogan 'Vorsprung Kohl Technik'. The cartoon connects the currency crisis with the memory of an historical event (the Second World War) to suggest that German aggression is alive and well in contemporary European politics. It also makes reference to the widely known Audi advertising slogan 'Vorsprung durch Technik', which had been popularized in the media. Cartoonists can also manipulate existing symbols. They may reverse the traditional content of a symbol and use it to represent something antithetical.²⁷³ For example, Krauze takes the symbol of (Federal) German sovereignty – the proud, plump eagle – and depicts it as a haggard bird crippled by a bad post-reunification hangover (*Guardian*, 12 April 1991).

²⁶⁹ Sproule, pp. 348-49. It may be that this essential ambiguity is what makes the cartoon so popular and prolific. It can be interpreted in any number of ways and so found to be supportive of the receiver's own point of view. M. DeSousa and M. Medhurst, 'The Editorial As Visual Rhetoric: Rethinking Boss Tweed', *Journal of Visual Verbal Linguaging*, 2 (1982), p. 59.

²⁷⁰ This was empirically demonstrated by LeRoy Carl's doctoral study of cartoon comprehension. He compared the meanings supplied by cartoonists with those ascribed by receivers and discovered wide interpretational incongruence. Only around a third of the receivers interpreted the cartoons in a way wholly or partially consonant with the artists' intention. Published as 'Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers', *Journalism Quarterly*, 45 (1968), 533-35.

²⁷¹ Geipel, p. 30.

²⁷² *ibid.*

²⁷³ Press, p. 227.

Each nation has at its disposal a spectrum of caricatural identifiers which it uses to portray itself and others satirically or humorously. Depending upon political circumstances different registers of symbols can be retrieved from the collective memory. As part of an image their function is to help express the harmonious, polemical or aggressive mood present in a given situation.²⁷⁴ For it is the combination of imagery and artistic technique that creates the mood necessary to give the cartoonist's message its real impact and power.²⁷⁵

2.4 The function of cartoons and caricature as identified by commentators and cartoonists

2.4.1 Entertainment

'C'est faire rire.' This Topuz identifies as the principal function of the cartoon.²⁷⁶ Many social/political cartoonists see their role as being to entertain, although it may only be part of what they do.²⁷⁷ The two senior German political cartoonists I interviewed, Wolf and Pielert, were adamant that entertaining the readership was what they primarily sought to do. Wolf, who describes his job as that of an 'interval clown' ('Pausenc clown'), said he feels he has done his job when he makes the reader chuckle: 'Dann habe ich eine Menge erreicht. Mehr will ich nicht.'²⁷⁸ Another long-time German cartoonist, Walter Hanel (b. 1930) also believes the entertainment role of cartoons cannot be denied.²⁷⁹

Bill Caldwell of *The Daily Star* also saw it as his main function, adding that 'the secret in tabloids is to entertain with humour and stay clear of telling people what to think.'²⁸⁰ Political cartoonists Bell, Tony Auth (b. 1942) and Riddell all list entertaining the readership as part of their role.²⁸¹ In fact, Fuchs saw enjoyment and pleasure as the most important keys to understanding the persuasive effect of cartoons (p. 11).

²⁷⁴ *Komische Nachbarn / Drôles de voisins*, ed. by R. Dietrich & W. Fekl (Goethe-Institut Paris, 1988), p. 5.

²⁷⁵ Press, p. 75.

²⁷⁶ *Caricature et Société* ([Paris]: Maison Mame, 1974), p. 77.

²⁷⁷ A fact disputed by some commentators, e.g. M. Bryant, 'Poison Pen or Good-Tempered Pencil?', in *A Sense of Permanence?*, pp. 59-63 (pp. 62).

²⁷⁸ Hachfeld, p.15, and in a tape-recorded interview in his Osnabrück studio, 15 July 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

²⁷⁹ S. Weirich, 'Zeitzeugen im Gespräch: Zeichner Walter Hanel wird 70', *Haus der Geschichte Magazin*, online edn, 3 (2000) <http://www.museumsmagazin.com/archiv/archiv_3-2000.php> [accessed 30 April 2001].

²⁸⁰ Tape-recorded interview in the artist's London flat, 17 June 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

²⁸¹ Tape-recorded interview with Bell at the *Guardian*, 22 April 1998; with Riddell at the *Observer*, London, 20 June 1997; Auth quoted in Banks, p. 201. All subsequent comments by these artists are taken from these texts unless otherwise stated.

2.4.2 In-group service

Giving the readers what they want is also identified by cartoonists as one of their major aims.²⁸² Cartoonists are drawing for a target audience – the readership of their particular publication. The cartoon can thus be seen as part of an in-group experience.²⁸³ It functions as a kind of in-joke, by alluding cryptically to situations in a way which strikes a chord with the in-group, but which may be unfathomable to outsiders.²⁸⁴ Hines suggests, by (re-)affirming group norms, the cartoon enhances social solidarity as well as acting as a means of social control.²⁸⁵ Gombrich sees ‘preaching to the converted’ as perhaps the true function of pictorial satire, its purpose being ‘to renew and reinforce the ties of common faith and common values that hold the community together’ (1996, p. 340). He believes cartoons, in common with other forms of satire, serve to strengthen social identity by contributing to the sense of superiority the in-group has over outsiders. It does this by reinforcing group auto- and heterostereotypes.

The cartoon also functions as the embodiment of conflict and aggression, through the use of satirical techniques, such as contrast, which differentiate the in-group from out-groups, and can even provoke out-group hostility.²⁸⁶ Cartoons produced at times of strained British-German relations (such as during the BSE crisis) provide ample evidence of this function, particularly on the British side, with astringent portrayals of the Germans in which their appearance, speech, and behaviour are caricatured.

There is, therefore, a flip side to the ‘value for money’ approach, which is concerned with affirming and strengthening positions held by the readership: ‘Entsprechend kann die Karikaturaussage Ansichten bestätigen, Aggressionen verstärken [...], sie kann eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Kritisierten provozieren und fördern, kann aber auch einfach tradierte Vorurteile verstärken.’²⁸⁷

²⁸² Riddell says the customers need to feel they are getting value for money; Michael Cummings of the *Express* saw himself as ‘there to produce what the readers want and to share their views.’ Tape-recorded interview with the artist, 19 June 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

²⁸³ These publication in-groups are defined differently in the context of cartoonists working for British and German newspapers. In Britain, in-group boundaries are primarily determined by social class and political affinity, whereas in Germany, where regional publishing predominates, the boundaries are likely to be geographical as well as political. cf. Gordon, p. 32.

²⁸⁴ Heath’s currency crisis cartoon of October 1992 (*CWTR*, pp. 208-9), which rests on an allusion to the ‘Wooden Horse’ legend, illustrates this point well. The phenomenon was identified in an empirical study by Bormann, Koester and Bennett (1978), cited in Gordon, p. 32.

²⁸⁵ ‘Cartoons as a Means of Social Control’, *Sociology And Social Research*, 17 (1933), p. 454.

²⁸⁶ cf. Dines-Levy, p. 45; A. Zijderveld, ‘Jokes and their Relation to Social Reality’, *Social Research*, 35 (1968), 286-311 (pp. 303-305).

²⁸⁷ ‘Karikatur’, p. 26.

As already observed, cartoons are a form of persuasive communication. Cartoons aim to form or sway opinion as well as stir the passions.²⁸⁸ Cartoonists themselves seem to doubt just how successful they are at achieving this, but the intention is frequently there. As freelance cartoonist Thomas Pläßmann (b. 1960) confides: ‘Vielleicht verhilft man bei diesem und jenem zu einer anderen Sicht der Dinge.’²⁸⁹

2.4.3 Social and political criticism

Many commentators and cartoonists agree that the main function of social cartoons is to expose and criticize ‘the insanities, absurdities [*sic*] and contradictions of contemporary, post-industrial society, the very conditions which spawned, nourished and midwived this thriving yet most ungentle, form of comedy.’²⁹⁰ Herding and Otto see this as the social interpretative function of cartoons, providing new insights about our social environment: ‘Karikaturen [sind] “Auffangorgane”, in denen gesellschaftliches Leben in seiner Widersprüchlichkeit originär (aber nicht unabhängig) Form gewinnt und aus denen [...] soziale Wirklichkeit neu erfahren werden kann.’²⁹¹

Cartoonists have been described as outsiders – thus making them well-placed social observers – and a surprisingly large number have, indeed, come from outside the national communities they have served.²⁹² They have also been described as subversives, the medium being ideal for the spreading of anti-establishment views because of its mass accessibility and the veil of ambiguity which humour provides.²⁹³ They have also been described as Fools, an idea developed in detail by Seymour-Ure in relation to *Private Eye*. He suggests the satirist,

²⁸⁸ Nelson, p. 7.

²⁸⁹ In a written response to interview questions, 26 November 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this text unless otherwise stated.

²⁹⁰ R. Barshay, ‘The cartoon of modern sensibility’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, 8 (1974), 522-33 (p. 523). Barshay goes on to describe the cartoonist as a modern shaman who performs the magic of exorcism by means of image power (p. 524).

²⁹¹ Preface to ‘*Nervöse Auffangorgane des inneren und äußeren Lebens*’, ed. by K. Herding and G. Otto (Giessen: Anabas, 1980), pp. 7- 11 (p. 11). Fuchs (p. 11) repeatedly emphasizes the social function of cartoons, particularly as a means of conveying to the masses critical opinion, which would otherwise remain incomprehensible or hidden to them; cf. also Bornemann (1982), p. 60.

²⁹² To mention just a few: Low, Dyson, John Jensen, and Pat Oliphant (a famous name in the US) grew up in the Antipodes; Vicky and Behrendt grew up in Germany (Behrendt being based in The Netherlands since the age of twelve); Krauze in Poland; Arthur Johnson and Trog in North America; and Gulbransson in Norway. Flora, Ironimus, Murschetz, Haitzinger, Pepsch, and Ammer are all Austrians by birth or upbringing, working for Federal German titles. In the British context Illingworth was Welsh, whilst Caldwell is a Scot.

²⁹³ C. Daniel, ‘Men Who Hate to Be Loved’, *New Statesman*, 19 December 1997, pp. 52, 55; Dines-Levy, p. 94. It is, for example, no coincidence that *Neues Deutschland*, the East German state newspaper, stopped publishing cartoons after 1977, in line with a general crackdown on criticism of the regime. Dittmar, p. 8.

like the jester, symbolizes emotional power, the limitations of rational behaviour and thus the existence of forces outside authoritarian control.²⁹⁴

E. M. Lang describes cartoonists as ‘jesters of democracy’ (‘Hofnarren der Demokratie’), while Vicky saw the political cartoonist as both seer and Fool.²⁹⁵ Yet, cartoonists can equally help to reinforce and justify the status quo, particularly in times of conflict.²⁹⁶

Skott believes that cartoonists are moralists by definition: ‘Müssen wir auch sein; daraus beziehen wir unsere Stellung and aus dieser Kiste feuern wir.’²⁹⁷ He adds that he enjoys being provocative. Some of his British contemporaries couch their attitudes in more colourful and less idealistic terms. Chris Riddell of the *Observer* admits he prefers ‘the stiletto approach’ and being a ‘sting in the tail’, while Steve Bell simply believes that his job is ‘to be a bit of a nuisance, like a kind of louse’. Nicholas Garland of the *Daily Telegraph* maintains that he is neither trying to change anybody’s mind nor put forward a morally or socially just view: ‘To a large extent I am mirroring back to people things that they already know in a slightly quirky or refracted way, so that they will have a slightly different look at them.’²⁹⁸

Political cartoonists ridicule and criticize the foibles of politicians. As such they serve as a form of opposition.²⁹⁹ Veteran German political cartoonist Party (Josef Partykiewicz, b. 1914) describing his role as that of ‘a clown of politics’ (‘ein Clown der Politik’), maintains that the professional ought to handle politics within certain parameters: ‘Er muß es vereinfachen, ohne es zu verflachen, – er soll beißen, aber nicht fressen, – [...] er soll zum Lachen, aber auch zum Nachdenken bringen’.³⁰⁰ Wolf seeks to depict political events in human terms and make the work of politicians seem less momentous: ‘Ich möchte alle politische Ereignisse auf menschlicher Ebene transponieren. Vor allem möchte ich erreichen, daß das was sie da oben machen, nicht zu ernst zu nehmen ist.’

Caldwell believes a political cartoonist should have ‘no fear or favour in dealing with politicians’ and have ‘a licence to attack any’. Ebert describes himself as a political watchdog,

²⁹⁴ *The Political Impact of the Mass Media* (London: Constable, 1974), pp. 247-264 (p. 259).

²⁹⁵ Lang cited in Hüllenkremer, p. 3, and Gardes and Poncin, p. 82; Vicky cited in W. Freisburger, *Konrad sprach die Frau Mama* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1955), p. 144.

²⁹⁶ A good example is Dyson, who was ‘more than subversive; he was a rallying cry to class war’. Yet during the First World War he was every bit the patriotic propagandist. Walker, p. 22.

²⁹⁷ Tape-recorded interview, Düsseldorf, 13 June 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

²⁹⁸ N. Garland, ‘Fine Art and Comic Art’, *Journal of the RSA*, 137 (1989), 779-88 (p. 787).

²⁹⁹ Langemeyer, p. 10; Hofmann cited in Bornemann (1982), p. 145. Cartoons have maintained some kind of opposition, even under a controlled press. While the printed word is often too precise, cartoons have more leeway because their attacks can be ambiguous. Under the colonels Greek cartoonists expressed covert criticism of the regime by making references to Spain under Franco, thus providing a rallying point for opposition. Walker, p.11. See also Helen Vlachou’s account in F. Behrendt, ‘The Freedom of the Political Cartoonist’, *20th Century Studies*, 13/14 (1975), pp. 77-91 (p. 91).

³⁰⁰ Freisburger, p. 143.

who warns the politicians ('die Macher' as he calls them) to be careful, because what they are doing can be differently understood. Some commentators interpret this licence in much stronger terms. As a weapon in political warfare the cartoon or caricature can perform a symbolic execution – *executio in effigie* – and can kill by absurdity.³⁰¹ Because the cartoon is a way of symbolically expressing dissatisfaction with government or politics, it has been suggested that cartoons serve to reduce public aggression. This follows from Freud's belief that caricature is directed against figures of authority and respect, as a means of disparagement. However, Gordon's content analysis of political cartoons suggests that this aggression-reducing function is not stressed by the material.³⁰²

2.4.4 Watchdogs of democracy and public morality

Commentators on political cartooning see the genre as fulfilling vital democratic functions: They help keep a country open to criticism and freedom of expression; they teach people to think for themselves; they make politics more concrete, comprehensible and legible for a public used to television.³⁰³ Cartoonists are no less idealistic. *Gründergeneration* cartoonist Peter Leger (1924-1991) once described the ideal cartoonist as a co-creator and guarantor of liberty with conscious dignity.³⁰⁴

Donald makes the point that the role of the cartoonist as the oppositional voice of public morality is a relatively recent invention:

Since the nineteenth century, the cartoonist of stature has occupied a position of moral authority in society. The mass circulation press has given him a medium in which to encapsulate public opinion and articulate the public conscience, and in this process, paradoxically, the cartoonist himself takes on a strongly marked and familiar personality. While most comic draughtsmen are, of course, no more than the unselfconscious vehicles of public opinion, the twentieth-century myth of 'the great cartoonist' presupposes a courageous oppositional stance towards the power structures of the time. His images are celebrated for having provoked the mighty, and sometimes for having been produced in creative tension with the prudential restraints of proprietor and editor – a situation which the cartoonist has, on occasion, knowingly dramatised for the admiration of the readership. The intransigence and passion of such challenges

³⁰¹ Unverfehrt, p. 348. Heuss believed the question was unresolved as to how politically active a role the cartoon plays: 'Die Frage ist offen, ob Karikatur die Orchesterbegleitung zum Stück auf der Weltbühne ist, oder ob sie oben erscheint auf den Brettern und Anteil nimmt am Kampf. Karikatur kann Eindruck und Anmerkung des Kampfs sein, kann aber unmittelbar ins politische Leben eingreifen.' (p. 181)

³⁰² Bornemann (1982), p. 61; Gordon, pp. 120-21.

³⁰³ Schröder, pp. 9, 21; V. S. Pritchett cited by Bryant (1997), p. 63; Keim (1990), p. 24.

³⁰⁴ 'Der echte Karikaturist: sein leidenschaftliches Wesen und seine kühle Hand sollen nicht nur seine Leser zum Lachen bringen, sondern auch ein freies Leben in bewußter Würde mitbauen und sichern'. Quoted in Freisburger, p. 142. A political cartoonist from 1947, Leger worked for the *Hannoversche Presse* and *Vorwärts* from 1949, and the *SZ* from 1963 until his death.

to the conduct of public life measure the degree to which, it is believed, he maintains his integrity and proper function as a cartoonist. (p. 22)

2.4.5 Informing and educating

An informative, indeed educative role is also accorded to the cartoonist.³⁰⁵ Hofmann and Langemeyer both describe cartoons as seeking to instruct, albeit with humour, whilst Bornemann notes that this function should not be overrated.³⁰⁶ On the whole, cartoonists tend to shy away from describing themselves as trying to instruct their readership.³⁰⁷ A rejection of this role appears strongest amongst the oldest and youngest practitioners. Pielert, who like Lang sees himself as a latter-day Fool, emphatically believes that an educative role is contrary to practice of the art: ‘Da reden sich Karikaturisten was ein. Ein Hofnarr erzieht nicht!’ Veteran *Express* cartoonist Michael Cummings (1919-1997) was of similar mind, whilst adding that the cartoonist is in some ways a propagandist. Riddell and Paul Thomas (b. 1961) denied the educative role, too; Riddell dislikes didacticism, believing it to be alien to satire, whilst Thomas thought the assertion of such a role ‘too pompous’.³⁰⁸

Cartoonists of the ‘middle generation’, Jak (1927-1997) and Horst Haitzinger (b. 1939), agree that theirs is both an informative and educative role ‘just as with any journalist’.³⁰⁹ Caldwell also thought this to be so, although he saw himself as ‘playing teacher only with a light touch’. Ebert believes there is a bit of education in what he does, by drawing the readers’ attention to a particular slant on an issue in order to encourage them to think about it themselves. He does not see himself as an informant, because he is using information only as a basis for his work. In conclusion, Brookes saw the cartoonist as having a whole series of different functions, with the primary one being to communicate to the readership as clearly and unambiguously as possible his own opinion about an issue: ‘I am forever trying to whittle things down to make it as clear as possible. I can’t stand ambiguity in a cartoon. I like to be “cut and dry” about an idea.’³¹⁰

³⁰⁵ Fuchs saw the cartoon as having an extraordinary moral and educative role particularly for the ignorant majority: ‘Für die Masse wird Karikatur die beste Erzieherin zum richtigen Schauen; Sie ist auf die Gasse übertragene Kunst’ (p. 16).

³⁰⁶ Hofmann (1953), p. 955; Langemeyer (p. 10) cites Horace’s dictum ‘docere et delectare’ as the leitmotif of this technique; Bornemann (1982), p. 146.

³⁰⁷ Some do see it as one of their functions: e.g. Auth cited in Banks, p. 201.

³⁰⁸ Thomas in tape-recorded interview in his garden, London, 18 June 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

³⁰⁹ Jak, tape-recorded interview in ‘Uncle Jak’s Cabin’, Northcliffe House, London, 24 June 1997. Quotation from Haitzinger’s written response to interview questions, 20 December 1997. All subsequent comments by these artists are taken from these texts unless otherwise stated.

³¹⁰ Tape-recorded interview with the artist, ‘Fortress Wapping’, 17 June 1997. All subsequent comments by Brookes are taken from this interview unless otherwise stated.

2.5 The cartoonist's influence

It is generally felt that cartoonists, in common with all image-makers, influence in some way how we perceive ourselves and the world around us. Exactly the way this influence is exerted and what forms it takes is still a subject of enquiry. In the following the major arguments about the nature of this influence are discussed.

2.5.1 Evidence of history

There is evidence to suggest that historically cartoons and caricatures have exercised an influence, albeit modest, on the course of particular events. The promulgation of Martin Luther's reforming ideas was much aided by the accessible images of German broadsheet prints.³¹¹ In the United States Benjamin Franklin's 'Join or Die' cartoon (1754) provided impetus for the independence movement, and Thomas Nast's caricatural exposure (1869-1871) of the corrupt New York administration dominated by 'Boss' Tweed helped bring about his and his cronies' downfall.³¹² Graphic satire is also seen to have contributed to the demise of the French monarchs Louis-Philippe and Napoleon III and Germany's William II.³¹³

Moreover, it has been widely **believed** – particularly by politicians – that cartoonists can influence public opinion. Tweed begged: 'Stop them damned pictures. I don't care so much

³¹¹ 'Martin Luther would not have spent valuable time thinking up and executing ideas for his anti-Papal cartoons, had he not been convinced of their efficacy.' W. A. Coupe, 'Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), 75-92 (p. 82); See also Dittmar, p. 7.

³¹² Regan, Sinclair, Turner, pp. 11-12. Described by Abraham Lincoln as his 'best recruiting sergeant' in the Civil War, Bavarian-born Nast (1840-1902) was staff artist for *Harper's Weekly* from 1862. He created the Father Christmas image, as well as the Democratic donkey and Republican elephant. A. Nevins and F. Weitenkamp, *A Century of Political Cartoons* (New York: Scribners, 1944), pp. 9, 14. William M. Tweed was the kingmaker of the ruling New York Democratic party. Control of key political positions in the state and city enabled his 'Tweed Ring' to siphon off tens of millions of dollars from the New York Treasury. When the voters turned against him in 1871, Tweed escaped to Spain, where he was recognized from a Nast cartoon and arrested. He died in a New York prison in 1878. cf. R. Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1947), pp. 205-207. For further information on Nast and his work as well as Tweed see 'Thomas Nast' <<http://www.lib.ohio-state.edu/cgaweb/nast>> [accessed 21 October 2003].

³¹³ 'Louis-Philippe wäre schließlich 1848 nicht davongejagt, Napoleon III. 1870 nicht von den Franzosen im Stich, Wilhelm II. 1918 von den deutschen Volksmassen nicht ohne Bedauern ziehen gelassen worden, hätte nicht die Satire in Wort und – vor allem noch breitenwirksamer – im Bild die Vorarbeit geleistet, um diese Monarchen nicht nur ihres Hermelins zu entkleiden, sondern sie als ziemlich durchschnittlich begabte Menschen mit vielen Fehlern und zu hoher Anmaßung bewußt zu machen.' Schmoll, p. 20.

what the papers write about me, my constituents can't read. But, damn it, they can see pictures'.³¹⁴

Winston Churchill saw cartoonists as bearing a great responsibility because of their ability to influence the way we view the world both as children and adults:

They have great power indeed, the cartoonists. All the antagonisms of nations and of individuals are displayed in their harshest terms; and children, poring in wonderment at them, take it for granted that these were the real moves on the great chessboard of life. But anyhow, whatever children get or got from the dead pages of *Punch*, cartoons are the regular food on which the grown-up children of today are fed and nourished. On these very often they form their views of public men and public affairs; on these very often they vote.³¹⁵

In the First World War the Germans offered a large reward for capture of the fervently anti-German and hugely popular Dutch cartoonist Louis Raemaekers (1869-1956), while the National Socialists perceived political cartoons as possessing enough persuasive impact to have them regulated under the supervision of a special Caricature Department in the Ministry of Propaganda. The belief that cartoons had the power to influence political relations was no less significant in Britain in the same period. Viscount Halifax, as Foreign Secretary in the unsettled years before the outbreak of the war, urged Low to soften his attacks on Hitler and Mussolini in order to make it easier to keep the peace in Europe.³¹⁶

The very fact that politicians credit cartoons with having the power to influence people, is an influence in itself, as this belief may affect the way politicians themselves behave.³¹⁷

2.5.2 Creating images and sustaining myths

Cartoonists have been instrumental in the creation of popular symbols ranging from Uncle Sam to Santa Claus.³¹⁸ They have thus shown a rare ability to shape public imagination.³¹⁹ Cartoons, as with other media, play a significant role in the development of images, particularly of nations, through the symbolism they incorporate. Writing at the height of the Cold War, Boulding saw this image-making capacity as a powerful and potentially dangerous

³¹⁴ Quoted in Hess and Kaplan, p. 2. In desperation the Ring tried to buy Nast's silence for half a million dollars, yet offered the *New York Times* five million for theirs. Butterfield, p. 206; Coupe (1969), p. 84.

³¹⁵ 'Cartoons and Cartoonists', *Thoughts and Adventures* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1932), pp. 23-35 (pp. 25-26). Churchill claimed to have 'got an entirely erroneous conception of Julius Caesar' from *Punch* cartoons portraying the virtuous Victorian Prime Minister William Gladstone in Caesarian terms (p. 23).

³¹⁶ This paragraph is based on: I. Johnson, 'Cartoons', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1 (1937), 21-44 (p. 37); Coupe, Part III: 1918-45, v, p. xii; Walker, p. 22.

³¹⁷ cf. Seymour-Ure and Schoff, p. 168. Yet an elder cartoonist like Fritz Wolf believed it was completely impossible for cartoonists to influence what politicians do: 'Nichts können wir erreichen, gar nichts!'

³¹⁸ cf. Gordon, p. 4.

³¹⁹ Daniel, p. 53.

weapon in the hands of artists and journalists, who are able to reduce the complexities of international relations to black-and-white analogies of interpersonal relationships:

In international relations, the symbolic image of the nation is of extraordinary importance. Indeed, it can be argued that it has developed to the point where it has become seriously pathological in its extreme form. [...] Cartoons and political speeches continually reinforce the image of roles of nations as 'real' personalities—lions, bears, and eagles, loving, hating, embracing, rejecting, quarreling, fighting. By these symbols, the web of conflict is visualized not as a shifting, evanescent, unstable network of fine individual threads but as a simple tug-of-war between large opposing elements. This symbolic image is one of the major causes of international warfare and is the principal threat to the survival of our present world.³²⁰

Such symbolism thus provides a way of differentiating the in-group from out-groups (other countries, races, national minorities) and a means of maintaining separate and distinctive identity. Boulding argues further that a country's present and future image is largely determined by the use of images from the past, an idea which finds particular validity when assessing the contemporary image of Germany in Britain.³²¹

At the individual level, cartoons contribute to the creation of a personality's media (and consequent public) image. Indeed cartoonists, along with other journalists, may control a personality's ability to be recognized as a public figure.³²² Campbell Cory sees the cartoonist as playing a pivotal role here as 'he can uplift the remotest personality and give publicity almost beyond belief'.³²³ Fritz Wolf recalls Erich Mende (one of the Federal Republic's founding fathers) saying that a politician who is not caricatured is politically dead.

2.5.3 Shaping opinions

Many commentators have held the view that cartoons have the power to shape opinion. In 1933, Hines stated that 'they influence countless numbers of persons each day in defining the situation for them, in shaping their prejudices, in portraying their fears, and in creating stereotypes' (p. 454). It is often said that the cartoonist may express what the editor dare not write.³²⁴ A good cartoon may thus be able to mould public opinion more effectively than a

³²⁰ *The Image* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), pp. 110-11. Quoted with original punctuation.

³²¹ He also suggests that nations achieve a sense of identity through conflict: 'Nations are the creation not of their historians, but of their enemies.' p. 114.

³²² cf. Pierre Bourdieu cited in I. Hargreaves, 'Slim and Shallow', *New Statesman*, 29 May 1998, [n.p.]

³²³ *The Cartoonist's Art* (New York: Prang, 1920), p. 11.

³²⁴ Cory, p. 11.

strong editorial which ‘suffers from restraints of language, argumentation and qualification.’³²⁵

Describing cartoons as the ‘art of suggestion for the multitude’ (‘Suggerierkunst für die Vielen’) Avenarius maintained that they could easily be employed for different purposes to sway the weak-minded, thus accounting for their use in war propaganda: ‘Mit ihr kann man alles bekämpfen, verteidigen, und auf schwache Gehirne – der Mehrheit – wirkt sie stets’ (p. 4).³²⁶ Later commentators have qualified this by suggesting that the ability of the cartoon to exert political influence may only be possible by constantly focusing on a particular issue or personality.³²⁷ This is liable to backfire if what is intended as ridicule or criticism is, in fact, received as tribute.³²⁸

The popular German wisdom that ‘absurdity can kill’ (*Lächerlichkeit kann töten*) is seen by many as mistaken.³²⁹ Reflecting on the rise of National Socialism T. T. Heine concluded that caricaturing the movement as ridiculous served more to stimulate than kill it, because cartoons presented it in too agreeable a light: ‘Es hat die Verbrechen mit einem Glanz von Gemütlichkeit umgeben, sie den Stammtischgesprächen mundgerecht gemacht.’³³⁰ Gombrich revised his belief that the function of cartoons was to try to influence opinion as a formidable weapon of attack, given that they so frequently backfired.³³¹

As an editorial cartoonist Ebert believes he has the power to shape opinions but only as part of the much larger body of the newspaper. His contemporary Skott disagrees. Whilst it

³²⁵ Morrison, pp. 252, 259. This finds resonance in the attitudes of dictators to cartoons. Adolf Hitler asserts in *Mein Kampf* that people understand a pictorial presentation far more easily than a written text: ‘Das Bild bringt in viel kürzerer Zeit, fast möchte ich sagen, auf einen Schlag, dem Menschen eine Aufklärung, die er aus Geschriebenem erst durch langwieriges Lesen empfängt.’ 2 vols (Munich: Eher, 1933) II, ch. 6, p. 526. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) George Orwell refers to the usefulness of the caricatural image in perfecting totalitarianism. One of three co-revolutionaries spared temporarily by Big Brother in the party purges is Rutherford: ‘a famous caricaturist, whose brutal cartoons had helped to inflame popular opinion before and during the Revolution’. See part I, ch. 7 (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 79-80; cf. Bryant (1997), p. 59.

³²⁶ Writing in the aftermath of the First World War, he was keenly aware of the ways in which images could be abused: ‘Ich glaube, wenn Goethe heute den zweiten Faustteil schriebe, so ließ’ er den Teufel statt des Papiergelds die Karikatur erfinden.’ (p. 249)

³²⁷ The cartoon can be seen as working like a time-bomb or the constant dripping of water on a stone, which leads to it being hollowed out. Schmoll, p. 20.

³²⁸ Dittmar, p. 6. There are many examples of the latter: Vicky’s depiction of Prime Minister Macmillan as Supermac, the portrayal of Chancellor Adenauer as ‘der schlaue Greis’. Both worked in the target’s favour, creating a personal trademark and boosting their popularity.

³²⁹ Dittmar, p. 9; Low, however, felt ridicule was the way to contribute to a politician’s downfall. He maintained that malice ‘clouds the judgement’ and brutality ‘almost invariably defeats itself’. Seymour-Ure and Schoff, p. 150; Low (1935), pp. 11-12.

³³⁰ Quoted in Sandberg, p. 7.

³³¹ As stated earlier, he came to see their true function as ‘preaching to the converted’ by renewing and reinforcing ties of shared beliefs and values; (1996), pp. 338-40.

would be nice to think he could help form public opinion, Skott feels the time has passed when cartoons can exercise such a function.³³²

2.5.4 Reflecting and reinforcing

Most contemporary commentators see the greatest influence of the cartoon lying in its ability to reflect and reinforce public opinion rather than create or change it.³³³ The more active role of reinforcement is significant here as it can be directed toward aspects of the socio-political context in which the cartoons appear, such as existing group stereotypes.³³⁴ With reference to an earlier period, Porter concludes that it is unlikely that the satirical prints of the 'Golden Age' changed many people's minds. It was probably more the case that they confirmed the prejudices of their buyers and reflected their opinions, thus reinforcing the outlook of the bourgeoisie.³³⁵ Gombrich sees this sort of identification with the readership as having become an increasingly prominent aspect of pictorial satire:

On the whole it is more important for the political satirist to flatter his public than to incite to hatred. The recipe for success is rarely different from that of the popular press and the popular television programme. Build up their egos, confirm their prejudices, and above all, tell them not to worry.³³⁶

Cartoons are probably at their most influential when encapsulating the existing mood of their audience, rather than trying to create that mood. Walker sees this as evident in the Second World War when cartoons invariably reflected the tide of current opinion, rather than inspired it. He also cites Beaverbrook's inability to build a public consensus against the EEC,

³³² He sees political cartoons as more highly valued in Britain. If this is indeed the case, it may be because political cartooning in Britain has never been discredited as it was in Germany under National Socialism (see 2.2.8). The irony here is that the popularly esteemed political cartoons of *Punch* in its Victorian heyday were often little more than government propaganda. Skott believes political cartoons have the potential to make a greater impact than those in Germany, where in his opinion they are 'Beiläufer' (incidental). I am certainly not aware of a German parallel to the Ridley Affair of July 1990, in which a cartoon played a key role in bringing about a cabinet minister's resignation (see 3.4.4; *CWTR*, pp. 169-71).

³³³ See, for example, K. Reumann, 'Die Karikatur', in *Handbuch der Publizistik*, ed. by E. Dovifat, 3 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968-69), II: *Praktische Publizistik* (1969), pp. 65-90 (p. 76, esp. footnote 36); Dittmar, p. 6.

³³⁴ cf. P. Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin* (Lewisburg: AUP, 1986), p. 186.

³³⁵ Porter, p. 194.

³³⁶ (1996), p. 351. Gombrich sees Tenniel's 'Dropping the Pilot' allegory (*Punch*, 29 March 1890, pp. 150-51) as deliberately misrepresenting Bismarck's dismissal in order to act as a shock-absorber. The aim of the cartoon was to say: 'All is well with the world and God in heaven, we need neither be sorry for the grand old man nor incensed about the Kaiser. Pass the butter please!' (p. 351). In the democratic tradition of the *Punch* Table, the idea for the cartoon was in fact his colleague's, the humorist writer Gilbert Arthur à Beckett. Spielmann (1895), pp. 168-69, 179-80.

despite the campaign conducted through his newspaper chain, as one example of the fact that the media cannot sway public opinion as easily as is commonly imagined.³³⁷

Dittmar ironically points out that the cartoon can only convince those who were already convinced, just as a cartoon is only funny to those who can inhabit its landscape. Even cartoonists of the calibre of David Low have probably reinforced opinions rather than changed them and influenced what people thought **about** rather than what they thought.³³⁸

Several cartoonists believed their work reinforced reader attitudes. Pielert doubted cartoons had much influence at all and denied they could shape opinion. Cummings admitted that he actively sought to reinforce his readers' attitudes, whilst Wolf did not think he was expected to either reinforce or radicalize opinions. Garland (b. 1935) has stated that he 'never, never' thinks of political cartoons influencing people, believing rather that when they express something the reader already knows in an encapsulated and readily available form, they remain in the memory.³³⁹ Paul Thomas sees his work as mirroring current opinion. He admits to a certain superficiality in largely reflecting headlines – the thought of the moment – in what he does, rather than any of his own ideas. Yet he sees this as a way of guarding against pomposity, which he feels is a real danger in the profession.

2.5.5 In the medium

One advantage of the cartoon is that, as an **image**, it has the potential to stay in the mind of the viewer long after the chronicle of events or statistics has faded. Yet the influence and effectiveness of cartoons have proved consistently difficult to gauge. The effect of cartoons is impossible to separate from that of similar activities which add flavour to the 'historical goulash called propaganda'. In the present age cartoons are just one small part of a diverse image culture that includes television, film and photography. The cartoon no longer operates as a central image in the newspaper, while the press has lost its status as the dominant information medium. As we have seen, the evidence since 1940 suggests that it is very difficult for the news media to influence opinion in specific directions.³⁴⁰

Ebert's comment about the cartoon being part of the newspaper package highlights the fact that the cartoon always operates in both a micro-context (for example, as part of an editorial line; surrounded by stories which contribute to its meaning) and macro-context (such as the social and political environment of the readership) from which it should not be isolated in

³³⁷ Walker, p. 10.

³³⁸ Dittmar, p. 9; cf. Seymour-Ure and Schoff, pp. 167-68.

³³⁹ Interview by Frank Whitford, BBC Radio 3, 1 April 1989, cited in Gombrich (1996), p. 352.

³⁴⁰ This paragraph: Darracott, pp. 143, 151 (quotation); Seymour-Ure and Schoff, p. 167.

gauging the impact it can have. The fact is we know very little about the way cartoons impact on us; whether they only confirm attitudes or are also able to change them.³⁴¹

The impact of cartoons is easily overstated, according to both Riddell and Plaßmann. However, Riddell and Bell think it would be disingenuous to believe that cartoons have no influence. Bell thinks his work must have some little effect if only because it is so widely circulated and reproduced. It is thus part of the general drip-drip of commentary. Riddell sees the cartoon as adding to the perception of issues and individuals with its advantage as an informative medium resting on its accessibility. Plaßmann sees the negative and positive feedback he gets from readers as evidence that his work is having some kind of impact. He finds it encouraging because it means what he is doing is not in vain. Sometimes cartoonists are more than a little surprised by the impact their work has.³⁴²

The cartoon cannot exert influence of any kind unless it is understood by those who receive it. More specifically, the cartoon can only shape an opinion in the direction the cartoonist chose if its message is understood in the way the cartoonist intended.³⁴³ Bell points out that the assumption that cartoons are simplistic is quite erroneous. Whilst they may be concise, they are often saying quite sophisticated things, which are open to various readings. At the same time Bell assumes that ‘so long as a reader has half an eye, they should have no great difficulty understanding cartoons’, given the context of information in which cartoons appear. One of his predecessors at the *Guardian* David Low seems to have had less faith in the readership, describing one of the problems of working in a period of mass circulation as the need ‘to circumscribe oneself by the intelligence of the bonehead’.³⁴⁴ There are well-known instances of particular cartoons being misunderstood, even by people whose talents and experience might have made this seem unlikely. For example, Zec’s wartime *Daily Mirror* drawing of an exhausted sailor clinging to a raft at sea, with the caption ‘The price of petrol has been increased by one penny. “Official”’, was meant to warn people against wasting petrol as it cost lives. It was understood by Churchill and his cabinet to mean that the pursuit of petrol company profits endangered sailors’ lives. The issue was debated in the

³⁴¹ As Keim notes: ‘Man weiß über Karikaturen genausoviel wie über Haarwuchsmittel: Mal wirken sie, mal wirken sie wieder nicht.’ Quoted in N. Waehlich, ‘Leibesfülle und Amtsbonus’, *NOZ*, 30 December 1997, [n.p.].

³⁴² Thomas said the impact of his cartoon ‘Tomorrow belongs to me!’ (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95) embarrassed him; whilst Caldwell claimed he felt haunted by the cartoon he drew in response to the takeover of Thomas Cook by LTU (*CWTR*, pp. 154-155).

³⁴³ C. Wilson, *Jokes* (London: Academic Press, 1979), p. 201.

³⁴⁴ *Spectator*, 14 February 1931, quoted in Seymour-Ure and Schoff, p. 128. Bell confesses that he is not greatly concerned whether the readers get the point or not. In fact, a lot of the time he likes to take risks with meanings and test things out. Moreover, he does not expect readers to react in a particular way to his cartoons as ‘there is no industry standard, no set response’.

Commons and the paper was threatened with a publication ban.³⁴⁵ The evidence of the few empirical studies on cartoon comprehension suggests that the intended meanings of cartoons are frequently misunderstood and/or misinterpreted.³⁴⁶ This may be because the message and imagery is subtle, ambiguous or threatening.

Theories about the comprehension of specific meanings in media texts also go some way towards explaining the complexity of this issue. The most influential model for audience reception was that propounded by Stuart Hall (b. 1932), who saw media texts as not having one single meaning but being open to a variety of different readings by different people. He sees meaning as not simply residing in a media text's code, but as being the result of a complex negotiation between specific audiences and texts. He proposed three possible audience responses to the dominant ideology of a media text, corresponding to audiences' different social situations. The first or 'dominant reading' is the agreement with and acceptance of the author's intended or preferred meaning and the subjectivity it produces. He termed the second position 'negotiated reading' and saw this as the acceptance of aspects of the preferred meaning but the rejection of others. The audience inflects it locally to take account of its own social position, and this inflection may contain elements of resistance. The third response is an 'oppositional reading' which involves the rejection of the preferred meaning.³⁴⁷

It may therefore be concluded that cartoons, as examples of media texts, are an unreliable vehicle for persuasion.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ Cartoon published 6 March 1942. Seymour-Ure (1975), p. 7; see M. Edelman, *The Mirror: A Political History* (London: Hamilton, 1966), pp. 111-15.

³⁴⁶ See E. Cooper and M. Jahoda, 'The Evasion of Propaganda; How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-Prejudice Propaganda', *Journal of Psychology*, 23 (1947), 15-25. They concluded that prejudiced receivers selectively interpreted cartoons in a way consistent with their own belief structures; P. Kendall and K. Wolf, 'The Analysis of Deviant Cases in Communications Research', in *Communications Research, 1948-1949*, ed. by P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 152-79: They claimed that bigoted receivers were predisposed not to understand anti-prejudice cartoons correctly because of the threat to self-image, unlike those aware of or concerned with prejudice; L. Carl (1968), 533-35 and 'Political Cartoons: "Ink Blots" of the Editorial Page', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 4 (1970), 39-45: Carl compares cartoons to ink blots into which receivers deposit and retrieve personal interpretations by means of selective perception; DeSousa and Medhurst (1982) found that editorial cartoons are subject to considerable misinterpretation by their receivers, because the meanings they bring to the cartoons are often wholly unintended by the cartoonist (pp. 52-61).

³⁴⁷ 'Encoding/decoding', in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies 1972-79*, ed. by Hall and others (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp. 128-38 (pp. 136-38). Hall's theory related specifically to TV programmes and contrasted sharply with those of previous media theorists, who assumed that audiences had very little control over meaning and were vulnerable to being 'brainwashed' by the media. cf. John Fiske, 'British Cultural Studies and Television', in *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled*, ed. by R. Allen (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 284-326 (pp. 292-93).

³⁴⁸ For this and the preceding sentence: Wilson, p. 201; DeSousa & Medhurst (1982), p. 52.

2.6 Boundaries

Cartoonists have opportunities, responsibilities and power but always within the limits of what their contexts will allow. These pressures and restraints govern the way they work, and the artist who goes beyond them risks losing credibility and effectiveness. They may be self-imposed, such as subjects which the professional does not touch as a topic of caricature because of their sensitivity. They may be imposed by their working environment, such as what the newspaper can publish without causing its readership offence, or are implicit in it, such as ethical norms.

2.6.1 Libel, ethics, and taste

There are legal restrictions about what the cartoonists can portray. Jak (Raymond Jackson, 1927-1997), cartoonist at the *ES* from the late fifties until his death, related how the newspaper maintained a team of lawyers ready to vet his work. Whilst freedom of artistic expression is constitutionally guaranteed in Germany, sections of the Criminal Code have occasionally been invoked in cases of caricatural defamation.³⁴⁹ This has been seen as a form of censorship by commentators and artists, who have been fined and/or had their work confiscated by the authorities.³⁵⁰

Cartoonists identify particular areas as being unacceptable for both legal and ethical reasons and as a matter of personal taste. These include the use of racist imagery; for example, depicting black people with bones through their noses, which cartoonist Bill Caldwell (b. 1946) describes as ‘a ‘no go’ because it is a caricature from the last century’. Equally off limits are jokes about an individual’s indisposition, or disasters involving loss of life. For Jak, the rule was simple: ‘No illness or earthquake jokes!’ *Die Welt* cartoonist Bernd Skott (b. 1952) feels personally unable to portray violence in all its grotesque dimensions and believes that many artists feel the same way.

³⁴⁹ This was controversially the case with caricatures of Franz Josef Strauß and the invocation of § 88a/130a, added to the *Strafgesetzbuch* in 1976 to criminalize texts supporting violence against individuals: K. Herding, ‘Karikaturen-Perspektiven’, in Herding and Otto, pp. 353-86 (p. 380); Lammel, p. 241; cf. R. Hachfeld and others, *Politische Karikatur in der Bundesrepublik und Berlin (West)*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Elefanten, 1978), pp. 3, 5; See also H. Hartwig, ‘Von der Wirklichkeit symbolischer Widerstandsformen’, in Herding and Otto, pp. 337-352; G. Gounalakis, ‘Freiräume und Grenzen politischer Karikatur und Satire’, *Neue Juristische Wochenschrift*, 48 (1995), 809-816.

³⁵⁰ Langemeyer, p. 190. One Hachfeld cartoon, which portrayed Strauß with SS runes, was considered to be of such artistic merit that the original was sent by judicial decree to the Bavarian State Art Collections to be held under lock and key until 2000. Hachfeld (1978), p. 5.

2.6.2 Offensive behaviour

The use of imagery that might be considered offensive to particular social and national groups, without being libellous, is largely a matter of individual discretion. Some cartoonists take a fairly carefree line. Jak remembered with a touch of pride being hauled up before the Press Council by the Greater London Council for a cartoon critical of the IRA which was judged to be insulting to the Irish. His attitude was that someone would invariably be upset by what he saw basically as jokes and the fun of 'taking the piss out of people'. Others feel the need for greater circumspection. Caldwell believes it is important to strike a balance between a humorous depiction and one that causes offence.

Of particular relevance to this study were the attitudes expressed by cartoonists about the use of Nazi emblems or symbols of German militarism in their work. There were several national and generational distinctions.

Of the younger British cartoonists, Paul Thomas feels wary of using swastikas, appreciating the offence this can cause, especially to Germans. Caldwell sees some portrayals of the Germans as verging on 'the black with the nose-bone' and that this is a problem of xenophobia. Jak confessed he liked having a go at the Germans, not because he disliked them but because they were easy targets. The question of offence did not really bother him. In fact, he believed that the Germans did not mind being insulted now and again.³⁵¹

Peter Brookes says he tries to keep away from imagery associated with the Nazis and the Second World War because of its gravity: 'It's not right, because war is much worse than anything Kohl's doing'. Whilst preferring references to the First World War, he would use swastikas if caricaturing neo-Nazis. Likewise, Bell holds that certain symbols like the spiked helmet are 'fair game' and part of a comic-book view of Germany. They were so historically distanced that they simply had 'quaint overtones'. However, this is not the case with the swastika and other Nazi imagery, which he feels are 'too raw, too fresh' to be used in the context of a cartoon.

From the younger generation of German cartoonists, Plaßmann believes such symbols have their place but must be used with the greatest prudence and not for 'cheap laughs' ('dumme Witzchen'). The older practitioners (both war veterans) Pielert and Wolf categorize

³⁵¹ It seemed apparent that Jak revelled in the offence he caused in some quarters. On one occasion we met in the 'Cabin' he proudly produced from his scrapbooks a copy of an article published in the *Anglo-German Review* in which some of his 'anti-German' cartoons had been reprinted (anon., 'German Troops in Britain', 8 (July 1961), 8-11). In truth, he seemed full of admiration for the Germans, relating numerous funny stories about them and adding that he had only ever met 'nice Germans'.

such symbolism as primitive and ‘Scheiße’.³⁵² Haitzinger – a leading cartoonist of the middle generation – says it makes him feel sick.

Among the younger and middle generation artists in both countries there is a greater awareness of how particular symbols can be offensive, especially where they related to the Second World. On the whole, however, British cartoonists – and particularly older practitioners – appear not to be overly concerned about using contentious or outdated imagery. By contrast German artists are understandably sensitive about the contemporary use of symbolism referring to their country’s past, given its relationship to their own sense of identity.

2.6.3 Newspaper parameters

The way a newspaper defines itself and understands its readership are significant limiting factors. For editors, the customer ‘Rules OK’. This is especially so in Germany, where subscription plays the key role in newspaper sales. This makes editors highly sensitive about issues which they feel the readership would not wish satirized. Riddell describes the parameters of the work he does for the *Independent* with its younger readership as quite different from those at the *Observer* with its older, more traditionally minded readership. The latter frowns on anything risqué or needlessly offensive, any nudity, and drawings satirizing the Church of England.

Skott defines *Die Welt* as having ‘a classic group of subscribers – civil servants, Catholics, and practising Christians’. The editors act in a particularly cautious manner as a result and have problems when the cartoonist draws anything that could be seen as critical of these groups.³⁵³ The editors can thus regulate what is published. This he sees as regrettable because it impairs the work of cartoonists, who are obliged to stay clear of certain issues they may see as socio-politically relevant: ‘Daran leidet ein bißchen die Karikatur und die Kultur der Karikatur schlechthin.’

A comparison can again be made with the role of jester:

In the days before caricature, the typical king gave the jester freedom of speech in order to help maintain quality in the court through honest criticism, and to provide a safety valve for dissent. But if the jester went too far in the exercise of his special freedom, he placed himself in jeopardy. Similarly, a cartoonist or satirical columnist can get away with a great deal. But if he attracts too many libel suits or too many unfavourable letters to the editor, he may find himself out of work.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Holder of the Iron Cross First and Second Class, Pielert added: ‘Außerdem stimmen die Uniformen nicht!’

³⁵³ Skott points out that these reservations (‘Berührungängste’) centre on subscribers not advertisers, with the former being able to exercise enormous power over the editors.

³⁵⁴ Rivers, p. 197.

2.6.4 Publish or perish

Cartoonists may impose limitations on themselves for quite practical reasons. Wolf talks of having his own inbuilt censor: 'eine Schere im Kopf'. He knows that if he oversteps the mark the drawing will not be printed. But this pragmatism must not be mistaken for 'time-serving' or 'opportunism'. Wolf simply states there is no sense drawing something that will not get published: 'Was soll das?' This is an important consideration for freelance artists (that is, most cartoonists) who are dependent on editorial patronage. 'There is no sense in being provocative with editors', says Thomas, 'If they think you're a clown at a funeral you won't be invited to do anything else.' Ebert believes the relationship between cartoonist and newspaper is symbiotic: 'Es braucht der Zeichner den Verlag, um publiziert zu werden; Es braucht aber vielleicht auch die Publikation den Zeichner, um wahrgenommen zu werden.' This relationship is built on trust but also personal values, both of which impose limits. The bottom line for Ebert is a gut feeling which guides his pen: 'Die Karikatur, die mir persönlich Bauchschmerzen bereiten würde, würde ich aber sowieso nicht machen.' Skott identifies publication of his work as a simple question of market economics: 'Wenn ich nicht die richtigen Tomaten auf der Palette habe, werden sie nicht genommen.' But he also sees it as posing a professional dilemma for a cartoonist who wants to be provocative, but can only be so if published.

By its very tragicomic nature – 'als Weltkind zwischen Komödie und Tragödie'³⁵⁵ – the satirical cartoon cannot help but frequently run up against ethical boundaries. These boundaries may be a hindrance to creative freedom, but they also serve as a buffer against counterproductive extremism in image-making, of the sort that has been associated with more socially destructive periods in recent history. Moreover, the need for such limitations is made compelling in a visual age such as ours, because as Lord Habgood notes, 'the distinction is fine between the public discernment of a media image and reality'.³⁵⁶

2.7 Cartoons and print media

When looking at cartoons and analysing the elements they contain it is important to place them in context: where they have appeared and what sort of audience has looked at them. As most of the cartoons in this study were published in newspapers and magazines, thumbnail profiles of the cartoon publishing press in Britain and Germany will be first provided. In the concluding sections the position of cartoonists within the structure of the publication they work for will be investigated.

³⁵⁵ Keim (1994), p. 9.

³⁵⁶ 'Viewpoint: The Moral Baseline', *Tablet*, 10/17 April 1993, [n.p.].

2.7.1 The British press in profile

The British press is dominated by national daily and Sunday newspapers, which fall into two classes of publication, commonly defined nowadays according to their page size: broadsheet or tabloid. Differentiation on the basis of page size is relatively new, as many of the present tabloid newspapers only adopted this format in the course of the fifty-five year period under study. It has replaced an earlier distinction based on the time of day in which the newspaper was published: morning papers were considered respectable, evening papers disreputable. Moreover, some of those titles that have turned from broadsheet to tabloid format have subsequently developed majority readerships in those socio-economic classes that form the core of broadsheet readers. This has been the case with the *Daily Mail* since the early 1980s and the *Daily Express* since the early 1990s. A number of broadsheet newspapers such as the *Guardian*, the *Independent* and *The Times* now contain several sections in tabloid format (indeed, both have recently begun to be published in tabloid form). Thus, for the purpose of this study ‘quality’ or ‘popular’ will be the preferred terms applied to newspapers which for the majority of the surveyed period have fallen into one or other of these categories.³⁵⁷

‘Quality’ newspapers tend to be more serious and analytical with a readership mainly drawn from the professional, administrative, managerial (referred to in the trade as AB) and other non-manual (C1) socio-economic groups.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, ‘popular’ newspapers have a more sensationalist style, a more populist design with larger headlines, shorter articles and more sports coverage, and are the preferred reading of the skilled manual (C2) and semi-skilled or unskilled manual (DE) groups, these forming the majority of newspaper readers.³⁵⁹

An active distinction between ‘popular’ and ‘quality’ newspapers is based on the level of pictorial content. Bell sees this as evidence of the poverty of British visual culture: ‘I would contend that most “tabloids” are well worth looking down upon, not because of their increased use of imagery, but because of their virulence and their stupidity. Most broadsheets

³⁵⁷ For this paragraph cf. M. Engel, *Tickle the Public* (London: Gollancz, 1996), p. 11; C. Seymour-Ure, *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 142-47, 153.

³⁵⁸ The ‘quality’ newspapers referred to in this study are: *Daily Telegraph*; *European* (1990-98); *Financial Times*; *Guardian* (*Manchester Guardian* until 1959); *Independent* (launched in 1986), *Independent on Sunday* (launched in 1990); *Observer*, *Sunday Correspondent* (1989-90; becoming Britain’s first ‘quality’ Sunday tabloid in its last four months); *Sunday Telegraph* (launched in 1961); *Sunday Times*; *The Times*.

³⁵⁹ The ‘popular’ newspapers are: *Daily Express* (tabloid from 1977); *Daily Mail* (tabloid from 1971); *Daily Mirror*; *Daily Sport* (from 1986 named *The Sport*); *Daily Star* (launched in 1978); *ES* (since 1980 London’s only surviving evening newspaper; hereafter abbrev. as *ES*); *Mail on Sunday* (launched in 1982); *News Chronicle* (merged with the *Daily Mail* in 1960); *News of the World* (tabloid from 1984); *Sun* (launched in 1964 replacing the *Daily Herald*; tabloid from 1969); *Sunday Express* (tabloid from 1992); *Today* (1986-95). Because of readership duplication and the vast differences in circulation size, the *Daily Mirror* attracts more upper middle-class readers (effectively ABs) than do either *The Times* or the *Guardian*. Seymour-Ure (1996), p. 145.

are every bit as virulent and stupid as their tabloid counterparts; they simply do it at greater length which, in a culture that mistakes verbiage for thought, is more often than not regarded as sagacity.’ (1997, p. 31)

Weekly current affairs magazines such as the *Spectator*, *Economist*, *New Statesman* (& *Society*) and the satirical fortnightly *Private Eye* feature cartoons and tend to be read by the same sort of people as read ‘quality’ newspapers. This was traditionally the case with *Punch* until it ceased publication in 1992. The title was sold and relaunched in 1996 by Mohamed Al Fayed (of Harrods fame), gravitating to a young male readership more in tune with sensationalist journalism. It ceased publication for the second time in mid-2002, when Al Fayed declared that he could not afford to keep it going after a substantial drop in circulation.³⁶⁰

2.7.2 The German press in profile

The German press is dominated by strong local and regional daily newspapers, which have a conservative, parochial approach to reporting and a broad social readership.³⁶¹ A group of such newspapers in an area is not infrequently controlled by a single publishing house, enjoying what is a de facto monopoly on local/regional reporting.³⁶²

There are a small number of nationally circulating ‘quality’ titles, and these attract an educated, professional readership.³⁶³ There is a much smaller ‘popular’ press market than in

³⁶⁰ Because of the spread of time being covered in this analysis it is not feasible to provide details here of circulation figures or comments about the papers’ political sympathies over fifty-five years. A good source for this information is Seymour-Ure (1996), pp. 26-44, 214-24. See also *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, ed. by D. Griffiths (London: Macmillan, 1992), and the potted history of British newspapers since 1951 to be found at <<http://www.bl.uk/collections/brit20th.html#from1951>> [accessed 5 July 2003].

³⁶¹ Titles in this category referred to in this study include: *Hamburger Abendblatt* (launched 1948; owned by Springer-Verlag), *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* (launched 1802), *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung* (hereafter abbrev. as *NOZ*; published from 1967 after amalgamation of *Neue Tagespost* and *Osnabrücker Tagesblatt*), *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* (published in Essen from 1946), *Rheinische Post* (publ. in Düsseldorf from 1946; abbrev. as *RP*), *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (published in Essen from 1948; abbrev. as *WAZ*; it has long occupied the third place after *Bild* and *Bild am Sonntag* in the circulation league). A number of these papers – *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *NOZ*, *WAZ* – also have national reputations. See H. Meyn, *Massenmedien in Deutschland*, new edn (Constance: UVK, 2001), pp. 101-04, 107-10; cf. Meyn, *Massenmedien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: Landeszentrale für polit. Bildungsarbeit and Colloquium Verlag, 1966), pp. 39-43.

³⁶² For example, this is the case in the middle-sized city of Osnabrück and its surrounding region (total population c. 500 000). There is one daily newspaper the *NOZ* (circulation c. 330 000) owned by a publishing house which has over time acquired virtually all other local and regional titles, including weeklies, Sunday newspapers and monthly magazines. For a great many people in the Osnabrück area the *NOZ* is probably their only printed source of daily news.

³⁶³ Titles in this category referred to in this study are the national dailies *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (hereafter abbrev. as *FAZ*; launched 1949; conservative political stance), *Die Welt* (launched 1946 as press organ of the British military government; owned

Britain, dominated by the ‘Bild’-*Zeitung*, the Springer-Verlag’s hugely successful and controversial stable horse, which is now published six times a week in twenty-five uniform, regional editions across the country. The title was established by Axel Springer in 1952 and has perhaps the largest circulation of any newspaper in the world, with some five and a half million copies sold daily and a market share of around seventy per cent. Its Sunday ‘popular’ equivalent *Bild am Sonntag* has a lower circulation (c. 3.2 million) but a higher market share (c. 86%).³⁶⁴ With its broadsheet stablemate, *Welt am Sonntag*, Axel Springer-Verlag has a virtual monopoly on Sunday publishing.

Virtually all the leading newspaper titles were established after the Second World War, most under Allied licence in the occupation period 1945 to 1949. Like the daily political cartoon, the British models of weekly and Sunday newspapers were adopted for the post-war German press.³⁶⁵

Magazine publishing in Germany is dominated by four big companies, which together control some sixty per cent of the market. Three are based in Hamburg – Bauer, ‘Gruner + Jahr’, and Springer – while the fourth, Burda, is based in Munich. Titles that publish political and social cartoons include the two national, weekly news magazines *Focus*, established in 1993 by Burda, and *Der Spiegel*, established in 1947 along the lines of the American magazine *Time* and published independently in Hamburg with a liberal political stance. They also feature in the more downmarket, social affairs oriented weeklies *Stern* (profile as *Spiegel*, published by ‘Gruner + Jahr’), *Bunte* (established in 1954 by Burda and conservative) and *Neue Revue*, created by Bauer from the amalgamation in 1966 of two titles *Neue Illustrierte* and *Revue*.³⁶⁶ Cartoons also feature in the limited circulation satirical journal *Titanic*, the

by Axel Springer Verlag since 1953; conservative stance), and *Handelsblatt* (launched 1946; conservative, economic/business reporting), and the liberal intellectual weekly *Die Zeit* (launched 1946). National weeklies also include two Christian titles, the Protestant-financed *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* (abbrev. as *DAS*; launched 1948) and the Catholic-financed *Rheinischer Merkur* (launched 1946). Three regional dailies have a national readership: *Frankfurter Rundschau* (abbrev. as *FR*; launched 1945; leftist liberal political stance), *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (abbrev. as *SZ*; launched 1945; liberal political stance) and *die tageszeitung* or *taz* (launched 1979 in Berlin). The last is a successful leftist alternative tabloid-sized newspaper, not to be confused with the mainstream regional ‘popular’ newspaper *tz* (launched 1968 in Munich; part-owned by Springer-Verlag). See Meyn (2001), pp. 104-07, 111-17.

³⁶⁴ Publisher’s statements cited in *Willings Press Guide 2002*, 128th edn, II, p. 420. See Meyn (1966), pp. 58-64 for an early analysis of the Springer phenomenon.

³⁶⁵ Likewise the introduction of a weekly current affairs magazine. L. Maaßen, *Die Zeitung: Daten, Deutungen, Porträts* (Heidelberg: Decker & Müller, 1986), pp. 46-47.

³⁶⁶ Popular social affairs magazines had their heyday in Germany in the fifties. Of the ten titles on offer in 1958 only four survived the sixties: *stern*, *Bunte Illustrierte*, *Neue Revue* and *Quick*. Others which had featured social/political cartoons, such as *Kristall* (Springer: 1948-66), fell victim to the stiff competition amongst titles, whilst the liberal socialist *stern* and its conservative rival *Quick* (Bauer) became increasingly political in their reportage; *Stern* supporting, for example the new ‘Ostpolitik’, *Quick* attacking it. *Quick* ceased

closest thing Germany has to *Private Eye*, and in some sectional interest magazines like the women's fortnightly *Brigitte* (a 'Gruner + Jahr' title).³⁶⁷

2.7.3 The press cartoonist's job

Cartoonists like other journalists work to the publication deadline of the next issue. In the case of the daily newspaper cartoonist, this means producing a fresh and imaginative critique of current affairs virtually every twenty-four hours. This puts cartoonists under considerable pressure, and recourse to familiar caricatural methods, such as the use of stereotypes, is one way of dealing with it. Working to strict deadlines has both advantages and disadvantages for the artist. Bell relates that it often means he does not have enough time to give a drawing all it needs; but at the same time it stops him over-elaborating things.³⁶⁸ This may also be advantageous to the creative process, as Bell points out: 'The deadline also makes you take risks, so that you end up with something that you might not otherwise have stumbled upon.'

Producing images for weekly newspapers or magazines is often no less hectic, as many artists divide their time between several titles in order to make a living.³⁶⁹ Riddell, for example, produces cartoons for a daily and a Sunday newspaper as well as a weekly magazine, moving from one publishing-house desk to the next in the course of the week. On the whole, press cartoonists have to be swift workers in the visual 'fast food' trade:

Modern man has little time to 'waste' interpreting a cartoon, appreciating its subtle allusions or enjoying the expertise of its draughtsmanship. His demand is for something to stab him into momentary laughter before he plunges back into a neurotic vortex of a life consecrated to those implacable gods, Time and Productivity.³⁷⁰

These are good reasons why cartoonists rely on simplistic devices such as stereotypes, rather than attempting to develop complex analogies using imagery that may not be instantly familiar to the beholder.³⁷¹

publication in 1992. H. Meyn, *Massenmedien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, rev. new edn (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1979), p. 57.

³⁶⁷ See Meyn (2001), pp. 122-25.

³⁶⁸ This has an effect upon the complexity and quality of the drawing. There is also a tendency amongst freelancers to self-exploitation; to do too much. Bell: 'If I did a crowd scene every day I'd never have time to sleep.'

³⁶⁹ That said, weekly publications are often the place where caricaturists feel more at home, as their subject is more studied and is less tied to ephemeral events. Seymour-Ure (1975), p. 11.

³⁷⁰ Geipel, p. 34.

³⁷¹ Tom Johnston, cartoonist for the *Mirror*, sees the only difference between working for a 'popular' and a 'quality' newspaper is that he can no longer make many puns using literary quotations. Quoted in Bell (1998), p. 2.

2.7.4 Editorial input

The relationship between cartoonists and the titles – in most cases that means the editors – they work for is frequently a complex one. Cartoonists today generally do not have the sort of free hand that was famously enjoyed by Low and Vicky. They work within specific guidelines and in consultation with their editor: ‘Der Karikaturist muss also Ideen entwickeln, die nicht nur aktuell sind, sondern die dem Chefredakteur auch noch gefallen und mit seiner Vorstellung von der Zeitung übereinstimmen.’³⁷² This may mean that the cartoonist usually is in sympathy with the ideology of the publication, but that does not have to be the case, for the success of their relationship depends rather more upon a contract of trust and mutual benefit, worked out often over the course of many years.³⁷³ Cartoonists tend to stick with those titles they feel most comfortable working for, where they believe their values are shared and/or their integrity honoured.³⁷⁴

Editorial control is exercised in a variety of ways. Editors usually select the cartoon which goes to print, with the artist ordinarily producing several different ‘roughs’ for the editor’s consideration. Even long established cartoonists work under such constraints.³⁷⁵ Captions may be altered or added; a sore point for many artists and a reflection on their own self-worth and integrity.³⁷⁶ Those cartoons the editor thinks go too far may even be suppressed. One

³⁷² Low and Vicky were both strongly sympathetic to the left but happily worked on the Conservative *ES*. Whitford claims that this was because the owner, Lord Beaverbrook, guaranteed them complete artistic freedom, believing that his paper’s readers loved the cartoonists stirring them up. F. Whitford, ‘Entstaubter Alltag – Aus der Praxis des Karikaturisten’, in Herding and Otto, pp. 302-17 (pp. 317, 303 for quotation). Tim Benson argues, however, that there were times when Low was constrained by Beaverbrook and went along with it. This was persistently and successfully disguised to enhance the reputations of both men. ‘Low and Lord Beaverbrook: The Case of a Cartoonist’s Autonomy’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1998), abstract.

³⁷³ Cartoonist Gerhard Conrad presents this idea in an amusing, apt analogy: ‘Die Presse ist weiblich. Die politische Karikatur ist der Strumpf für ihre Beine, der ihrem Geschmack zu entsprechen hat. Wie jeder Sterbliche, so fühlt sich auch der Karikaturist nur zu solchen Beinen hingezogen, deren Kurven seinem Ideal entsprechen. Möge er immer den passenden Strumpf finden, denn Frauen verstehen darin keinen Spaß!’ Quoted in Freisburger, p. 140. See Benson.

³⁷⁴ For example, Steve Bell’s association with the *Guardian* began in 1981 when, as a budding strip cartoonist with a few years’ experience of working for *Time Out*, he sent the paper samples of his work. He only targeted the *Guardian*, because he knew his views would not fit in anywhere else: ‘No other title would touch me with a barge-pole, certainly not then and probably not now.’ His views are not the same as the paper’s: ‘I’m actually a bit too extreme left for the general editorial line [...] but they brought me in as a sort of sectional interest.’

³⁷⁵ For example, Jak related that he was required to take three proofs to his editor every morning and together they decided which one should be made up for the next day’s edition, a practice which appears common in many newspapers, particularly the ‘popular’ press.

³⁷⁶ Schoenfeldt of *Bild* relates how he was only occasionally very lucky in managing to get his own captions accepted without changes (*Bernsteins Buch der Zeichner*, ed. by F.

memorable case of this involved Vicky, who published a catalogue of the cartoons rejected by his editor and patron at the *News Chronicle*, Gerald Barry, entitled *The Editor Regrets* (London: Wingate, 1947). Barry wrote the sympathetic but unregretful introduction. Vicky left the paper for the *Daily Mirror* when Barry's successor started to follow suit.³⁷⁷

2.7.5 Part of the press package

Cartoons have become a genuinely popular feature of most publications, ideally suited to the nature of the media in the second half of the twentieth century:

The mass media generally have become more visual, more nonverbal. The cartoon has contributed to, and benefited from, this trend. The mass media have also become fast-paced and competitive. Again, the quick, attention-getting cartoon stars in this arena. And in an era of great tension, humor seems more important in the media than ever before. Again, the cartoon makes a contribution.³⁷⁸

Nowadays, every British and German wide-circulation newspaper and current affairs magazine employs at least one political cartoonist, whose work is required for most editions. In Britain, the national titles have a staff cartoonist and usually a number of others – freelance artists mainly – to do additional commentary work. In Germany, most cartoonists are freelance with contracts to provide a publication or publications with a set number of cartoons a month. One cartoon will often be syndicated to several different titles, appearing at different times over the course of its run.³⁷⁹ Historically, press cartoons have, like that medium, been black and white, but over the last decade they have been affected by advances in technology making mass colour printing more affordable and more widespread even in the daily press.³⁸⁰

At its publication the cartoon occupies one corner of the newspaper or magazine page and is usually surrounded by written text which may or may not directly relate to it. Its placing is

Bernstein (Zurich: Haffmans, 1989), p. 407). Thomas relates how the caption to his reunification cartoon (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95) was added by the editor without his cognizance and to his ultimate embarrassment. Garland rates the question of whether cartoonists write their own captions as 'daft' and tantamount to insult: 'Can You Draw Properly If You Want To?', *Spectator*, 15 April 1989, p. 24. This is echoed in Haitzinger's emphatic response to the question of whether his captions are ever altered: 'Nein! Das verbitte ich mir!!' In fact, most cartoonists I interviewed stated that if their editors do make word changes, they are minimal.

³⁷⁷ Bryant (1997), p. 62; J. Cameron in *Vicky* (London: Lane, 1967), pp. 11-12.

³⁷⁸ Harrison, p. 28.

³⁷⁹ cf. K. Kallaughner, 'Editorial Cartoons: A Transatlantic Perspective', in *A Sense of Permanence?*, pp. 53-55 (p. 53). Syndication has been cited as one of the reasons for the decline of the political cartoon, because images are produced for the widest possible consumption and without the pressure of competition in the open market place. J. Bender, 'The Outlook for Editorial Cartooning', *Journalism Quarterly*, 40 (Spring 1963), 175-80 (p. 179); Darracott, p. 69.

³⁸⁰ This is much to the chagrin of many (older) practitioners who see their job as demanding enough without the added time burden of watercolouring.

also significant.³⁸¹ Located in the upper half of the page the cartoon is likely to speak louder and command more attention than in the bottom half.³⁸² Magazine cartoonists may be allowed to fill more space than their counterparts in newspapers (*Punch* traditionally provided full-page cartoons) but the same contextual principles apply.

John Berger points out that the meaning of an image changes ‘according to what one sees immediately beside it or what comes immediately after it.’³⁸³ Our understanding of the visual text of the cartoon is affected not only by the caption attached to it or other verbal elements (for example, background information; quotations) but also by the page on which it appears. Thus, the impact of Garland’s *Spectator* cover cartoon (*CWTR*, pp. 170-71) of Nicholas Ridley daubing Chancellor Kohl with Hitleresque features might not have been half as great had the cartoon appeared inside and alongside the text of the interview to which it referred and which it interpreted.³⁸⁴ Moreover, the authority of the image – its power to impress and influence – ‘is distributed over the whole context in which it appears.’³⁸⁵ In this way the cartoon graphically complements the news columns and contributes to the publication’s overall construction of reality.³⁸⁶

2.8 Stereotypes, cartoons and the media

‘What would the world be without stereotypes? Dull and grey! There would be no good cartoons, fewer good jokes and less laughter.’³⁸⁷ The use of stereotypes may be seen to add colour and perspective to the way we look at the world. Certainly any proper consideration of the phenomenon cannot overlook the role stereotyping plays in humour and satire, because the contradiction with logic and reason, which is a major part of comedy, is one of the stereotype’s traits.³⁸⁸ To look at the part the stereotype plays in cartooning covers not only a significant area of this field but also takes account of one of the most fertile and influential channels of stereotype production, reinforcement and dissemination – the media.

In examining how cartoonists use stereotypes it is worth bearing in mind that press cartoonists are journalists enjoying perhaps the greatest freedom journalistic licence allows.

³⁸¹ Indeed, the front page of the respected German daily *FAZ* usually has the political cartoon as a graphic focus and never features any photos.

³⁸² Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), pp. 226-27.

³⁸³ *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin and BBC, 1972), p. 29.

³⁸⁴ See L. Moyle, ‘The Ridley-Chequers Affair and the German Character’, in C. Cullingford and H. Husemann, *Anglo-German Attitudes* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995), pp. 165-80 (pp. 174-75).

³⁸⁵ Berger (1972), p. 29.

³⁸⁶ Seymour-Ure (1975), pp. 9-10.

³⁸⁷ German Ambassador Dr Peter Hartmann opening the first exhibition of German and British cartoons reflecting events in each other’s countries from the fifties to the nineties, Goethe-Institut, London, January 1994. Speech published in *CWTR*, pp. 236-37.

³⁸⁸ cf. Bornemann (1972), p. 8.

The scope of what may be drawn, ostensibly in jest, is often much wider than that which can be expressed by other apparently more serious means.³⁸⁹ This is no less the case in international relations: ‘Bildsatire darf – fast – alles und zeigt daher ungeschminkter als andere Medien, was die Nachbarn eigentlich voneinander halten.’³⁹⁰

In Anglo-German relations this has been borne out at least as far as the British cartoonists are concerned, although it is also true to say that they frequently work in partnership with colleagues in the written word to produce a kind of journalistic *Gesamtkunstwerk*, to establish a complete line of defence or attack. Moreover, as mentioned above, the modern press cartoonist cannot be described as a ‘free artist’. Like the court jester of old, the cartoonist must be mindful of boundaries. Editorial policy, libel laws and the increasing trend towards ‘political correctness’ largely determine what can and cannot be dealt with in a cartoon.³⁹¹

2.8.1 National stereotypes and cartoons

Cartoonists rely heavily, although not exclusively, on stereotypes to make their work accessible. Where cartoons run the risk of being misunderstood stereotypes help to make the situation clearer. Readers need to be able to easily identify what the artist is presenting. This is no less the case with the depiction of foreigners or foreign countries.

For a reader to recognize that the character is, say, German or that the cartoon is set in Germany, the cartoonist needs to provide fairly obvious clues. Using German language or single words such as place names might be sufficient but may fail to produce the desired comic and/or satirical effect.

For internationally known personalities an easily identifiable caricature devoid of all but physiognomical clues may suffice, although this can fall flat if the reader cannot make the link between individual and nationality or position in national affairs.³⁹² Labels such as flags are another option but, while successful in the identification of things like cheese, may show a lack of artistic imagination on the part of the cartoonist. Sometimes, however, such tags are necessary where any other symbol is unlikely to succeed.

The simple fact is that reference to a widely maintained perception of the Germans as wearers of lederhosen or the English as wearers of bowler hats is likely to raise a smile or find

³⁸⁹ F. Schneider, *Die Politische Karikatur* (Munich: Beck, 1988), p. 26, cited by H. Husemann, ‘I Think, Therefore I Stereotype, Therefore I Caricature, Therefore I Am’, in *CWTR*, pp. 10-19 (p.17).

³⁹⁰ Dietrich & Fekl, p. 4.

³⁹¹ cf. Whitford, p. 316.

³⁹² An example of this can be seen in research undertaken by Prof. David Childs (as Director of the Institute of German, Austrian and Swiss Affairs, University of Nottingham). In a single-question interview carried out in three British cities in 1990 very few respondents were able to identify the West German Chancellor as being Helmut Kohl.

critical recognition because it also connects with something fundamental in the mind of the beholder.

When the black and white pictures the cartoonist produces accord with the ‘pictures in our heads’ the greater part of the recognition battle is won.³⁹³ And the process is surely a two-way affair. The immediate success of a cartoon depends to a great extent on its audience’s receptiveness, with the cartoonist’s reward being praise for having ‘hit the nail on the head’, which may simply mean articulating what the reader already thinks.

In employing metaphors and symbols the cartoonist is replicating the process of stereotyping, that of reducing a complex reality to a few catchy, easily comprehensible allusions.³⁹⁴ Generalization and simplification are part of both stereotyping and cartooning, and this leads to a distancing from objective fact or from the world as it actually is or has become. Add distortion and exaggeration – essentials of the cartoonist’s craft – and the result can be a potent emotional cocktail.

All this is important when considering the way cartoonists make use of national stereotypes in getting their message across.

2.8.2 ‘The cherished community’

Cartoonists depend on a specific cultural tradition for their template of expression. They draw from, or build upon, its font of ideas, attitudes and understandings to create their two-tone images and do it in a way that is appealing to an audience familiar with that tradition. This tradition includes anything from idiomatic and colloquial language, to folklore, films and popular entertainment, as well as shared experiences. At its (upper) margins rather than in its centre lie also literature and art.³⁹⁵ Consequently cartoons, like stereotypes, can be highly ethnocentric, making allusions or using an iconography which evokes a set of associations in what Charles Press describes as the cartoonist’s ‘cherished community’ (p. 65), primarily the readers of the publication in which the cartoons appear. These associations may be unfamiliar, incomprehensible and/or offensive to ‘outsiders’ (in some cases, the out-group depicted by the cartoonist).³⁹⁶

³⁹³ W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922), title of chapter 1.

³⁹⁴ cf. H. Kleinsteuber, ‘Stereotype, Images und Vorurteile – Die Bilder in den Köpfen der Menschen’, in *Die häßlichen Deutschen*, ed. by G. Trautmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 1991, pp. 60-68 (p. 60).

³⁹⁵ See G. Adair, *The Postmodernist Always Rings Twice* (London: Fourth Estate, 1992), pp. 3-4.

³⁹⁶ cf. Press, pp. 63-65; see also L. La Fave and R. Mannell, ‘Does Ethnic Humour serve Prejudice?’, *Journal of Communication*, 26 (1976), 116-23; They observe that humour is culturally relative and not an absolute, pointing out that one man’s joke can be another’s insult (p. 117).

In this way the press cartoon, in using stereotypes established by a cultural tradition, can be seen as reinforcing and perpetuating them. Research dealing with the role of the media in racial conflict supports this argument and suggests the negative impact such a process can have on our view of other nations:

The media operate within the culture and are obliged to use cultural symbols. Hence it is almost inevitable that they will help to perpetuate this tradition in some measure. [...] The reiteration of [an] image [...] can perpetuate an outlook which is not only outmoded but also antithetical to good race relations and likely to influence perceptions of current events. [...] The image is used because it exists and is known to have wide currency and therefore enables easier communication. By virtue of it being used it is kept alive and available for further use.³⁹⁷

Moreover, the cartoonist is capable of building upon that tradition by extending existing stereotypes or developing new ones incorporating elements from it. The case of the ‘sunbed-snatching Krauts’, which is discussed in the following chapter, is a classic example of this.

2.9 In conclusion

Deformation – which is to say distortion, exaggeration and/or simplification – either of facial or bodily features in portraiture or of facts and reality in perspective, is the essence of caricature and cartoons. This is integral to the satirical and/or humorous function they serve and their visual and emotional pull.

Cartooning is a modern artistic development which has closely paralleled the expansion of the press and its freedom to comment on social and political life. It is essentially an aggressive medium, with cartoons and caricature acting as weapons of attack and ridicule. Yet, it is an uncertain medium in its power to ‘fire’ specific messages at its target receivers. In its deployment of symbol and metaphor, it frequently falls back on a familiar, stereotyped stockpile of images.

Modern cartoonists see themselves as pictorial journalists, and like print journalists they are subject to constraints of time and editorial policy, as well as serving the needs and expectations of their audience. Thus, they entertain as much as they criticize, and most probably reinforce more than alter receivers’ attitudes.

³⁹⁷ P. Hartmann and C. Husband, ‘The Mass Media and Racial Conflict’, *Race*, 12 (1970-71), 267-82 (pp. 271-72); abridged version repr. in *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media*, ed. by S. Cohen and J. Young, rev. edn (London: Constable, 1981), pp. 288-302 (pp. 292-94).

Because cartoons are an increasingly popular media form their role as purveyors of ideas and information cannot be overlooked. In what follows, the caricatural representations of the two nations, Germany and Britain, in each other's print media since the Second World War will be examined in greater detail, with iconographic and thematic analyses of each.

3 THE IMAGE OF GERMANY AND THE GERMANS IN BRITISH CARTOONS AND CARICATURE FROM 1945

3.0 Introduction

Hartmann and Husband point out that ‘British cultural tradition contains elements derogatory to foreigners’.³⁹⁸ There is much evidence of this with the British image of Germans and Germany certainly over the last two hundred years and particularly in the course of this century. MacIntyre asserts that such images have been fairly central to the British ‘view of the world’ in the twentieth century: ‘It is likely that more has been written about the Germans – their behaviour, past or anticipated, and their “character” – than about any other modern national group.’³⁹⁹

Nor has the topicality of things German decreased in recent years. Since the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent unification of East and West, Germany has been a regular focus of attention for the British press. Unlike the period before 1989, any new story about the Germans, whatever its social, financial, political or sporting significance, is bound to be covered in at least one British newspaper or magazine. Correspondingly, the cartoonist’s reliance on inspiration from current affairs (even of the most ephemeral kind) has meant an increase in the number of British cartoons of Germans and Germany.⁴⁰⁰

The aim of this chapter is to develop a catalogue profile of the cartoon image of Germany and the Germans in Britain from the Second World War to the end of the twentieth century. In order to place the cartoon image in an historical, developmental context the first section provides an overview of the depiction of Germany and Germans in British caricatures and cartoons from the end of the eighteenth century to 1945. The focus in succeeding sections will be on the component parts of the contemporary cartoon image, and how they developed and may have changed in the decades after 1945. Thus, in the second section, the stereotypes which have been used by British cartoonists over the last fifty odd years will be identified. In the penultimate section the principal topics in British cartoons of Germany will be detailed, and the way images of the Germans have related to these themes will be explored. The final

³⁹⁸ ‘The Mass Media and Racial Conflict’, *Race*, 12 (1970-71), 268-82 (p. 271); abridged version repr. in *The Manufacture of News*, ed. by S. Cohen and J. Young, rev. edn (London: Constable, 1981), pp. 288-302 (p. 292)

³⁹⁹ ‘Images of Germany: A Theory-based Approach to the Classification, Analysis and Critique of British Attitudes towards Germany, 1890-1940’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1990), p. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ This is clear from the author’s research in the extensive collection of British and German cartoons published since 1945 and dealing with one another’s country which has been built up by Prof. Harald Husemann at the University of Osnabrück. Over a third of the British material dates from the period beginning 1989.

section will provide possible reasons for the continuity of certain images in the British perception of the Germans.

3.1 Historical overview: The cartoon image of the Germans and Germany to 1945

In the 1803 hand-coloured engraving ‘Germans Eating Sour-Krout’, James Gillray sketches a group of singularly unattractive individuals ‘gormandizing savagely’ (as Dorothy George puts it) on piles of pale-green vegetable matter dotted with pale-brown oval lumps.⁴⁰¹ Empty tankards lie beside them, and a chart of the ‘Mouths of the Rhine’ and a picture of pigs feeding at a trough can be seen in the background, the latter alluding to the derogatory phrase of the period: ‘a German hog’.⁴⁰² The cartoon refers to an eating-house in Castle Street just east of Leicester Square run by a Viennese called Weyler, where sauerkraut and bratwurst were always on the menu. It is one of the earliest caricatural satires by a British artist of German-speakers engaged in an ethnic activity. Such xenophobic contempt for ‘outsiders’ and their enjoyment of strange and inferior or repulsive foods was easily marketed by printmakers at the time.⁴⁰³

Although these particular foods had already become the British stereotype of Germanic cuisine, this print is likely the first caricatural reference to them. A precedent was set and a cartoon icon established for the future. When Germans are caricatured at table today sauerkraut and wurst are inevitably on the menu. When the piece was reproduced in *London und Paris* an eighteen page commentary accompanied it which sought to counter Gillray’s caricatural ‘reinforcement of prejudice’ (‘Verstärkung dieses Vorurteils’) by extolling the virtues of bratwurst and sauerkraut and highlighting the English gluttony of meat.⁴⁰⁴ This was not just a German opinion. An early London commentary on the print adds that ‘to our taste, the dish is delectable, served with sausages à l’Allemande’.⁴⁰⁵

Wright and Evans, in their listing of Gillray’s works, place this print under the ‘Miscellaneous Series’; George categorizes it systematically under ‘Personal and Social

⁴⁰¹ Published by Hannah Humphrey, 7 May 1803. See M. George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 7 vols (London: British Museum, 1935-54), VIII (1947), No. 10170, 231. The print is reproduced on the complementary microfilm series: British Museum, *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832* (Cambridge: Chadwyck Healey, 1978), reel 13. Alternatively, a colour reproduction of the original can be found in H. Guratzsch, ed., *James Gillray: Meisterwerke der Karikatur* (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1986), Nr. 144, p. 158, commentary: pp. 238-9.

⁴⁰² See M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986), p. 13.

⁴⁰³ Duffy, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁰⁴ ‘Caricatur No. VII’ in *London und Paris*, 11 (1803), 289; for the commentary: pp. 249-67). Sadly, this fascinating imagological text is omitted from Donald’s translations with Christiane Banerji of the *London und Paris* commentaries on Gillray’s cartoons: *Gillray Observed* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

⁴⁰⁵ T. McLean, *Illustrative Description of the Genuine Works of Mr. James Gillray* (London: McLean, 1830), folio 181, p. 229.

Satires' in the later British Museum *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, while Draper Hill, no doubt following suit, includes it among the 'social' plates.⁴⁰⁶ Yet, is there not a significant layer of political satire here, too, given its publication on the eve of war with Napoleonic France? The Austrian Archduke Charles – whose caricature bust portrait on the wall behind the *gourmands* has central position – was a model of bravery and resistance to the French, who had been removed from active military service by his brother Emperor Franz II.⁴⁰⁷ The central figure of the cerise-cloaked officer, whose sword lies in its scabbard on the ground, may well serve to remind the viewer that both Austria and Prussia had laid down their arms after humiliating defeats by the French. These nationals are now simply content to 'savagely' stuff their faces, in contrast with the more courageous British, who are preparing for battle. Within a fortnight of the print's issue and after fourteen months of peace, Britain resumed hostilities with France, and the Napoleonic Wars began. McLean, Wright and Evans, George, and Draper Hill provide none of this context, while Duffy and Donald make no reference to the print at all.⁴⁰⁸

Hitherto satirical prints of the Germans had concentrated on members of the English or German royal families. For example, cartoons from 1797 show the heir to the duchy of Württemberg, Prince Frederick, as an enormously corpulent figure engaged in the courtship of the Princess Royal, eldest daughter of George III. Even the Prince of Wales is depicted as paling in comparative size, perhaps already setting a trend in the caricaturing of affluent and powerful Germans.⁴⁰⁹ Other cartoons feature Germans as conspicuously stiff-collared,

⁴⁰⁶ George, p. 231; T. Wright and R. Evans, *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray* (London: Bohn, 1851), No. 518, p. 468. They very briefly describe 'Germans eating Sourkroust [*sic*]' as 'a satire on German diet'. McLean's short commentary on the print says it 'is considered one of the most spirited of the works of the artist' (p. 229).

⁴⁰⁷ The inscription 'Arch-Duke Charles' under the caricature portrait in the original was removed in the *London und Paris* reprint, perhaps out of respect for the generalissimo, who in 1803 was the only Allied general to have vanquished the French. Prof. Donald, in correspondence with the author (11 December 1999), concurs that the name was most likely left off to avoid 'gratuitous offence or controversy', pointing out that 1803 was a crucial year in the journal's relationship with the Weimar authorities. A year later the publication was forced to decamp to the Prussian city of Halle a. d. Saale. See *Gillray Observed*, pp. 11-14. According to McLean, Field-Marshal von Blücher 'laughed heartily on obtaining a peep at this humorous print' (p. 229). Unfortunately we do not know which version he looked at. I suspect it was the one that included the clearly identifiable caricature of his Austrian ally and rival.

⁴⁰⁸ See George, p. 231; D. Hill, *Mr. Gillray* (London: Phaidon, 1965), p. 138; Hill, *Fashionable Contrasts* (London: Phaidon, 1966), No. 98, pp. 174-5. There is no mention at all of the print in George's later monograph *English Political Caricature 1793-1832* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). In the first extensive examination of Gillray's life and works, Joseph Grego describes the 'caricature' in a neat paragraph and places it 'among the social studies published in 1803'. *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, ed. by T. Wright, 2 vols (London: Chatto and Windus, [1873]), II, 307.

⁴⁰⁹ See, for example, 'The First Interview, or An-Envoy from Yarmony to Improve the Breed', in which the prince is depicted advancing in fine array towards the princess, his huge

moustached mercenary soldiers. One such print from 1799, entitled ‘The Beauties of War!!’, depicts them engaged in the rape and massacre of civilians. Its image of an infant being spiked by a German bayonet prefigures British *Feindbilder* of the First World War.⁴¹⁰

A Henry Heath cartoon of 15 June 1827 entitled ‘Welcome Home’ marks the return to England of the Dowager Queen of Württemberg (the former Princess Royal). It depicts her with a vast girth and a tiny crown and accompanied by an obese, heavily whiskered and mustachioed gentleman-in-waiting in Hussar uniform with an enormous ‘German sausage’ slung over his shoulder. He announces himself as ‘de Baron Von Strongenoff de gran Sausage bearer to her Majesty, aha!’. The stereotyped association of Germans with sausage had already gained a firm foothold in British cartoons, its appeal no doubt in part due to its phallic connotation.⁴¹¹

These cartoon depictions of Royal and/or soldierly Germans reflect the contemporary opinion of and attitude towards Germans in Britain. The Hanoverian tendency to marry its children to other petty German ruling houses was regarded with disfavour by the population and added to the hostility felt towards German ‘parasites’. Moreover, the sale of military manpower by impoverished German princes contributed to the negative British image of the German nation.⁴¹² As Duffy points out:

Because the foreign mercenaries hired by the government tended to be German, as also were the allies whom it took in its wars, the idea of Germans as an impecunious soldier-race implanted itself in English minds despite the successful visits of musicians such as Haydn and Mozart, so that Germans from their monarchs downwards were

stomach supported on the bent back of a liveried negro servant. She regards him appraisingly and exclaims ‘Lord, what a Porpoise Pho!!’. Richard Newton, 19 April 1797, in George, VII (1942), No. 9007, 347. British Museum, reel 12. Prince Frederick himself collected and took cartoons of himself back to Württemberg, a fact which says much for his sense of humour. Part of his legacy are the extensive holdings of British cartoons of this period (especially works by Gillray) in the Graphic Collection of the ‘Staatsgalerie Stuttgart’. Two of these – including the example cited above – are reproduced in Paul Sauer’s biography of Frederick: *Der schwäbische Zar* (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags-Anstalt, 1984), pp. 146, 149. See also Guratzsch, pp. 125, 127, 224-25; *Europeans in Caricature 1770-1830*, ed. by A. Griffiths (London: British Museum Press, 1992), [n.p.].

⁴¹⁰ George Woodward and Isaac Cruikshank, 12 October 1799, in George, VII (1942), No. 9418, 570-71. British Museum, reel 12. At the time Prussia was engaged in fighting the French Revolutionary Forces along the Rhine.

⁴¹¹ In a stereotype imitation of Germans speaking English the Baron further announces: ‘I [...] vil shew all de pritty lady demoselle all my fine Curiosity from Wirtemberg Aha! by gar I vil kiss dem all, a’ha! and get de money and Beuf rost’. See George, X (1952), No. 15404, 682-83. British Museum, reel 19.

⁴¹² The German phrase *Ab nach Kassel!* (Off with you!) has its origin here. The Hessian city of Kassel was the mustering ground for subjects sold by their princely masters to the British for the American Wars of Independence (1776-83). The expression was colloquially revived with Napoleon III’s internment in Kassel’s Schloss Wilhelmshöhe following the French defeat at Verdun in 1870. See L. Röhrich, *Das große Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*, 3 vols (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1991), I, 54.

almost invariably portrayed in the prints in uniform and often with extravagant military moustachio. (pp. 15-16)

Such sharp satirical portrayals gave way to a much politer style of caricature with the advent of *Punch* and the beginning of the Victorian era. The British view of Germany in this period was of an unthreatening, disparate country inhabited by idealistic ‘cloudy metaphysicians’ such as Professor Diogenes Teufelsdröckh in Thomas Carlyle’s popular Victorian novel *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34) or Philistine petty bourgeois trapped in provincial preoccupations.⁴¹³ These images, however amusing, must have helped reinforce insular chauvinism and xenophobia. As Ralph Waldo Emerson observes in *English Traits* (1856), the English ‘hate the French, as frivolous, they hate the Irish, as aimless; they hate the Germans, as professors’.⁴¹⁴

One of the best-known cartoons of all, Sir John Tenniel’s ‘Dropping the Pilot’ (1890) epitomizes the Victorian mood of reserve and cool politeness. The centrefold cartoon, dealing with the dismissal of Bismarck by William II, was designed not to offend anyone. The analogy Tenniel employed reflected the nautical imagery used by William II himself and was used concurrently in Germany to comment on Bismarck’s dismissal.⁴¹⁵ The ‘Iron Chancellor’ apparently approved of it. Not so the overly sensitive Kaiser, who was outraged by what he saw as yet another *Punch* attack on his imperial dignity.⁴¹⁶ Thus, the cartoon demonstrates two things. First, that receivers tend to see what they want or expect to see. Secondly, the art of the cartoonist is not to present the facts as much as to give an interpretation of them. Tenniel’s overall metaphor was deceiving. Bismarck was unlike the pilot, who leaves of his own accord after he has guided the ship safely out of harbour. Nevertheless the cartoon represents change, just as the tide of Anglo-German relations was turning with the rapid

⁴¹³ M. Koch-Hillebrecht, *Das Deutschlandbild: Gegenwart, Geschichte, Psychologie* (Munich: Beck, 1979), p. 188. Carlyle’s novel was later illustrated by E. J. Sullivan in an edition published in London by G. Bell (1898).

⁴¹⁴ In the chapter on ‘Truth’ (London: Routledge), p. 69.

⁴¹⁵ Upon Bismarck’s resignation William II famously wrote in an uncoded telegram to his old tutor Hinzpeter: ‘Das Amt des wachthabenden Offiziers auf dem Staatsschiff ist mir zugefallen. Der Kurs bleibt der alte. Volldampf voraus!’: W. Gutsche, *Wilhelm II.* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1991), p. 60; Ettl, ‘Der Lootse [*sic*] verläßt das Schiff’, *Frankfurter Latern*, vol. 26, no. 13 (29 March 1890), p. 52. Reproduced and annotated in W. Coupe, *German Political Satires from the Reformation to the Second World War*, 3 parts in 6 vols (White Plains, NY: Kraus, 1985-1993), Part II: *1848-1918* (1987), II.116, III (Commentary), 86-87; IV (Plates), 120.

⁴¹⁶ The depiction of the Kaiser as captain may be taken as an implicit criticism of his unconstitutional authoritarianism. cf. W. Coupe, Part I: *1500-1848* (1993), I, pp. xxvii-viii. Although the German Royal Family had been loyal subscribers to *Punch* for nearly forty years, Wilhelm banned the journal from 1892. R. Engen, *Sir John Tenniel* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991), p. 142.

industrialization and imperial expansionism of Wilhelmine Germany, following Unification in 1871.

Whilst the cartoon itself may present a reassuring interpretation of Bismarck's surprise dismissal, the accompanying commentary is more revealing of British apprehension:

Impetuous youth aspires to rear a realm,
And the State-bark to steer
In other fashion. Is it faith or fear
Fills the old Pilot's spirit as he moves
Slow from the post he loves?⁴¹⁷

The British image of the Germans was undergoing transformation in parallel with Germany's rise as a world power and economic rival. Britain's predominance on the world stage was under threat, and this transformation was a response to a sudden feeling of British insecurity. Price Collier alluded to this as early as 1913:

When a nation for more than a hundred years has been quite comfortably safe from any fear of attack because she has been easily first in commerce, wealth, industry, and in sea power, it comes as a shock, even to a phlegmatic people, to learn that they are being rapidly overhauled commercially, financially, industrially, and as a fighting force on the sea; and all this within a few years.⁴¹⁸

The 'mild blue eyes' of the Romantic literary tradition were becoming 'cold blue eyes', and Goethe was giving way to Krupp in the popular conception of the country.⁴¹⁹ From the 1870s on the cliché of the barbarian Goth (characterized by the classical description *furor teutonicus*⁴²⁰) became connected with German culture to express the increasing politicization of British interest in Germany. Thus, in the decades leading up to the First World War there

⁴¹⁷ *Punch*, 29 March 1890, p. 155. The critical annotation 'The Prussian bully has no further use for Prince Bismarck' [as reproduced in M. Wynn Jones, *The Cartoon History of Britain* (London: Stacey, 1971), p. 203] was added to a double-page reproduction of the cartoon in *'Punch' and the Prussian Bully: 1857-1914* (pp. 12-13), a supplement to *Punch* of 14 October 1914. Coupe claims the annotation was a sub-caption excised from most editions, believing erroneously that the version of the cartoon in Wynn Jones's *History* was the original. Coupe (1993), I, p. xxviii; and in correspondence with the author, 24 May 1999. The original version of the cartoon is, in fact, easily identified by Tenniel's use of a Russian style crown on William's head, an error corrected in subsequent editions (see Engen, p. 142). Moreover, the use of such offensive language in reference to the German emperor would have been 'un-Punch' prior to the onset of the war.

⁴¹⁸ P. Collier, *G*

was an ideological tendency in English propaganda to steer the attitude towards Germany in a negative direction in order to stigmatize a potential hegemonic power.⁴²¹ This is reflected in British cartoons of the period, which consistently thematized German military ambitions, however decorously, so sensitizing their receivers to the issue. The image of the bellicose modern Hun was effectively propagated. Churchill recalls that after the Franco-Prussian War ‘all English boys grew up with the image of a suet-dumpling Germany uncommonly efficient and punctual with a sharp sword in hand, trampling France’.⁴²²

The negative image-creation reached its apotheosis in the propaganda cartoons of the First World War, when for the first time Britain and Germany were at war with each other. Despite their shared history of strong dynastic, cultural, religious, and economic ties, from the outset Germans were depicted in Britain in terms of *Feindbilder*. Making use of the classic David and Goliath association, F. H. Townsend’s *Punch* cartoon of 12 August 1914 (four days after war was declared) shows a plump old man, clearly identifiable as German by his bushy moustache, pipe and the string of sausages trailing out of his pocket, threatening with a club a lad wearing a cap marked ‘Belgium’, who is defiantly protecting a gate with the sign ‘No thoroughfare’.⁴²³ Existing stereotypes of the Germans were worked into images of diabolical dimension. The militaristic Prussian, represented best in caricatures of the Kaiser, became the ‘Evil Hun’, a brutish, blood-thirsty tyrant capable of the most heinous crimes.⁴²⁴ For example, in Sullivan’s 1915 cartoon ‘The Ungartered Blackleg’ a sinister, cowering Kaiser is physically stripped of his Order of the Garter by a majestic King George V (stepping from the throne), thus causing his stocking to fall to reveal a tail and furry leg.⁴²⁵ There was, however, humour to be found even amongst the vitriol of Sullivan’s work. His ‘When the Pigs Begin to Fly’ shows Zeppelin-like sows with angelic wings bombing London with ‘Blutwurst’. St Paul’s Cathedral stands defiant in the background.⁴²⁶

⁴²¹ Müllenbrock, p. 308-9.

⁴²² ‘Cartoons and Cartoonists’, in *Thoughts and Adventures* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1932), pp. 23-35 (p. 25).

⁴²³ ‘Bravo Belgium!’, reprod. in M. Walker, *Daily Sketches* (London: Muller, 1978), p. 51; and in R. Douglas, *The Great War 1914-18: The Cartoonist’s Vision* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.

⁴²⁴ See, for example, Partridge’s ‘The Triumph of “Culture”’, *Punch*, 26 August 1914, depicting the aftermath of an attack on a village. An immaculately uniformed German officer is standing over the bodies of a woman and her daughter, a smoking pistol in one hand and the billowing Imperial War Standard held proudly in the other. Reprod. in Walker, pp. 52-53.

⁴²⁵ *The Kaiser’s Garland* (London: Heinemann, 1915), p. 47. However, gentlemanly values prevail to an extent even here coupled, no doubt, with a sense of good taste: The Kaiser’s shrivelled left arm is never depicted in cartoons, despite the many other uglinesses that are ascribed to him.

⁴²⁶ This appeared in *The Kaiser’s Garland* (p. 67), a compilation vividly described by fellow cartoonist James Thorpe in his profile of the artist: ‘All the emblems and tokens of horror, beastliness and destruction were arrayed and employed in this whole-hearted hymn of

The inter-war period saw a step back from these *Feindbilder*. Germany had been vanquished and no longer posed a threat to British interests. In the queue of European types waiting to enter Britain's 'Empire Show' (*Daily Express*, 17 May 1926) Strube's German is still moustached and fat, and his cropped head is surmounted by a Tyrolean hat; but his small stature, frock coat, glasses and furled umbrella give him an altogether harmless, indeed jolly appearance.⁴²⁷

With the appearance of the National Socialists on the political stage, German topics again feature prominently in cartoons, and the bombastic, arrogant image of the German is soon revived, this time with the addition of omnipresent swastikas. In a Strube cartoon set at street corner and published following the Nazi withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference in 1933, a bespectacled Brünnhilde figure, with hands on hips and Party armband, boisterously spouts forth swastika exclamations in reaction to the group of angry European neighbours who surround her. A perplexed John Bull, at a remove from the crowd and holding the wailing 'Locarno' baby, is being reminded of his Empire responsibilities by Strube's little man. This portrait of discontent is a long way already from the Strube image described above.⁴²⁸

The talents of Sir David Low and later those of Vicky, the Jewish exile from Hitler's regime, were used to the full in attacks on German political chicanery. Low's cartoons concentrated on caricatures of the Nazi leaders rather than the Germans as a whole. He made no bones about depicting the smugness, arrogance and duplicity of Nazi leaders and the brutality of their henchmen, and so infuriated Hitler that the Foreign Office politely asked him to tone his work down in the interest of preserving and pursuing peace.⁴²⁹ Yet he was careful not to equate the nation with the evil that held it in thrall. Low made this point perhaps most clearly in a cartoon comment on the public reaction to the revelation of the horrors at Bergen Belsen in 1945. In the cartoon's title, an incensed newspaper reader demands that 'the whole German nation should be wiped out for this'. The reply comes across the divided *chiaroscuro* of the frame from a liberated inmate: 'Don't forget that some of us are Germans, friend.'⁴³⁰

hate. Skeletons, apes, scorpions, toads, devils and fiends of both sexes, swine, crucifixes, all the equipment of the irate and zealous cartoonist are paraded to flagellate the criminals. [...] But what fascinating, excellent pen drawings they are and how perfectly every detail is realized.' *E. J. Sullivan* (London: Art and Technics, 1948), p. 33.

⁴²⁷ Walker, p. 99.

⁴²⁸ 'Holding the Baby', *Daily Express*, 17 October 1933, reprod. in R. Douglas, *Between the Wars, 1919-39* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 200.

⁴²⁹ Hitler had previously found Low's contemptuous treatment of democratic politicians so appealing that he had a few of the artist's original drawings hung on the walls of the Nazi party's Munich headquarters. See Z. Zeman, *Heckling Hitler* (London: Tauris, 1987), p. 97.

⁴³⁰ *ES*, 19 April, reprod. in: Low, *Years of Wrath 1932-45* (London: Gollancz, 1986), p. 313; R. Douglas, *The World War 1939-1945: The Cartoonist's Vision* (London: Routledge, 1990),

Other experienced and insightful artists, too, made a distinction between Germans and Nazis. In 1938 Sir Bernard Partridge (1861-1945) depicted a Nazi bully standing over a victim he has just clubbed, proclaiming 'My will is the will of Germany!', while the comely figure of Germania has been bound and gagged and placed out of sight.⁴³¹ The composition is reminiscent of the Partridge cartoon from First World War referred to above but differs from it by the addition of this aspect of relativity. Note that the thug is not giving the *Hitlergruß* nor is there a swastika in the composition. This is unusual because the Nazi emblem quickly became the defining caricatural symbol of Nazi Germany, which is not surprising, given the omnipresence of the swastika in the country after 1933 and the powerful visual impact it made then and continues to make whenever it is used.⁴³²

The decades leading up to 1945 did not afford long intervals of tranquillity and consolidation in British-German relations, which were characterized rather by ups and downs, periods of relative understanding followed by violent encounters.⁴³³ The First World War gave the British a legacy of cartoon stereotypes of the Germans and Germany which could not be emended in the short interlude before National Socialism raised its vicious head. The experience of that regime, the Holocaust and the Second World War led to the reification of these stereotypes and effectively 'boobytrapped' the future, with the memory of Naziism still casting a long shadow over Germany's name.⁴³⁴

The changing depiction of Germany and the Germans over this period accords with Leerssen's theory that 'a given country's political and economic strength on the international scene will be in inverse proportion to the degree of sympathy in its image abroad'.⁴³⁵

3.2 German stereotype content in British cartoons since 1945

This section looks at the way in which stereotypes are evident in the image of Germany and the Germans in contemporary British cartoons and caricature. Common themes in the stereotypes of Germany and the Germans will be identified as well as any change or variation that has occurred since the end of the Second World War.

p. 242; *Low! The Twentieth Century's Greatest Cartoonist* (Westminster Hall exhibition catalogue; London: BBC Worldwide, 2002), p. 67.

⁴³¹ 'Oppression and suppression', *Punch*, 30 November 1938, reprod. in Douglas (1992), p. 331.

⁴³² Could this be the reason why Partridge chose not to represent it? Perhaps aware as an 'old hack' of the subconscious power of symbols, he may not have wished to give these hallmarks of evil any extra exposure, even in such a negative context.

⁴³³ W. Mommsen, *Two Centuries of Anglo-German Relations* (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), p. 7.

⁴³⁴ MacIntyre, p. 4.

⁴³⁵ J. Leerssen, 'As Others See, Among Others, Us', in *As Others See Us: Anglo-German Perceptions*, ed. by H. Husemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 69-79 (p. 76).

In considering the stereotypes used from 1945 to 2000 it is important to remember that they refer, in the most part, to caricatural figures, often peripheral, who are meant to represent 'everyday' or 'typical' Germans. They do not relate directly to figures used allegorically, for example as a personification of the country or an abstract concept such as democracy. Neither do they refer to identifiable Germans, such as leading politicians or other personalities. The depiction of such recognizable figures may, however, draw upon stereotypical elements.

In Chapter One stereotypes were described as a subjective means of interpretation. They are closely bound up with the individual's view of the world as part of a social group. With respect to cartoons individual artists, in drawing on stereotypes, often prefer particular characteristics to others, a fact which also helps identify the cartoonist. These elements thus form part of an artistic signature, 'personalizing' the stereotypes used. For example, there are Cummings's ubiquitous, large Iron Crosses and ingeniously applied spiked helmets, or Jak's trademark bushy, twirled moustaches and Tyrolean hats.⁴³⁶ At the same time the stereotypes link in with those used by or familiar to their readership.⁴³⁷

It is clearly not the case that all British cartoonists draw Germans and present German scenes in the same way just because they belong to the same national in-group. Other in-groups exist within this in-group, based for example on class or political and social views. The cartoonist and the readership of the cartoonist's newspaper or magazine, likewise, form an in-group. The *Guardian* in-group is different from that of the *Daily Telegraph*. This accounts to some degree for the stereotype variety to be found in cartoons across the spectrum. There are, however, common features in cartoons, particularly those that appear in the 'popular' press, where the following stereotypes appear to be more in evidence.

3.2.1 General stereotypes: The adult, child, and family

In cartoons everyday Germans at home in Germany or as tourists abroad are depicted according to general stereotypes, which are the focus of this section. Other stereotypes exist for specific professional and political categories of Germans and these will be dealt with in a following section.

3.2.1.1 The man

The most common caricatural stereotype of the German man has remained constant over fifty years and is closely connected to the allegorical figure of Germany, the Bavarian, discussed below. He is distinguished by his southern German appearance. Primarily he is fat and wears

⁴³⁶ See *CWTR* for Cummings: pp. 124-27, 172-73, 180-81; for Jak: pp. 108-9, 144-45, 204-5.

⁴³⁷ In terms of artistic technique, Jak also *draws* Germans in a way quite different to Cummings, uses a different line and shading, and this is another way of identifying and distinguishing their separate images.

lederhosen, an item of clothing considered as exotic in Bremen and Hamburg as it is in London and Paris.⁴³⁸ Where he has a name it is identifiably Germanic like Otto, Hans or Hermann. A soft, rounded hat with a feather, tassel or chamois-hair adornment – generally known as a Tyrolean hat – and hiking boots with knee-high socks add to the image. He may smoke a large elongated, curved pipe (often termed a ‘Black Forest pipe’), carry an alpine walking stick (*Alpenstock*) and drink beer from a beer stein, this being one of his preferred pursuits. A young German is less likely to be depicted with all of these features and is often slim or well-built. Facially the German male is distinguished by a longish nose, frequently a duelling scar; older adults often wear a monocle. The latter two attributes belong to the stereotype of the militaristic ‘Prussian’ which has in this way been assimilated into an otherwise bucolic (Southern German) image.

If the German has a moustache it is usually of the handlebar or Hitler variety. If he is not bald, his hair is cut short, often in a crew cut, or his head is closely shaven. He is either boisterous and/or genial in manner, or alternatively mean and emotionless.

Gerard Hoffnung’s cartoon of a German man expresses most of these attributes. His head is shaven, he has a large twirled moustache, he is in lederhosen, and his genial laughing face and oval body match in shape the open-lidded beer stein he holds in his hand.⁴³⁹ A cartoon by Andrzej Krauze (b. 1947) presents an altogether more alarming image of a fat German man with beer stein and Tyrolean hat (*Guardian*, 10 January 1992; reprinted in *Spiegel*, 3 February 1992). Knife and fork in hand he is preparing to consume the globe of the world which is on a dinner plate before him. His head is tiny in comparison with his huge bloated body and behind him can be seen large black wings. These are reminiscent of the stylized wings of the Federal German Eagle, but appear dark and foreboding here, like those of a vulture. They are a surreal part of the German’s gestalt and emphasize his enormity. Thus the artist is not only caricaturing the German appetite and propensity to grow fat but is also drawing on a stereotype of the Germans as greedy and power-hungry. The result is a Jungian archetype, for this is both a collective image of the Germans and a primordial one, incorporating mythological motifs such as the wings of an eagle, a symbol of power and rule, and the fearful image of a devouring giant.

⁴³⁸ Koch-Hillebrecht, p. 141.

⁴³⁹ *Ho Ho Hoffnung* (London: Putnam, 1959), no page number: in chapter entitled ‘Cheers/A la votre/Prost’. Most of the drawings in this anthology first appeared in *Punch*. Hoffnung (1925-59) had a short but remarkable career as a cartoonist, particularly of the musical world. Reprod. in L. Moyle, ‘Der Krieg gewonnen – aber den Frieden verloren?’, in Moyle, R. Picht, F. Wielenga, and J. Tycner, *Deutschland und seine Nachbarn* (Hanover: Nieders. Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000), p. 11.

Another cartoon captures in a clever circular image the two sides of the perceived German personality stereotype (Rain, *Economist*, 27 January 1990, front cover).⁴⁴⁰ Entitled ‘Germany benign? Or malign?’ it shows the jovial face of a German man with laughing eyes, a moustache twirled upwards, and wearing a Tyrolean hat. Turned on its head the image becomes that of a steel-helmeted, mean-faced German who is brandishing a cutlass (previously the brow of the Tyrolean hat). He is staring intensely with a furrowed brow and a downturned moustache. The moustache is the shared pivotal feature that in each case sets the shape of the mouth and thus the mood of the face.⁴⁴¹

The mouth, the eyes and eyebrows are important marks of identity and are used artistically to express moods and emotions.⁴⁴² The monocle or spectacles worn by German men in cartoons are frequently opaque. With the eyes thus hidden, a figure can appear anonymous, enigmatic, and certainly less easily ‘read’. Opaque monocles and spectacles which shield the wearer also seem to reinforce an image of the Germans as untrustworthy or not entirely honest, for example about their own past or their real intentions. Riddell’s lederhosen-wearing German (*CWTR*, pp. 66-67) is a case in point. Additionally in this cartoon, each of the figure’s eyebrows suggests quite different aspects of his character, a fact which is made clearer by alternately covering each side of his face. These features contribute to making this representative German appear ambiguous if not suspect. The artist himself related a theory which maintains that a line can be drawn down any face separating its good and evil sides. He saw his German as a model of this, adding that ‘undeniably an undercurrent of the image is a certain sense of the power of the German figure as it relates to the more affable John Bull. So there is an attendant sort of menacing quality.’⁴⁴³

Alternatively, the German’s eyes may be narrowed or lack pupils. When coupled with a downturned mouth and eyebrows that slant downwards at the centre, the figure has an entirely sinister aspect. For example, Vicky employs these features in depictions of both patient and physician – a swastika-infected child and Dr Adenauer respectively – in his 1959 cartoon comment on neo-Naziism in Germany (*CWTR*, pp. 86-87).

The humorous appeal of the monocle as part of the twentieth century comic stereotype of the German largely rests on its anachronism. It is an icon of ‘Prussian’ arrogance and

⁴⁴⁰ Reprod. in Moyle and others, p. 12.

⁴⁴¹ This is the only *Economist* cover produced by Mikki Rain and probably the first drawn by a woman for this business-oriented publication, self-described as a ‘newspaper’. It was a brilliant one-off, last-minute commission, produced overnight. It makes use of the classic illustrative technique of rotative transformation.

⁴⁴² This artistic technique is something that cartoonists have long made use of. In one of the first works in English on caricaturing, Francis Grose points out that ‘the mouth and eyebrows are the features that chiefly express the passions’. *Rules for Drawing Caricaturas with an Essay on Comic Painting* (London: Hooper, 1791), p.13.

⁴⁴³ Recorded interview by the author; Observer House, London, 20 June 1997.

authoritarianism and the old ruling class and business establishment; German generals in movies and British comedians impersonating them usually sport one.⁴⁴⁴

What is commonly described as ‘Prussian’ is, in fact, a twentieth century re-invention resulting from the negative experience of Hohenzollern-led imperialism, reinforced within so short a space of time by Nazi militarism:

All that has made the Germans so unpopular with the rest of the world in the last century, all that the world means when it speaks of Krauts and Boches – boastfulness, tactlessness, snobbery, arrogance, Junker haughtiness, narrowmindedness [*sic*], servility, aggressiveness and sabre-rattling – all this was the style of Wilhelmine Germany, which, since 1870, steadily undermined and finally destroyed the style that had been Prussian. [...] The Prussian style was sobriety and realism, economy, modesty and industry, piety and austerity. But all these are qualities which distinguish neither Wilhelmine Germany nor National Socialist Germany, nor the German Federal Republic. [...]

By Tucholsky’s time, the period of the Weimar Republic, the Prussian had already been, to a large extent, transformed into a caricature of himself. Hair *en brosse* or parted in the middle, the double chins fore and aft, a fat belly, a moustache, sabre scars upon the faces of senior civil servants, and sleeve protectors on the jackets of their inferiors, *deutschnationale* judges and *deutschvölkische* industrialists, such was the face Prussia presented to the world.⁴⁴⁵

Individuals such as William II (despite having an English mother), Bismarck, the leading First World War generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg, and Hitler (despite his Austrian origins) must have heavily influenced and reinforced the British stereotype of the ‘Prussian’.

3.2.1.2 The woman

The stereotype of the German woman has also remained fairly constant and can be closely identified with the allegorical figure of Germania (see Section 3.3.1.1). The younger German woman has a voluptuous appearance while the older German woman bears a more matronly figure. Both have blonde hair in plaits hanging loose or in a bun, and wear traditional garb

⁴⁴⁴ The wearing of spectacles plays a significant part of the creation of a German image in contemporary British popular literature, too. For example, in Len Deighton’s ‘Nazi thriller’ *SS-GB: Nazi-Occupied Britain 1941* (London: Cape, 1978) Himmler is depicted as an archetypal German bureaucrat with ‘hair cut so short that the white of his scalp showed through it [...] round face, stubble moustache and pince-nez’. His academic subordinate, Prof. Springer, has ‘effortlessly assumed the demeanour of a Prussian General’: He is ‘tall and thin, with a leathery face and ramrod back’ and snatches his spectacles off and hides them away to appear more soldierlike. Quotes from chapter sixteen, p. 133.

⁴⁴⁵ H. Huber, ‘About Germany and My Grandfather’, trans. by C. Fitz Gibbon, in R. Searle and Huber, *Haven’t We Met Before Somewhere?* (London: Heinemann, 1966), pp. 9-84 (pp. 74-75). The cartoons reproduced in this work are not page numbered, apart from those illustrating the essay by the radio dramaturge Heinz Huber (1922-68). The place and year of their production are, however, frequently noted by the artist, and where it occurs this will provide the additional reference. Many of the cartoons were first published in the magazines *Holiday* (UK) and *Kristall*.

such as an aproned dirndl – particularly if it is a rural or folkloric scene – or alternatively a conventional suit with feathered hat. She is generally small-nosed. She has a distinctive Germanic name like Heidi or Hildegard. As a young woman she has a seductive, sometimes naïve manner; as an older woman she is either self-assertive, proud or motherly and is generally subservient to her husband and his needs.⁴⁴⁶

To cite one example, Giles's 'Frau Meyerburger' is a plump, older German *Hausfrau* who wears opaque glasses, hair tied in a bun and is fiercely house-and-garden-proud (*Daily Express*, 20 September 1984).⁴⁴⁷ With her size and stern demeanour she is the German version of the cartoonist's notorious 'Grandma' character. Her well-maintained, extensive property set in the pine-tree woods has become the scene of a confrontation between British and German soldiers crawling about on a NATO exercise. Enraged she sets upon one of the British invaders with her carpet-beater, while her dachshund attacks his sergeant. A German soldier defending Frau Meyerburger's garden attributes her anger to the fact that she has only just got her garden tidy since the Second World War. This reference to the war gives rise to the thought that her actions may also be due to a hardened sense of patriotic duty: she is protecting her own corner of the 'Fatherland' against the invaders and so supporting her countrymen.

In typical Giles fashion the cartoon contains amusing details which add layers of meaning to the composition. A garden gnome, seated on a toadstool with a raised blunderbuss in hand, acts as a first line of defence near the garden gate. There is irony in the sign attached to the front hedge which states that 'troops will not disturb civilians', and national self-deprecation in the portrayal of incompetent British squaddies. The latter are clearly at a disadvantage, unable adeptly to overcome the barrier of her hedge, and are outwitted by the 'enemy' even as they both parachute down.

3.2.1.3 The child and family

In cartoons the German family consists of two parents and two children. German children have only rarely appeared in British press cartoons. When they do, they are depicted as Hansel and Gretel figures or as simply smaller versions of their parents. A typical example of this and other stereotypes is Jak's cartoon from the time of the German Currency Union (*Evening Standard*, 3 July 1990). The children match their parents' appearance in miniature, with lederhosen, dirndl and plaits. 'Hermann', their Tyrolean-hatted father, has just returned

⁴⁴⁶ Compare the literary image of German women presented, for example, by Mansfield in *In a German Pension* with characters like the naïve, seductive Sabina ('At Lehmann's'), the worldly-wise, domineering Frau Fischer ('Frau Fischer') and the wistful, obedient Frau Brechenmacher ('Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding').

⁴⁴⁷ Reprod. in Moyle and others, p. 20.

from the West in the Rolls-Royce convertible he has bought with the deutschmarks received in the exchange of currencies. Their well-kept half-timbered farmhouse stands behind them and their dachshund beside them. What makes this cartoon the more remarkable is its use of such stereotypes in an East German setting. The breached wall can be seen in the background.

Not all cartoonists see East Germans as conforming to the West German stereotype. David Langdon (b. 1914) contrasts not only the older and younger generation of Germans but also *Wessi* and *Ossi* in a *Punch* cartoon (25 May 1990) which also appeared at the time of the German Currency Union.⁴⁴⁸ The middle-aged West German couple display many stereotypical features, including the taking of coffee and cakes (*Kaffee und Kuchen*), while the young East German family could be from any country. Their lack of ‘Germanness’ may, in fact, be the reason for the older Germans’ disdain. The cartoon shows another facet of the stereotype of the German family, too: the pet dachshund. The dog is usually found docile or asleep at its owner’s side and sometimes appears in cartoons as a national symbol.⁴⁴⁹

3.2.2 The businessman

The stereotype of the German businessman is a variation on that of the male German. Whilst he is generally fat, his appearance and behaviour are slightly different. He dresses in a suit and smokes a cigar; he often wears a monocle and has a duelling scar. His affluence and success are conspicuous: he drives a Mercedes Benz and has pockets full of deutschmarks. He appears ruthless, smug or enigmatic. Often hegemonic ambitions are hinted at or even pro-Nazi sympathies. Gaskill’s Gulf War comparison of a self-aggrandizing German industrialist with a goose-stepping Second World War soldier (*CWTR*, pp. 122-23) is a good example of this linkage.

However, there is evidence that this image is slowly being overhauled, even in the ‘popular’ press. In Mac’s cartoon of a BMW boardroom meeting following that company’s takeover of Rover the directors do not noticeably conform to this stereotype (*Daily Mail*, 1 February 1994). There is a lone monocle as well as a couple of shaven heads, but the only explicit identifiers of ‘Germanness’ are to be found in the company logo and acronym. The German stereotype in this case is linguistic, in the Germanized English or ‘Germlish’ spoken by the chairman which forms the caption: ‘Gentlemen, ve haf made a terrible mistake – apparently our purchase does not include ze little blonde Fräulein from Eastenders.’

The spelling of English words like ‘we’ as ‘ve’, ‘the’ as ‘ze’ represents a stereotype of the German pronunciation of English. ‘Fräulein’ belongs to the repertoire of German words understood as such by English speakers and used in imitating German. ‘Germlish’ is the

⁴⁴⁸ Reprod. in Moyle and others, p. 22.

⁴⁴⁹ See, for example, Garland’s *Dackl* straining on an EEC leash, which illustrated Peter Kellner’s article ‘Keeping the Germans on a Leash’ (*Independent*, 12 June 1989).

language commonly spoken by Germans in print cartoons, animated cartoons, and comics.⁴⁵⁰ It owes a lot to the vocabulary of the war movie and is reinforced by popular comedy television series dealing with the war such as ‘Hogan’s Heroes’, ‘Allo ‘Allo’, and ‘Dad’s Army’.

3.2.3 The soldier/officer

The widely used stereotype of the soldier/officer is considered in section 3.3.3 with reference to its use as a symbol of German military power.

Here, it is enough to mention that this stereotype is heavily influenced by the image of German soldiers from the two World Wars, in particular the Second. Modern German soldiers are cast very much in this light with their uniform and behaviour being modelled on that of the *Wehrmacht* soldier. They wear jackboots and steel or spiked helmets and goose-step.

The stereotype of the modern German officer centres on a ‘Prussian’ appearance consisting of, essentially, duelling scar, ramrod posture, monocle, Iron Cross and riding britches. There is also a strong hint of the Nazi in most depictions of German officers, reinforced by their appearance, assertive and authoritarian behaviour, and revanchist attitudes. One area in which the old ‘Prussian’ officer caste continues to appear is in occasional caricatural references to the German family connections of the House of Windsor. These are usually confined to ‘popular’ press cartoons. For example, in Jak’s cartoon of the first Royal visit to united Germany the Queen and Prince Philip are introduced by Chancellor Kohl to their elderly distant relatives, many of whom are dressed in imperial military uniform (*CWTR*, pp. 108-9). Kielinger points out that ‘the interesting aspect of this cartoon is that the stereotypes used to portray “the” German also reveal their own true nature – outdated, passé, pure masquerade’. Which, he goes on to say, is what cartoonists love.⁴⁵¹ Charles Griffin (b. 1946) depicts the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales similarly attired in a cartoon following the German victory at the Euro 96 football tournament (*Daily Express*, 2 July 1996). There is an echo here also of the posturing of Kaiser William II and the Crown Prince. Philip and Charles, who are celebrating the German success, are being reprimanded by the Queen for making a show of the Windsors’ German ancestry. Even the Queen Mother, the Royal with the least claim to German ancestry, is seen dancing about Windsor Castle in lederhosen. This is a cartoon very much in the ‘Golden Age’ tradition of criticizing the Royal

⁴⁵⁰ The popular British children’s weekly comic *Sparky* (1966-80) ran a feature entitled ‘Der Baron von Reichs-Pudding: The Flying Hun from World War Wun’, in which Germlish was spoken by all the German characters. These were primarily biplane fighter pilots in spiked helmets and wearing huge German crosses, who were always attacking their good-natured English counterparts. The use of ‘der’ before virtually all nouns was a characteristic of the *Sparky* variant of Germlish. The series presented stereotypes of humourless, aggressive (indeed violent) Germans to a mixed audience of boys and girls.

⁴⁵¹ T. Kielinger, *Crossroads and Roundabouts* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1997), p. 3.

Family for its lack of loyalty to things English and a suspicious affection for and affinity with Germany. In the Griffin cartoon, this would appear to include making the Household Guards goose-step, an activity clearly connected in the public imagination with the Nazis. It is also worth bearing in mind that the Duke and the Prince also belonged to the less popular members of the Family; Charles, particularly, following his public confession of adultery.

The suggestion in such cartoons is that the Royal Family's German links are now both remote and anachronistic, being based on a social order no longer relevant to the governance of modern society. Or as Kielinger puts it: 'All old hat. Spectres from the crypt. Ravens from the grave.' (p. 3)

3.2.4 The (neo-)Nazi

Old Nazis form an important stereotype in British cartoons of the Germans. They are easily identified by their swastika armbands, devotion to the Nazi flag, and/or by right arms extended in the *Hitlergruß*. They are often monocled and/or scarred, decorated with an Iron Cross, bald or shaven-headed, and dressed in some kind of uniform, frequently one reminiscent of those worn by the National Socialists.

Nazis appear in a variety of contexts: attending an ageing Führer in his South American hideaway (e.g. *CWTR*, pp. 90-91), planning pre-dawn sunbed occupations (e.g. *CWTR*, pp. 148-49), or ensconced behind fronts of one kind or another. Nazis are, for example, tucked under Chancellor Adenauer's morning coat in Cumming's comment on the visit of President Heuss to Britain (*Sunday Express*, 19 October 1958).⁴⁵² Jak depicts an archetypal English village high street including the shop ('est. 1945') of 'ye village watchmaker Arthur Bloggs' (*Evening Standard*, 5 June 1990). The elderly watchmaker has raised the Nazi standard before the premises, to which he is giving the Nazi salute, his trusty dachshund at his side. 'Bloggs' is being called to order by his wife (an elderly Gretchen figure) who refers to him as 'Otto'. The cartoon was a response to reports of Nazi war criminals living in Britain.

The stereotyped young neo-Nazi is male, shaven-headed and aggressive. He carries either a weapon or a swastika flag or is giving the Nazi salute. For example, in the background of a Brookes cartoon from *The Times* neo-Nazi skinheads are marching with Nazi flags, arms raised in Nazi salutes, with clenched fists and wielding clubs (1 October 1992, p. 14). In the foreground Helmut Kohl is represented as the three monkeys that see, hear and speak no evil.

3.2.5 Locomotion

Stereotype Germans, in and out of uniform, goose-step rather than walk. This is particularly the case when they move together as a group (e.g. *CWTR*, pp. 150-51, 204-5) or organize

⁴⁵² Reprod. in Moyle and others, p. 18.

others to move together as a group (*CWTR*, pp. 154-55). The British seem to be fascinated by things Nazi, and goose-stepping is one example. It is seen as both ludicrous and sinister, and this no doubt explains its continued currency principally in ‘popular’ press cartoons. In fact, this stereotype feature is more in evidence in cartoons now than previously.

The stereotype German, when not goose-stepping, drives a Mercedes Benz. The marque often features as part of a stereotype package. In a *Jak* cartoon commenting on the Princess of Wales’s purchase of a Mercedes Benz sports car, Diana explains to her disapproving mother-in-law – corgis in tow – that the dachshunds surrounding her came with the car (*Evening Standard*, 6 February 1991). Alongside conventional representations of the firm’s cars, its logo – the ‘Untertürkheim Star’ – can also be found on unique models which have rolled off the production line of the cartoonist’s imagination. Larry’s panzer campervan (*Punch*, 12 June 1991) and Searle’s deutschmark limousine are two examples. The latter caricatures the kitschy, ostentatious taste of the nouveau riche industrialist/businessman of the ‘economic miracle’ with its castellated, turreted mock-gothic canopy-hood, five-mark tyres and hundred-mark bonnet. Smoking a gigantic cigar the opaque-spectacled owner cruises through downtown Düsseldorf, surrounded on the dashboard by telephones, a framed photograph of himself, beer stein, toadstool and frolicking maiden statuettes.⁴⁵³

Another vehicle associated with Germany in cartoons is the Volkswagen, in particular the quintessential ‘Beetle’. It represents high standards of automotive engineering (often in contrast with British standards: see *CWTR*, pp. 192-93) albeit without the luxury image of Mercedes Benz.

Audi is a German car marque connected more indirectly with cartoons through the transference of its successful advertising slogan ‘Vorsprung durch Technik’ to a variety of caricatural contexts, a phenomenon investigated in section 3.3.7.2.

3.2.6 Humour, food, and leisure

The following three interconnected areas of German temperament and lifestyle present a further palette of caricatural stereotypes relating to the British view of the Germans.

Germans are often caricatured as fairly humourless. If they do have a sense of humour it is pretty perverse. In one example, illustrating an article entitled ‘Fun in the Fatherland’, various means of torture have been prepared by the German TV compère to induce laughter in the audience (*Daily Mail*, 14 May 1993). In another, by David Austin (b. 1935), an informally dressed man is castigated by his wife for carrying out a puerile practical joke on a besuited

⁴⁵³ Searle and Huber, ‘Düsseldorf 1964’.

German: he has squirted him with water from a joke button-hole flower.⁴⁵⁴ She reminds her husband not to be silly as Germans do not have a sense of humour. The comment here, however, is less about German humourlessness than the couple's 'Anglo-Saxon' understanding of what constitutes humour.

Stereotyped German food is stodgy, consisting principally of sauerkraut and/or sausage, which is washed down with copious quantities of beer. When Caldwell draws a banquet held by the Bundesbank in honour of the Queen's State Visit, these are the representative examples of German cuisine on the menu for this formal occasion (*CWTR*, pp. 116-17). Implicit here is an auto-/heterostereotype contrast, in which one's own cuisine is often associated with national pride – such as the 'Roast Beef of England' – whilst the diet of foreigners is derided: 'When countries want to insult one another, food epithets are rarely far from reach. And to whichever nation we belong, it seems, we eat a strong, bloody, nourishing food, while our neighbours eat something silly.'⁴⁵⁵

A cartoon by Ronald Searle (b. 1920) presents a stereotype of a festive occasion, at which wurst, hams, beer and decorated *Lebkuchen* hearts fall from a cornucopia tuba held by an 'angel'.⁴⁵⁶ The piece is, in fact, a symphony of German stereotypes in a Bavarian setting. It depicts an 'Oompah band' playing around a Maypole sporting the German flag and eagle. The corpulent, lederhosen-clad, Tyrolean-hatted musicians have an abundance of empty beer glasses at their feet and are being brought fresh supplies by an equally corpulent waitress. She is dressed in a dirndl and has her plaits round her head in a traditional *Haarkranz*. The 'angel' mirrors the appearance of the musicians with the addition of wings akin to those of the stylized Federal Eagle.

Jak presents a caricature German wurst shop in a cartoon about the BSE crisis (*Mail on Sunday*, 26 May 1996). A customer, in lederhosen with *Alpenstock* and Tyrolean hat, is contemplating suicide and asks the butcher for British beef sausages. Different varieties of wurst are displayed on every counter while strips of enormous sausage hang from the ceiling. Each variety has a distinctive label attached to it, associating it with a geographical place – *Saxe Coburg*, *Bonn Wurst*, *Wartenburg Wurst* – or a familiar name – *Hermannwurst*, *Kaiser Wurst*. In a typical Jak provocation, one kind – *Würzburg Wurst* – includes the SS rune on the label. A sign in a prominent position proclaims 'Achtung! Fleisch aus Deutschland'.

⁴⁵⁴ In J. Abecasis-Phillips, *Coping with Germany*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 94. The book is designed for an English-speaking readership: primarily British and American.

⁴⁵⁵ S. Bakewell, 'Beast of British', *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 May 2003, p. 36. See also B. Rogers, *Beef and Liberty* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), pp. 2-6. Rogers asserts that 'after language, food is the most important bearer of national identity' and can be 'a potent source of xenophobia' (pp. 3, 6).

⁴⁵⁶ In Searle and Huber, 'Bavaria 1963'.

One of Peter Brookes's 'Nature notes' series depicted another variety of sausage called *Schröderwurst* (*The Times*, 3 October 1998). Translated as 'Least Wurst', at one end it bears the laughing face of Gerhard Schröder. It is described as 'a flavourless sausage which cannot be served on its own'; thus it rests on a bed of greens which, 'whilst horribly unpalatable, should accompany it'. This comment on Schröder's acceptability as a leader (note the pun on 'worst' in the translation) and his need for a coalition with the Green Party plays upon the stereotype of German cuisine as bland and unappetising. The cartoon followed the Social Democrats' federal election victory and shows a comparatively tiny cabbage bearing the disgruntled likeness of Helmut Kohl and entitled 'Fig. 1 Sour kraut' by the side of the sausage.

Food and social behaviour are closely linked in stereotyped beliefs about German culture. The afternoon custom of having *Kaffee und Kuchen*, and in particular Black Forest cake, is a further example. This is what is being enjoyed *al fresco* by the older generation *Wessis* at a café in the Langdon cartoon mentioned above (*Punch*, 25 May 1990). In the case of Searle's cartoon for a vintner's advertising campaign the association is between wine and male society (*CWTR*, pp. 132-33). 'The Ancient, Noble (And Secret) Ceremony of Slashing the *Trockenbeereauslese*' caricatures the peculiar rites and habits of German student fraternities as well as German oenological terminology. The seniority of the slashing *Bursche* alludes to the fact that these fraternities provide the German equivalent of the 'old boy network'. Searle includes homage in the composition to his German colleague Lorient (Vicco von Bülow), who is possibly a source of Searle's insights: one of the escutcheons on the capital of the pillar bears his name.

3.2.7 Housing and geography

In cartoons Germans inhabit ancient half-timbered houses which are built closely together in towns or, if in the country, are set amongst verdant pasture or deep in the woods (see, for example: Giles, *Daily Express*, 20 September 1984). A manipulation of this image can be found in Vicky's cartoon about the growth of neo-Naziism, where the half-timbering is arranged in swastika patterns (*News Chronicle*, 9 May 1951).⁴⁵⁷ Alternatively, 'gingerbread' houses are associated with Germany and refer to well-known fables such as 'Hansel and Gretel'. Such accommodation features in Searle's 'Schwarzwald 1964', where the washing drying on the clothes line indicates that the anonymous inhabitants have more than the normal number of fingers, arms and legs.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ Reprod. in Vicky, *Stabs in the Back* (London: Max Reinhardt, 1952), no page number; Moyle and others, p. 24; H. Sandberg, ed., *Der freche Zeichenstift* (East Berlin: Eulenspiegel, 1963), p. 226.

⁴⁵⁸ Reprod. in Searle and Huber.

As pointed out above East German houses also conform to an idyllic rustic image. Jak (*Evening Standard*, 6 November 1989) depicts an English couple who have just moved into an East German house close to the border with West Germany. They are chatting to their obviously German neighbour. The house they have purchased carries the welcoming name 'Mon Colditz'. This is a reference to the celebrated German Prisoner of War fortress and the stereotypical retirement-home name 'Mon Repos' as well as incorporating the sentiment that an Englishman's home is his castle. It appears cosy and in an excellent state of repair and even has flourishing flower boxes in each of the shuttered windows.⁴⁵⁹

Germany is usually portrayed in cartoons as an alpine land of pine-clad, snow-capped mountains. The alternative and equally romantic scene is that of the wide Rhine flanked by medieval castles. In a Searle cartoon set at the 'Loreley Campingplatz' pseudo-Wagnerian German campers – complete with winged and horned helmets – are enjoying the view of the busy river with a line of peaks in the background, each one of which is topped with a fairy-tale castle.⁴⁶⁰

3.2.8 Auto- and heterostereotype content

Contrasting a positive autostereotype with a negative heterostereotype is an ethnocentric means of distinguishing one's own group, the in-group, from an out-group. Imagologists have described this characteristic as a 'mutually contrastive interdependence'.⁴⁶¹ In cartoons involving British and Germans, there is generally less of a distinction between *positive* and *negative* stereotypes, although the contrast of images is important, especially for comic effect. This can be attributed to the nature of the medium itself in which there are no 'BSE-free cows' and where one's own nation is often as much a target for attack or derision as any other. Nevertheless, cartoonists are concerned to distinguish between British and German images in cartoons. At the simplest level this is done by means of an English language caption, as opposed to a caption composed in 'Germlish'.

One cartoonist who frequently depicted German-British interaction in his cartoons was Jak (Raymond Jackson), who succeeded Vicky as the chief cartoonist for the London *Evening*

⁴⁵⁹ For a survey of the role Colditz plays in the British popular memory see H. Husemann, 'The Colditz Industry', in *Beyond Pug's Tour*, ed. by C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 367-92.

⁴⁶⁰ Reprod. in Searle and Huber, 'The Rhine 1963'.

⁴⁶¹ See J. Leerssen, 'Continental Critical Theory and British Literary Critics', in *Britain in Europe*, ed. by Leerssen and M. Spiering, Yearbook of European Studies 1 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), pp. 59-84 (pp. 67-68); and G. Blaicher, 'Zur Entstehung und Verbreitung nationaler Stereotypen in und über England', *DVJS für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 51 (1977), 549-74 (p. 550).

Standard.⁴⁶² Two of his cartoons serve to demonstrate the nature of caricatural auto/heterostereotype presentation.

In the first cartoon, whilst the sinister-looking figure with the Hitler moustache lurking behind the British couple and the picture above the antlers on the wall suggest attachment to a Nazi past, the emphasis is on the ‘classic’ look of the German male (*Evening Standard*, 1 February 1973). Many of the male stereotype features listed above are found here.⁴⁶³ On the far left a dachshund looks on. The British couple are quite distinct from the Germans: they are more formally and more warmly dressed, carry an umbrella (this is no doubt part of an autostereotype) and are not drinking beer. There is no evidence of an ethnocentric contrast; in fact, the British lady appears quite prim and proper and this no doubt reinforces the solidly middle-class image mediated by the couple’s appearance and the use of the phrase ‘old boy’.

The cartoon expresses a truth about the contemporary depiction of the Germans in the British media: Germans have been Britain’s wartime enemies twice this century and have, like the French in the last, seriously threatened British sovereignty. The nostalgia that surrounds Britain’s wartime experience, the harking back to a time when a proud nation was strong and united against the enemy, continues unabated in films and television series and still affects British judgment of Germans.

In a second cartoon a busty Brünnhilde with her blond plaits and breast armour, accompanied by her helmeted Teutonic choir represent a stereotype of German culture (*CWTR*, pp. 136-37). The reader is presented not only with Wagnerian opera but also an image of the Germans (in this case, East German asylum-seekers) as archetypal barbarians, upsetting the peace and good order of the British civil service. Dapper officers, polished furnishings and venerable portraits form part of the British autostereotype. However, despite this, there is actually no value contrast here either. The German ‘barbarians’ are justified in their behaviour through their highbrow cultural disguise, while the besuited civil servants appear nonplussed at the Germans’ approach to asylum.

Griffin’s cartoon of the Ridley-Chequers affair is an example of contrastive stereotypes in which both hetero- and autostereotypes are negative (*CWTR*, pp. 150-51). The cartoonist

⁴⁶² Vicky belonged to the radical left and was always deeply concerned about social and political issues. Bitter and disappointed by his inability as a cartoonist to influence political decision-making, particularly after the Labour Party gained power in 1964, he committed suicide in 1968. F. Whitford, ‘Entstaubter Alltag – Aus der Praxis des Karikaturisten’, in *‘Nervöse Auffangorgane des inneren und äusseren Lebens’: Karikaturen*, ed. by Herding and G. Otto (Giessen: Anabas, 1980), pp. 302-17 (pp. 315, 317 (Anmerkung 7)).

⁴⁶³ These include the duelling scar, which held a particular fascination for Jak, perhaps because of his own interest in the martial arts (he was a Judo black belt). On the two occasions I met him, he asked me somewhat disarmingly if the childhood scar I bear on my upper lip was, in fact, a German duelling scar. On both occasions, he seemed quite disappointed to discover it was not. I was left wondering if this was because he had hoped to confirm a cherished stereotype.

presents a modern German stereotype: that of holiday-makers at a European beach resort. They are obnoxious tourists who take over the beach, reserving all the best places for themselves. Classic stereotype features still persist and have been integrated into it to create a comic effect; for example, the German dressed only in lederhosen and wearing a Tyrolean hat laying his patriotic beach-towel on a sunbed. Towels and swimming trunks in the German national colours serve as labels of identification but may also be seen as a statement about the resurgence of German nationalism that accompanied the move to reunification. The bull-necked swimmer terrorizing the Englishman confirms some of the listed characteristics and as such typifies a negative heterostereotype. The bespectacled British weakling, however, is far from being a positive autostereotype. Both Germans and British are caricatured by Griffin with the important distinction lying in the degree of threat the one poses to the other.

Indeed, in recent years there have been examples of cartoons distinctly presenting a positive image of the Germans in contrast with a negative one of the British. Heath's 'Play Up and Play to Maim' (*Independent*, 6 June 1996, p. 19) is a critical comment on the British reporting of the Euro 96 football championship, in which the England team was pitted against the Germans in a semi-final.⁴⁶⁴ The BBC radio commentator is an uncouth, lager lout who appears no different from the hysterical fans outside the commentary box and whose language is full of violence and abuse. Next to him and in stark contrast is seated the commentator from 'Radio Berlin', suited and politely restrained in his broadcasting style.

A recent Mac cartoon is another exceptional, and salutary, case particularly because of its publication in the reactionary 'popular' newspaper, the *Daily Mail* (16 February 1999, p. 15).⁴⁶⁵ It is again evidence of a less one-sided attitude towards the Germans taking hold in British cartoons. The setting is a Teneriffe beach, and it presents a more critical image of the British than of the Germans. The German men basking in the sun are certainly fat, and the reading matter of one sunbathing couple – *Mein Kampf* – somewhat suspect, albeit very discreetly placed in the bottom right-hand corner of the composition. However, the focus here is on the paranoid-looking, helmeted couple who have dug themselves a deep trench in the sand and are defending it with rifles. One of the German men comments that 'normal people reserve a place on ze beach with a towel – I think zey must be British'. The cartoon was a response to comments by the Federal German Culture Minister Michael Naumann that the British are obsessed by the war.

⁴⁶⁴ It led to the now infamous *Daily Mirror* front page image of two well-known English players in battle helmets shouting the headline 'Achtung! Surrender: For You Fritz, Ze Euro 96 Championship Is Over' (24 June 1996).

⁴⁶⁵ Reprod. in Moyle and others, p. 25

3.2.9 Humorous and harmless, or serious and seditious?

Many of the cartoons discussed above seem to present a fairly innocuous image of Germans and Germany. While they do not reflect the reality of people and society in this modern pluralist state, images of fat, lederhosen-clad men with their homely, blonde-plaited wives are more acceptable in the simplified, exaggerated world of the cartoon than they would be, say, in a factual report about life in Germany today. The truth is such stereotypes are essentially part of the fun of cartoons and continue to amuse, despite being well and truly clichéd.⁴⁶⁶ We could well be the poorer without them. Even if there was empirical evidence to show that the British public actually believe that such stereotypes bear a real relation to everyday Germans, it would probably not be considered by most people too disastrous a finding.

Whether the same can be said of all the cartoon stereotypes, particularly those that show Germans in a thoroughly negative light as, say, aggressive and militaristic neo-Nazis, is another matter. Are we not more likely to be impressed by revelations about the unpleasant side of people's character than the good side, especially when we have historical evidence to justify the former? It is the role of the critical/satirical cartoon (this description being pertinent to most political or editorial cartoons) to emphasize the negative rather than the positive aspects of a chosen subject, and this is no less the case for the way Germany or Germans are portrayed in British press cartoons. Insofar as these employ national stereotypes, Klineberg's remark that 'it is not only possible, but even highly probable, that unfavourable stereotypes concerning a particular nation constitute a fertile soil in which hostility may be more easily developed' carries weight.⁴⁶⁷ This idea has been taken a step further by cognitive psychologists who have concluded from their research that 'negative stereotypes foster antagonism by generating the expectation of undesirable behavior from members of out-groups, by coloring perceptions and interpretation of their behavior, and by justifying actions that harm them'.⁴⁶⁸ Dröge argues that stereotypes are not in themselves harmful, but they can act as catalysts by providing a pseudo-logical justification for prejudice as well as giving rise to prejudice itself.⁴⁶⁹

Stereotypes, including those found in cartoons, do not exist independently of the real world even if they do not always accurately reflect it. Oakes et al. point out that stereotypes

⁴⁶⁶ cf. Ambassador Hartmann's comment in *CWTR*, p. 236.

⁴⁶⁷ 'The Scientific Study of National Stereotypes', *The International Social Science Bulletin*, 2 (1951), 505-15 (p. 505).

⁴⁶⁸ S. Schwartz and N. Struch, 'Values, Stereotypes, and Intergroup Antagonism', in *Stereotyping and Prejudice*, ed. by D. Bar-Tal and others (New York: Springer, 1989), pp. 151-67 (p. 151) citing studies in *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior*, ed. by D. Hamilton (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1981), esp. experiments on interracial interaction by T. Rose, 'Cognitive and Dyadic Processes in Intergroup Contact', pp. 259-302.

⁴⁶⁹ Dröge, p. 162.

serve political, social and ideological functions and that these ends determine the rightness or wrongness of particular stereotypes for any given intergroup situation (p. 199). They argue further that ‘stereotypes contain political analyses and are political weapons’ and ‘embody particular views and advance particular causes’ (pp. 206-207).

Just how much cartoon images of Germans and Germany, or indeed any national stereotypes used in cartoons, affect the reading public is unknown. There appears to have been no conclusive research done on the topic.⁴⁷⁰ Given the fact, however, that press cartoons are generally easy to digest and assimilate, have an immediacy which is probably only shared by headlines, and are a consistently popular feature of British newspapers and magazines, one could assume that they have a measure of impact. A reader may grimace at a cartoon and forget it but remember a feature which the cartoon has helped to reinforce.⁴⁷¹

Coupe has suggested that the lower the level of education and sophistication, the greater the impact of a picture is likely to be. In the light of the blatant use of stereotypes (often negative) in ‘popular’ newspaper cartoons this is an alarming statement.⁴⁷²

Caricaturing the Germans by means of stereotypes should not, therefore, simply be seen as entertaining readers or providing them with a laugh. It would appear to be more complex than that. Where stereotypes perpetuate an image which no longer applies (as in the case of the aggressive, Nazi German) it may even be subversive. It reveals a complacent hostility that is counterproductive to good relations between allies. It may make readers feel more secure by confirming what they have learnt from the stories of (grand)parents or television series or films, so endorsing a folk wisdom passed down from one generation to another. It fails to challenge us to review our perception of contemporary reality, and reveals instead an inability to break with images from the past. New experiences are interpreted in the light of these preconceptions.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ Studies by Asher and Sargent (1941) and Brinkman (1968) have shown that cartoons (along with editorials in the Brinkman study) have been able to change opinion, but these studies were not specifically concerned with the presentation of national stereotypes.

⁴⁷¹ M. Parris, ‘Take It on the Chin, and Grin’, *The Times*, 8 September 1992, Life & Times section, p. 1.

⁴⁷² W.A. Coupe, ‘Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), 75-92 (p. 83). This is not to say that all ‘popular’ press readers are less well-educated or less sophisticated than readers of ‘quality’ newspapers, but surveys have shown that the majority of them do not belong to the AB and C1 socio-economic groups (although readers are also drawn from these groups). See Ch. 2: Section 2.7.1, and C. Seymour-Ure, *The British Press and Broadcasting Since 1945*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 142-48.

⁴⁷³ cf. Lippmann, p. 90: He refers to this phenomenon in terms of stimuli: ‘[Stereotypes] are aroused by small signs, which may vary from a true index to a vague analogy. Aroused, they flood fresh vision with older images, and project into the world what has been resurrected in memory.’

In addition to reflecting attitudes, cartoons can form them. Combined with other media criticism, cartoons can create a climate of opinion or consensus by peddling assumptions about the conditions and problems facing society, as well as their solution.⁴⁷⁴ In so doing, cartoons serve to confirm stereotypes and keep them alive and, as a consequence, the prejudices they foster. Cartoonists are in the business of inventing new images and, like all journalists, are concerned with the creation and manipulation of public opinion.⁴⁷⁵ And they have powerful instruments at their disposal, which need to be handled with fairness and care. The visual image, as Goethe pointed out, has a peculiar attraction which words do not hold:

Dummes Zeug kann man viel reden,
Kann es auch schreiben,
Wird weder Leib noch Seele töten, Es wird alles beim alten bleiben.
Dummes aber, vors Auge gestellt,
Hat ein magisches Recht:
Weil es die Sinne gefesselt hält,
Bleibt der Geist ein Knecht.⁴⁷⁶

3.2.10 Conclusion

Most researchers agree that stereotyping is part of the human condition and is, therefore, an unavoidable part of life. Contemporary thinking is that stereotypes are neither essentially wrong nor are they immune to change. While stereotypes are certainly related to prejudice, it does not follow that all stereotypes give rise to prejudice or that all prejudice is the result of stereotypes.

Against this background, the role stereotyping plays in British cartooning has been analysed. Stereotypes are an essential part of the 'cartoonist's armoury'. For its own part, the cartoon has been described as 'the quintessential stereotype'.⁴⁷⁷ Perhaps unlike their use in other media, stereotypes and clichés in cartoons are legitimate and desirable tools in the process of rapid identification of a nationality. A German flag is just not as amusing as a lederhosen, however more representative the first image may be.

Not all cartoons need to use stereotypes, and good cartoons can exist without them. A case in point is Helmut Kohl posed as Lola in the film *The Blue Angel* and singing the line 'What can I do? I can't help it' after acceding to the demands of striking public service workers in 1992 (*CWTR*, pp. 182-83). A good caricature of a well-known German such as the former

⁴⁷⁴ C. Press, *The Political Cartoon* (East Brunswick, NJ: Assoc. Univ. Presses, 1981), p. 49.

⁴⁷⁵ Coupe (1969), p. 82. Coupe (1969), p. 82.

⁴⁷⁶ 'Zahme Xenien II', in *Goethes Sprüche in Reimen: Zahme Xenien und Invektiven*, ed. by M. Hecker (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1908), p. 85-86.

⁴⁷⁷ H. Husemann, 'I Think, Therefore I Stereotype, Therefore I Caricature, Therefore I Am', *CWTR*, pp. 10-29 (p. 16).

Chancellor can work successfully without the need of any stereotype props. Some might say ungraciously that they are built in anyway.

Some caricatural stereotypes of Germans are certainly more negatively loaded than others. In what way these stereotypes affect British public opinion of the Germans is unknown. Because cartoons are created to appeal to a specific readership they are more likely to reflect the stereotypes and prejudices held by the cartoon's readership rather than affect them, although cartoons, as part of the wider media, are not inactive in the process of stereotype formation.

There is evidence that, at times when Anglo-German relations are strained, British cartoons contain unfavourable stereotypes, even presenting Germans in terms of images of the enemy. This is usually in response to or commenting on such crises, where British interests are thought to be at risk. Whether such stereotypes have any long-term bearing on the nature of British-German relations or the way Germans and Germany are perceived in Britain remains, however, debatable.

3.3 Symbols

The term 'symbol' is here used to cover a wide spectrum of images in cartooning. In the following I analyse the most common symbols used since 1945 to identify and characterize Germans and Germany in British cartoons. This will be done with reference to their origin and their historical development.

3.3.1 Allegorical human figures

Allegorical national personifications are significant indicators of the way nations wish to be seen or are seen by others and are easily manipulated to this end. Therein lies also the secret of their longevity:

Die Nationalfiguren sind Gefäße, in die man jede Suppe gießen kann, eine wohlschmeckende wie eine versalzene. Sie leben nicht, sondern werden je nach Bedarf belebt. Und da sie sich jedem her- und hingeben, brauchen sie um ihre Unsterblichkeit nicht zu fürchten.⁴⁷⁸

Such personifications belong to the basic pictorial vocabulary of cartoons. They are generally used in contemporary cartoons to satirize or lampoon the nation thus caricatured. Traditionally the most important national personification in the German context is 'der deutsche Michel'. Michel is one of the oldest national personifications, pre-dating John Bull,

⁴⁷⁸ P. Dittmar, "Ein man theurer dann 1000 Weiber": Die Nation, Wie Man Sie Sehen Soll', *Welt*, 23 September 1995, p. G1.

Marianne and Uncle Sam.⁴⁷⁹ Yet he does not occur in contemporary British cartoons and is, indeed, barely known outside Germany.⁴⁸⁰ One of the primary reasons for this may be the figure's primarily negative autostereotypic function. With his gullibility and simple-mindedness German Michel conflicts with the positive autostereotype of Germany as a nation of thinkers and poets ('ein Volk der Dichter und Denker').⁴⁸¹ He personifies neither Wilhelmine Prussian nor Nazi militarism nor, to take a more modern stereotype, beer-bellied, cigar-smoking affluence; these being traditionally the most common images of Germany abroad. Thus, because he would *not* be seen as a representative German figure outside Germany, he is useless in the game of national identification cartoonists play. He is, internationally speaking, not in the same league as those figures which function successfully both as auto- and heterostereotypes, such as John Bull, Uncle Sam and Marianne. He lacks John Bull's robustness and confidence, Uncle Sam's smartness and Marianne's elegance and moodiness.⁴⁸²

3.3.1.1 Germania

Unlike Michel, the female figure traditionally called Germania is a symbol of Germany in Britain and elsewhere, while now being virtually forgotten in Germany:

Sie ist aus dem Alltag gänzlich verschwunden, nachdem sie im Ersten Weltkrieg als Integrationsfigur der Wehertüchtigung oder für die Zeichnung von Kriegsanleihen eingesetzt wurde und Hitlers Traum von der Hauptstadt 'Germania' des Großdeutschen Tausendjährigen Reiches in Anknüpfung an die Kaisertradition, zu errichten in Berlin, in die Massengräber von Krieg und Verfolgung führte.⁴⁸³

In cartoon iconography she is a hybrid character with two identities reflecting dual facets of the German womanhood stereotype. These two identities share the common feature of an

⁴⁷⁹ While the ultimate roots of the figure are unclear, 'der deutsch Michel' appears in Sebastian Franck's *Sprichwörtern*, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1541, while his first visual representation dates from 1808. His popularity and national identification developed, however, during the *Vormärz* period of 1815 to 1848. In 1848 he became a symbolic national figure. T. Szarota, *Niemecki Michel* (Warsaw: PWN, 1988), p. 570.

⁴⁸⁰ This said, one of the few foreign artists to use the Michel figure was Sir David Low. Michel was disapproved of both by the Nazis and the Communist East German regime. Szarota, p. 572.

⁴⁸¹ Koch-Hillebrecht, p.145. The phrase was originally used by the eighteenth-century satirist and Rubezahl folklorist Johann Musäus and repeated by the French travellogist Germaine de Staël in *De l'Allemagne* (1810). It was modified by the Austrian satirist Karl Kraus in 1908 as 'the nation of judges and hangmen' (*Volk der Richter und Henker*). cf. *Zitate und Aussprüche*, rev. by W. Scholze-Stubenrecht, Duden 12 (Mannheim: Duden, 1998), p. 489.

⁴⁸² cf. *Komische Nachbarn*, ed. by R. Dietrich (Paris: Goethe-Institut, 1988) pp. 6-7.

⁴⁸³ M.-L. von Plessen, 'Germania aus dem Fundus', in *Marianne und Germania 1789-1889*, ed. by von Plessen (Berlin: Argon, 1996), pp. 31-36 (pp. 31-32).

‘Aryan’ appearance which consist of blond, plaited hair, as well as other stereotyped Nordic features such as a smallish, straight nose, and bright, lively eyes.

The figure of the blond-plaited, armour-clad *Fräulein* has her origins in ancient Roman representations of ‘Germania’ aimed at the imperial integration of the Germanic tribes. She is shown on coins and in sculpture as a powerful female warrior or war goddess with shield and spear and put-up hair – a barbarian version of Minerva.⁴⁸⁴ From the Napoleonic era onwards ‘Germania’ became established in Germany as a nationalist symbol, finding her artistic apotheosis in a westward-facing monumental bronze statue erected above Rudesheim on the Rhine to commemorate both the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813/14 and the Proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871.⁴⁸⁵ The so-called *Niederwalddenkmal* shows her as a handsome young Valkyrie with an oak-leaf garland placed upon a great swath of flowing hair, a sword at her side and the imperial crown held high in her right hand.⁴⁸⁶ A number of well-known contemporary cultural figures fit into and extend the Germania image: such as Helga, the domineering wife of the comic strip Viking Hagar the Horrible, or the traditional, populist image of the Wagnerian Valkyrie, Brünnhilde.

Wotan’s assertive, breast-plated war-maiden with her winged Nordic helmet, spear and soprano build has become a stereotype of German opera and culture in general. She often appears in this context as, for example, in Jak’s cartoon (*CWTR*, pp. 136-37) dealing with the defection of East German opera singers. The Valkyrie is the central figure flanked by her barbarian Teutonic chorus. More significantly, these Brünnhilde elements have become linked in cartoons (as in popular culture) with the Germania image, to the extent that it is difficult to see this part of her identity as distinct from the Wagnerian character. For this reason I have chosen to refer to this part of the Germania character as Germania-Brünnhilde. The Viking horned or winged helmet, like the spiked helmet, the armour and the spear are symbols of the German militarist tendency. They suggest that this tendency is an ancient Germanic quality and a timeless constant in German national consciousness.⁴⁸⁷ More important, though, they are closely linked to the romantic, Wagnerian German cultural image popular in English-speaking countries.

⁴⁸⁴ A style of Germanic personification from the last years of Hadrian (134-38 CE) onwards. Previous to this she had usually been depicted as a long-haired, long-robed cowering captive with a forlorn countenance, to propagandize victories over the Germanic tribes. E. Künzl, ‘Germania’, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, ed. by J. Balty and others, 8 vols (Zurich: Artemis, 1981-97), IV (1988), pp. 182-85.

⁴⁸⁵ cf. von Plessen, p. 33.

⁴⁸⁶ See L. Tittel, *Das Niederwalddenkmal 1871-83* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1979). The Niederwald memorial belongs to a group of some eleven nineteenth-century monumental national memorials reflecting a new-found sense of German cultural and political nationhood.

⁴⁸⁷ cf. Dietrich, p.12.

Vicky shows Adenauer in the Germania-Brünnhilde guise under the mistletoe ready for Mendès-France's kiss of reconciliation on Christmas Eve, 1954 ('...and a good time was had by all', *Daily Mirror*, 24 December)⁴⁸⁸ Another Vicky cartoon shows Erhard speaking for Germany as Harold Wilson's corpulent spouse (*CWTR*, pp. 166-67). National leaders are often drawn as personifications of their countries and not just representatives of a particular political viewpoint. As such Erhard is more than just a stereotyped German wife; he is a domestic Germania with the attractive Iron Cross necklace substituting for Brünnhilde's usual martial accoutrements.

Riddell's cartoon at the time of the Ridley Affair depicts a diminutive John Bull seeking refuge from the ravaging Ridley bulldog in the arms of a motherly Germania-Brünnhilde (*Sunday Correspondent*, 15 July 1990). A later Garland cartoon shows John Major as John Bull upstaged by Helmut Kohl (*Weekly Telegraph*, 3-9 November 1993). Kohl's Germania-Brünnhilde is the German counterpart to John Bull; the Union Jack waistcoat proclaims Bull's Britishness, rather than his traditional Englishness.

Germania's other cartoon identity is that of a young, attractive German woman dressed in a dirndl or similar traditional garb. This other aspect of Germania's personality often displays (pseudo-)naïveté coupled with feminine seductiveness and is derived from the figure of Margarete/Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust*, a character who entered popular culture in the nineteenth century and thereby found her way into cartoons.⁴⁸⁹ Gretchen's hairstyle of plaits hanging loose or twisted around her head in neat, compact order became part of the stage tradition of playing the role and has subsequently been transferred to the Germania stereotype of German womanhood. A cartoon figure which displays these identity tabs can, therefore, be described as Germania-Gretchen. She can be seen at her most innocent in Low's cartoon 'Sawing through a Woman' where she is depicted as the political magicians' youthful and innocent assistant-cum-victim, not a little alarmed by the earnestness with which Molotov and Marshall are approaching their task (*ES*, 13 April 1948). Low always labelled his Germania to make clear whom he was referring to.

A Germania image in the style of seductive Gretchen is one frequently used by Cummings in presenting 'female' German chancellors courting or being courted by Western and Communist heads of state. Adenauer plays the female role (again), suggesting to de Gaulle a comfortable political arrangement involving Macmillan, in one cartoon (1963), while Cummings's portrait of Brandt being courted by Brezhnev also contains elements of the

⁴⁸⁸ Reprod. in E. Bliesener, *Europäische Integration als Thema der Karikatur* (Heidelberg: Impuls, 1962), [n.p.].

⁴⁸⁹ Dietrich, p. 8.

femme fatale, her long stockinged legs most likely being an allusion to Marlene Dietrich's Lola in *The Blue Angel* (CWTR, pp. 180-81).

While Germania can be identified in one or other persona, the figure is a true hybrid because it is also possible to see different personality elements incorporated into one figure. Vicky depicts her as a well-built soloist singing patriotically at the command of her accompanist Adenauer (*News Chronicle*, 1 April 1952). While the size and role suggest Brünnhilde, the facial features and allure are more akin to Gretchen. The Jak cartoon described above (15 August 1989) is similarly ambiguous in this respect. Brünnhilde's helmet and spear are missing and there is something of Gretchen in her appearance.

This is probably due to several conceits. Good cartoonists try to employ symbols in a dynamic and ingenious way. As long as the beholder is able to comprehend quickly the imagery used, cartoonists (unlike icon painters) do not have imposed conventions for figure drawing. Moreover, symbolic imagery that has been drawn from different sources, as the contemporary Germania image has, becomes an amalgam that continues to be altered and modified, added to and embellished, making the clear definition of its constituent elements increasingly difficult with time.

Germania represents both the German nation and the German national character as well as German womanhood. There are Germania elements in the representation of 'everyday' German women in a great many British cartoons. For example, Searle's Rhine scene contains a matronly figure seated on the river bank which has elements of the trio – Nordic helmet, armour, and Gretchen-like apron – while his Bayreuth *Hausfrau* returning from a shopping foray has as a matter of course a Brünnhilde spear in her hand and a winged hat on her head.⁴⁹⁰ More often, however, caricatures of German women draw upon the Gretchen image of dirndl wearing, blond-plaited models of domestic virtue.

3.3.1.2 The Bavarian

In the last thirty years the figure of the 'Bavarian' (or in terms of English language nomenclature of its component parts: southern German-speaker) has been a pictorial metonym for the German nation in British cartoons, a role up till then chiefly played by Germania. This shift may be put down to the increasing identification by audiences of a German male type, popularly known from films or television programmes with a German content and not necessarily war films full of villainous Nazis; continental holidays to places like Oberammergau, the Black Forest, or the Alps; or German culture abroad in the form of Oompah bands, beer and *Schützenfeste*, and German folk dancing. This demonstrates the dynamic of image evolution. Because of both its public exposure and exotic appeal an

⁴⁹⁰ Searle and Huber, 'The Rhine 1963' and 'Bayreuth 1964'.

atypical cultural group has effectively displaced an ancient allegorical personification and shaped the image of a whole nation.⁴⁹¹

Unlike Germania-Brünnhilde (though not Gretchen to the same extent), he has a specific regional look that, by synecdoche, has come to be seen popularly as uniformly German. Unlike Gretchen he seldom appears attractive with his broad girth and often drunken manners. His 'uniform' consists of a Tyrolean hat with chamois 'shaving brush' or feathers, lederhosen, curved 'Black forest' pipe and/or beer stein. He personifies rustic and romantic Germany: German folklore, the *Oktoberfest* and *Gemütlichkeit*, simplicity, pastoral purity and an unsophisticated enjoyment of life.

There are also negative undertones in the motif of the Bavarian: the lederhosen wearer is often associated in cartoons with attributes such as simple-mindedness, coarseness, ponderousness, and nationalism.⁴⁹²

John Bull is depicted arm-in-arm with such a figure in Riddell's metaphor of improved British-German relations (*CWTR*, pp. 66-67). They stand in front of portraits of Queen Victoria and William II, grandmother and grandson as well as personifications of their countries' imperial ideals. In this way the historic and familial ties between the two nations are evoked. The two men have exchanged hats as a further gesture of friendship. They look like brothers, both having the same genial rotundity. But whereas John Bull has a jolly, bright-eyed expression, his Bavarian counterpart seems less transparent with opaque spectacles and equivocal eyebrows. In reality, there is more homogeneity in the images of John Bull and his Queen Empress than is to be found in the bucolic Bavarian and the uniformed Prussian Kaiser.

Such subtleties appear inconsequential in dealing with an out-group image, because the in-group beholders are generally not attuned to them: Bavarians and Prussians are first and foremost Germans. Moreover, unlike John Bull there is nothing in the Bavarian's appearance that blatantly suggests patriotic pan-Germanness. That is until one identifies the lederhosen as the German answer to John Bull's Union Jack waistcoat. The lederhosen so becomes a symbol of German national identity.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ cf. Koch-Hillebrecht, p. 140.

⁴⁹² Dietrich, p. 11.

⁴⁹³ It is tempting to speculate what these items of clothing might subconsciously symbolize. The waistcoat covers John Bull's rotundity (a man with a globe-like girth, contented, well-fed but also greedy), whilst the lederhosen covers the 'naughty bits' of an earthy individual: a inexplicable, hidden zone of sinister passions. Certainly, lederhosen are a sartorial expression of virility. Popular in alpine countries after their invention in the seventeenth century, they testified to a man's hunting skills and thus his sexual attractiveness, being made by tradition from the hide of a deer shot by the wearer. Thus sociologist Roland Girtler: 'Young men who were wearing lederhose [...] were much respected by the ladies and were made more welcome when trying to climb through their sweetheart's window.'

In Franklin's *Daily Mirror* cartoon on the foundation of the *NPD* (1964) the Bavarian in his lederhosen is a symbol of German democracy thirsty for intoxicating 'brown ale'. Elsewhere, elements of Prussian and Bavarian appearance are combined in cartoons. Lederhosen and spiked helmet as well as an overflowing beer stein are part of the German gestalt of the ERM body-crusher in Krauze's satirical illustration from the *Guardian* (3 August 1993).

German or other national leaders seeking or showing German sympathy are often depicted in Bavarian costume, this being seen as recognizably, 'typically' and appropriately German. Thus attired, with only his chamois tuft replaced with Cross of Lorraine (the Free French emblem), Charles de Gaulle strolls together with his Gretchen Kurt Kiesinger (*Daily Express*, 1 March 1967). More recently a Bavarian Helmut Kohl plays the tune of European currencies in his G(ERM)an band (*Daily Telegraph*, 7 August 1993). In a Brookes cartoon Kenneth Clarke, John Major's last Chancellor of the Exchequer, appears outside No. 11 Downing Street holding high the red ministerial box containing the autumn budget (*The Times*, 26 November 1996). The cartoon is a criticism of Clarke's pro-European stance and shows him dressed as a Bavarian, a full beer stein in his other hand, and in his mouth a large Black Forest pipe, on the bowl of which is the face of Helmut Kohl. Clarke wears a manic, indeed evil expression, while two pigeons at his feet express doubts about his trustworthiness.

In the European context the Bavarian stands for Germany and increasingly appears as such in the role of a bully or a giant. For example, David Simonds depicts personifications of the EU nations in bed together under a 'Ring of Stars' blanket (*Guardian*, 21 November 1994). John Bull is hiving off his end of the bed with a saw. The remainder of the bed is dominated by the Bavarian with the representative Frenchman Monsieur Dupont, characterized by beret, horizontally striped shirt and moustache, between him and the separatist Bull. On the other side of the Bavarian in a huddle at the edge of the bed are the other Europeans. Comparative size is most significant in this composition, the largest individual being the Bavarian, followed in stature by John Bull, then M. Dupont, and finally the much smaller national figures.

The Bavarian can also be seen as representing German manhood in the same way as Germania represents German womanhood. Searle seats the two together at the 'Loreley Campingplatz' although the Tyrolean hat has been replaced by a Viking helmet no doubt to match that of his female partner ('The Rhine, 1963'). Cummings depicts Hans out of uniform in the other staple of German attire (*Daily Express*, 24 February 1967). Germans abroad are easily recognized by their Bavarian appearance: Emmwood's wealthy peacemaker in Britain

(unpublished, 1973) and Jak's visitors to Northern Ireland (*CWTR*, pp. 144-45) being two examples. In Mahood's cartoon on German humour Bavarians are the sadomasochist MC's jolly-faced assistants, ready with gladiatorial weapons and buckets of foulness to help make the audience 'laff' (*Daily Mail*, 14 May 1993).

One of the most intriguing cartoons of recent years contains both national personifications in an allegory of German reunification (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95). The Bavarian with his Germania-Gretchen counterpart are *Adam und Eva* in a German Garden of Eden. The cartoon offers a complex variety of symbols centred around the couple representing the two Germanies. By synecdoche their southern German appearance and the alpine background represent the whole country. Pigs are also associated with this rural image as well as being traditional satanic symbols to complement the serpent of temptation that Eva has spotted hanging from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. This is an allusion transcending the German stereotype. The serpent's spiked helmet and swastikas are powerful totems of German militarism and fascism and, as such, are linked to the supposed German national character.

In the cartoon these are elements of an allegory which is not limited to stereotypes but contains a large measure of originality as a cartoon statement. The animals and insects have symbolic meanings drawn from nature, art and mythology; in the case of the butterfly of nascent Naziism this symbolism is the more poignant.⁴⁹⁴ This cartoon is a good example of how stereotypes and traditional symbols can be deployed to say something fresh, original and meaningful.

3.3.2 Historical figures

Cartoonists live with the difficulty of having to make abstract concepts concrete. Historic processes and dealings between states or nations are frequently transformed into relations between well-known individuals from history or from the present. Cartoonists also use historical figures to project continuity into the present or to draw political or ideological parallels. Alternatively, they are used to make differences more apparent and illustrate the path that has been taken since a specific point in time.

Certain figures are taken as particularly representative of their country. These are most often heads of state and/or government. This was particularly the case with Helmut Kohl, whose length of time in office, physical presence and position on the international political stage particularly after 1990 assured him a public profile in Britain unparalleled by his

⁴⁹⁴ Renowned Swiss psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross recalls having seen little butterfly images in a barracks at Majdanek concentration camp. Children awaiting execution had scratched them into the wall with their finger nails. She believed that those children knew that, when they walked to their death, they would be freed like a butterfly coming out of a cocoon. Related in the BBC Radio 4 broadcast 'All Things Considered', 25 September 1983.

predecessors in Bonn. Many more historical figures appear as mediators and conciliators, but the greatest number are depictions of former enemies and opponents.⁴⁹⁵ The latter is certainly the case in British cartoons of the Germans which feature Adolf Hitler. He is the only historical German to appear with any frequency over the last fifty-five odd years.

3.3.2.1 Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) succeeded the Kaiser as *the* German bogey man for the British in the twentieth century. He can be said to have achieved iconic immortality. He is still very much alive in the British cultural consciousness and continues to feature iconographically in the British media whenever any story breaks that can be linked to the Nazi period.⁴⁹⁶ He is a mainstay of popular literature – Robert Harris’s *Fatherland* (1992) being a good example of a recent bestseller – as well as of non-fiction aimed at a broad readership.⁴⁹⁷ There has been little diminution in this trend. In February 1999 a new magazine was launched entitled *Hitler’s Third Reich*, featuring both the dictator and the swastika prominently on the cover.⁴⁹⁸ The charge frequently levelled at the British public that it has an obsession with all things Nazi (as well as with the Second World War) would appear to be justified given this evidence.⁴⁹⁹

Frequently just the image of Adolf Hitler, like that of the swastika, is sufficient to attract reader/receiver interest and help sell another Nazi-related story. Paul Slater’s colour cartoon cover for the weekly news digest *The Week* is a late twentieth century example (1 August 1998). It shows a terrified Adolf Hitler pressed against a brick wall seen through gun sights fixed on his heart and was designed to sell the cover story about ‘The Plot to Kill Hitler’.

In cartoons, at least, the figure of Hitler has generally been used to point out the Nazi skeleton in the West German cupboard or to cast suspicion on West German democracy and political ambition. Of the cartoons that feature Hitler ‘beyond the grave’, almost all have appeared in the ‘popular’ press. Drawing for the *Daily Express* Cummings depicts a much

⁴⁹⁵ This paragraph is based on Dietrich, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁹⁶ For example, when the Federal German Culture Minister Michael Naumann claimed in 1999 that ‘the interest in the war had actually become the spiritual core of Britain’s national identity’, the *Daily Mail* illustrated its coverage of the Naumann interview with a photograph of Hitler giving the Nazi salute. R. Alleyne, ‘Don’t Mention the War’, and M. Almond, ‘Why It Is Vital We Never Forget’, 15 February 1999, p. 16.

⁴⁹⁷ A recent example is John Cornwell’s critical study of Eugenio Pacelli (Pius XII) which was aimed at this market with the title *Hitler’s Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (London: Viking, 1999).

⁴⁹⁸ According to the launch television commercial it ‘gives the facts and reveals the secrets of the most evil empire in history’.

⁴⁹⁹ It must be added the Nazi obsession is not a peculiarly British phenomenon, as it applies equally in other countries such as Australia or the United States. However, the constant repetition of Second World War themes in British cultural life does seem to point to a national fixation. This was part of Naumann’s argument. cf. A. Buncombe, ‘Britons Glory in the War, Says German Minister’, *Independent*, 15 February 1999, p. 7.

travelled Führer waiting to see Erhard, who is preparing a list of people to be introduced to Queen Elizabeth on the eve of her first visit to West Germany (17 May 1965). Nearly 30 years later Caldwell shows a doddering, centenarian Führer following the fortunes of modern Germany from his South American hideaway (*CWTR*, pp. 90-91). The occasion was the World Cup match between Germany and England and is typical of the sort of competitive event between the two countries which could result in a German victory and which, therefore, is seen as an opportunity for Hitler's plans for England to be finally realized.

The idea that Hitler was still alive somewhere in South America appealed to cartoonists from the 1940s onwards, but by the end of the eighties such cartoons had naturally become rarer. Caldwell's image of an ailing old man in decrepit surroundings is symptomatic of the demise of this fantasy.

At the time of the British currency crisis a cartoon appeared in the 'popular' pornographic newspaper, the *Daily Sport*, in which an ageless Hitler is shown finally stuffing Britannia (1 October 1992). It is an extreme use of metaphor in order to communicate the idea of Britain's submission to Germany, and powerfully combines the frisson of a Hitler-Nazi image with the scopophilic attraction of a comely, half-naked woman engaged in sexual intercourse. The image, whilst extreme, was not surprising for a newspaper with a high level of suggestive content and a readership that is made up almost exclusively of males aged 15 to 30 years. However, it is not always Hitler himself who appears. Vicky's 1947 cartoon from the mass circulation Liberal daily the *News Chronicle* comments on the difficulties faced by the Allies of German re-education following the defeat of Naziism: the young child being disciplined by the British schoolmaster looks remarkably like the old Führer. In a *Private Eye* cartoon from 1965 it is Hitler's persona which is being evoked and contrasted with that of Albert Schweitzer as an alternative for imitation (*CWTR*, pp. 88-89). In the early sixties the Eichmann trial and the foundation of the neo-Nazi *NPD* kept the idea of the Nazi-German alive in the popular imagination. The early use of the bogey image of Hitler and his henchmen is demonstrated by a Vicky cartoon published only a month after Germany's surrender ('Bow-wow', *News Chronicle*, 6 June 1945). It refers to a speech given by Churchill during the general election campaign immediately following the end of the war in Europe. Labour front line politicians Clement Atlee, Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison are portrayed respectively as Hitler, Göring and Himmler in a reference to Churchill's forecast about the future of personal savings under a Labour administration. Vicky had a propensity for evoking Hitler in cartoons throughout the following two decades.

On the other hand, the image of the Nazi leader is sufficient to suggest where modern German sympathies actually lie, despite the country's success as a democracy. In Emmwood's cartoon from the *Daily Mail*, Hitler's upper body and Marlene Dietrich's lower

are combined in an advertising campaign designed to attract German airline customers (CWTR, pp. 178-79).

Hitler's distinctive moustache and forelock are often sufficient to make the connection with the old regime. They have passed into twentieth century iconography. Vicky's comment on the support received by the neo-Nazi *Sozialistische Reichspartei* in the 1951 Lower Saxon elections is set in a village where everything, including the birds, is tainted by these features (*News Chronicle*, 9 May 1951). Yet they need not even be obvious. In a Jak cartoon from the *Evening Standard* not only does the sinister figure behind the English couple sport the 'Hitler mou' but it can also be seen in a small picture on the wall (1 February 1973). Vicky was to evoke the Hitlerian shadow in cartoons for the following two decades.

Perhaps the most famous use of the moustache and forelock was in Garland's cover for the issue of the *Spectator* that printed the interview with Nicholas Ridley, the Secretary for Trade and Industry in the Thatcher government (14 July 1990). Ridley had spoken contemptuously of the role of the Germans in the process of European development. Garland's picture of the politician as a graffiti artist was almost as provocative. Ridley, in fact, had not directly compared Kohl to Hitler. But the simplicity of the cartoon illustrates the simplistic nature of prejudice: for Ridley, the Germans of today could only be understood by using yesterday's yardstick.

3.3.2.2 Helmut Kohl

Dr Kohl's cartoon profile in Britain developed from one of relative political insignificance to that of a physical and political colossus in the course of his fourteen years as Federal German Chancellor. This reflected his role as Germany's longest-serving twentieth century leader, as an architect of the Unification of East and West Germany in 1990, and as an increasingly influential player in European and world affairs. His term in office (1982-98) and his achievements have been compared (not always favourably) to those of his predecessors Otto, Fürst von Bismarck (1815-1898) Chancellor for twenty-three years and engineer of the first unification of Germany in 1871, and Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967) founding father and, for fourteen years, first Chancellor of the Federal Republic. When Kohl (b. 1930) left office it was as the first post-war Chancellor to be unseated at a general election.

Kohl's appeal as a cartoon figure increased concomitantly with his girth, itself a measure of his political weight. By the early nineties he had become the archetypal fat German in British cartoons. This feature had been largely absent from Kohl caricatures during the eighties. A Garland cartoon from 1987 (*Independent*, 9 September) shows Kohl and Erich Honecker meeting through a hole in the Berlin Wall. Kohl appears only marginally larger, although in reality the East German leader was physically relatively small in stature. Following the fall of the Wall in 1989 Kohl became a more prominent international figure, a

fact reflected in cartoons. Brookes draws Kohl as West Germany consuming East Germany in a two-image colour sequence for the *Spectator*'s feature article on 24 February 1990 (CWTR, pp. 34-35). It is a prophetic comment in advance of the first free elections to the East German 'Volkskammer', in which the cartoonist employs a classic metaphor of size and synecdoche: Kohl is the larger part overwhelming the smaller and is the country he heads as political leader.

Over the course of the nineties Kohl has appeared in various guises according to the analogy used by the artist. He is a harmless-looking giant lounging on a sunbed in German tricolour swimming trunks and spiked helmet in a Gaskill response to the Ridley affair (*Today*, 13 July 1990). When Kohl caved in to the demands of striking civil servants Rushton connected this with Marlene Dietrich's death by depicting him as Lola in *The Blue Angel* (CWTR, pp. 182-83). Kohl is an operatic Brünnhilde hogging the limelight and eclipsing the diminutive John Bull figure of Prime Minister Major (Garland, *Weekly Telegraph*, 3-9 November 1993).

Kohl has the role of a distraught Siegfried unknowingly kicking the *Rheingold* into the waters swirling around him in an allegory of the troubled state of the German economy seven years after reunification (Richard Willson, *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1997, section 5: p. 5). This colour illustration accompanied Niall Ferguson's article 'The Golden Mirage of Helmut's Fourth Reich'. Walhalla is aflame in the background, as a dwarfish Theo Waigel clutches his 'balls' beside the huge, obese figure of Kohl dressed in an Euro coin tunic and EU star wristlets. The Federal Finance Minister had just made a botched attempt to revalue the country's gold reserves in order to reduce the deficit to levels in line with the Maastricht convergence criteria. Before them a muscular arm appears from the mere holding high a golden sword. This draws the Arthurian legend of Excalibur into the cartoon's loosely-based Nibelungen context.⁵⁰⁰ The suggestion may be that in the British example of monetary stringency lies the goal of economic success eluding the German politicians. This is a complex and multilayered image, of the kind which not only requires time for extended consideration but also an ability to link with the sophisticated cultural allusions being made. The readership of the *Sunday Times* – a weekend paper for the educated, conservative middle classes – is obviously assumed to possess both. The vibrant red, gold, black and pale blue of the cartoon's colour scheme, the drama of its composition (flames, flying Valkyrie, sword from the lake), and the quality of its caricature, which is free of the often tedious addition of labels, make this image attractive and compelling. Yet it is by no means one which is easily interpreted, a fact which would be made more difficult without the context of the article it

⁵⁰⁰ This indeed reflects the developmental interplay between the two from their common origin in Norse sagas.

illustrates. Steve Bell has said that ‘people assume a cartoon to be simplistic, but actually they’re not and are often saying quite complicated things’. Willson’s cartoon verifies this point.

In recent years Kohl was increasingly depicted in ways suggesting pathos and anachronism in his European and domestic political positions. He is, for example, a relentless Euro crusader flogging a dying EU horse in a 1997 cartoon by Riddell (*Economist*, 12 April); a decrepit bulldozer with shattered windscreen glasses driving away young voters (*Economist*, 30 August 1997); and a flustered Teuton gladiator trying to fight off the swift aircraft-borne attack of a grinning Gerhard Schröder (Ingram Pinn, *FT*, 21 September 1998). One extraordinary cartoon from 1997 (Riddell, *Economist*, 28 June) depicts Kohl as a diminutive medieval king on an enormous throne. He is chained to two huge armoured barons, in a reversal of the usual size imagery. The barons represent the *Länder* fettering the Kohl government through their powers of veto and delay in the *Bundesrat*, the upper house of the federal parliament.

The ‘devouring’ metaphor is an archetypal fear image frequently used when depicting Kohl.⁵⁰¹ His is the mouth of the dark Eurotunnel, into which John Major and Kenneth Clarke are being perilously drawn in their dinghy (Richard Willson, *The Times*, 8 November 1996). Kohl is the big, evil-looking catfish whose razor sharp jaws are about to snap around the small mousefish Major (*The Times*, 23 November 1996).⁵⁰² Or he is a giant with the EU-flag bib about to savour the tasty morsel Europe (*Times Magazine*, 8 March 1997).

The size comparison is a constant in almost all cartoons. Kohl invariably towers over all other figures in the composition. His features are generally considerably larger than anyone else’s.⁵⁰³ This is not just a reference to the chancellor’s real large physical presence (for he is both tall and fat) and to his position as leader of a powerful nation, but can also be interpreted in terms of the ‘giant’ metaphor. The giant represents danger, threat and the domination and intimidation of others; he is a ‘bogey man’, a monster, a personification of evil.⁵⁰⁴ Yet, like classic giant images such as the Philistine Goliath in I Samuel 17 or the Giant in ‘Jack and the

⁵⁰¹ The devouring image has a long tradition and is based on a primordial fear. Consider, for example, the biblical exhortation to persecuted Christians in the first century, repeated in the monastic hour of Compline initiated by Benedict of Nursia: ‘Be on the alert! Wake up! Your enemy the devil, like a roaring lion, prowls around looking for someone to devour’ (I Peter 5.8).

⁵⁰² Part of Brookes’s ‘Nature Notes’ series, it explains that ‘*Helmutus federalis* has a gargantuan appetite for very small fry and other fish that have had their chips.’ Reprod. in Brookes, *Nature Notes* (London: Little, Brown, 1997), p. 63.

⁵⁰³ See, for example, Kohl compared to other world leaders in *CWTR*, pp. 124-25, 170-71.

⁵⁰⁴ There are exceptions, such as the fabled good giant Rübzahl of the Sudeten Mountains.

Beanstalk', he only appears invincible and can, in fact, be overcome through bravery, skill and wit.

Cartoonists may, however, ironically reverse this scenario. In cartoons commenting on the Ridley affair, for example, the Trade and Industry Secretary – a would-be David – loses the battle with the giant Kohl precisely through a lack of wit and an excess of bravado (see, for example, *CWTR*, pp. 172-73), Bell's cartoon on the currency crisis shows Major, Mitterrand and other witless European leaders at the mercy of the giant spike-helmeted dominatrix Kohl in his dungeon (*CWTR*, pp. 206-7). They have failed to outsmart the ERM monster.

One thing is clear: Kohl's departure from office in 1998 has deprived cartoonists of one of the most caricaturable contemporary political personalities. Even despite his subsequent entanglement in the funding scandals besetting the CDU, he has effectively departed once and for all from the drawing boards of British cartoonists.

3.3.3 **Military symbolism**

Perhaps the largest and most significant body of symbols used in the depiction of Germans and Germany are those that evoke the country's militaristic past. They present aspects of the national character closely connected with the exercise of political and military power over the last two hundred years and in particular since unification in 1871. The frequent use of Prussian and National Socialist icons in cartoons since 1945 suggests that contemporary Germans are just 'chips off the old block'.

3.3.3.1 **The Prussian officer**

The German officer – a man of Prussian bearing, arrogant, aristocratic, emotionless, wearing a spiked helmet or peaked Nazi cap, jackboots, and complete with monocle and duelling scar – has been common currency in British cartoons since the Second World War. His character was formed by the Prussian military machine and the governmental attitudes begun under Frederick the Great in the eighteenth century and represented in the Germany of Bismarck, William II and Hitler: a military nation, materially rich, emotionally deprived and fired with barbarian belligerence.⁵⁰⁵

It is an unsympathetic heteroimage that has been perpetuated in the 'popular' press particularly to lend support to the maxim 'once a German, always a German'. The character can also be seen as a German archetype, part of the concept of the enemy in our midst. Germans pose a threat, 'because of their habits' as Ridley crisply put it.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁵ Dietrich, p.10.

⁵⁰⁶ See D. Lawson, 'Saying the Unsayable about the Germans', *Spectator*, 14 July 1990, pp. 8-10.

In Cummings's cartoon on the re-armament debate the officer class is presented as a conspiratorial group of helmeted, mostly anonymous 'new Allies' ('Easter Bonnets', Daily Express, 10 April 1950).⁵⁰⁷ Artistically it is a study in points, from the phallic spiked helmets to noses and fingers, reinforcing the harshness and severity of the military image. These are singularly unattractive men with menacing eyes, shaven heads and sour, downturned mouths. The rise of the *NPD* in the sixties caused alarm in Britain (as in Germany) and was again a trigger for the archetypal figure of the German officer. Jak's cartoon (*Evening Standard*, 22 November 1966) shows two party supporters in conversation, their links to Naziism and its atrocities made obvious.

Searle's dust jacket design for a new edition of *Haven't We Met Before Somewhere?* (1972) suggests a line of succession from a sabre swinging Wilhelmine imperialist via a goose-stepping Nazi to an apparently benign German businessman.⁵⁰⁸ Given his immediate background what, says Searle, does this German's proffered hand really mean?

Ancient relatives are introduced to the Queen on her first visit to the united Germany in a cartoon by Jak (*CWTR*, pp. 108-9). They include several imperial relics looking suitably anachronistic in full-dress uniform. Handlebar moustaches add a convincing touch of authenticity to their martial appearance. There is nothing menacing about this image, unlike some of Jak's other work which features Nazi officer figures. His 'Operation Sea Lion' links the German attempt to conquer Britain in 1941 with the contribution of Federal German troops to NATO exercises there (*Evening Standard*, 29 November 1960). The officers involved appear no different from their 1941 predecessors. By concealing their eyes beneath their peaked caps Jak masks a vital tab of their human identity, making their smugness seem even more malign.

In another Jak cartoon, not dealing with a German theme, the two members of the EEC 'work police' are without doubt modelled on Gestapo or SS officers (*Evening Standard*, 21 May 1992). By linking such figures with the EEC the cartoonist is reinforcing a negative image of the organization in comparison with the positive autoimage of the hard-working British entrepreneur.

Griffin's cartoon of an English holidaymaker's confrontation with German aggression contains an officer figure, albeit in swimming trunks but still recognizable from his mean look, monocle and duelling scar (*CWTR*, pp. 150-51). A similar scenario is to be found in a Cookson cartoon where a group of Nazi tourists are planning their sunbed occupation strategy (*CWTR*, pp. 148-49). Mahood's comment on the nature of German humour presents an officer

⁵⁰⁷ Reprod. in Cummings, *These Uproarious Years* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1954) where it was entitled 'One of the Allies Now'.

⁵⁰⁸ First published in *Ronald Searle in Perspective* (Sevenoaks: New English Library, 1984), p. 131

figure with jodhpurs, epaulettes, whip and crazed look as MC of the 'Monty Goebbels Flying Circus' (*Daily Mail*, 14 May 1993).

Following the purchase of Rover by BMW, Caldwell's cartoon was published (*Daily Star*, 1 February 1994). In it a be-monocled German officer is giving a Hitler salute from the new range of Land Rovers, suggesting that not only are Nazi ambitions being fulfilled but this is also part of a German-Japanese conspiracy to capture the British car industry. This fact is evident from the Japanese drivers and the vehicle's number plate. As Ferney and Tenberg point out, here was a good case of myth veiling reality, for the takeover was not about invasion but rather a direct result of the Conservative government's espousal of market forces irrespective of national interest.⁵⁰⁹

The assertive Prussian officer is also to be found in the context of sport. Allen's cartoon from the *Daily Express* shows such a figure representing the German Football League bullying the European Football Association into doing his bidding (9 October 1992).

3.3.3.2 The simple soldier

The figure of the German soldier in British cartoons functions in a similar way to that of the officer. Like the officer he represents the penchant for military order which is seen as irrevocably part of the German soul. There is also the same streak of belligerence in him. Fighting wars and asserting military might are part of his essentially German vocation. Yet unlike the officer he is generally not depicted as conniving or conspiratorial but as contentedly obeying orders, goose-stepping and saluting. He represents not the leader class of Germans but the rank and file, the soldiering masses before whom obedience to authority was set as the highest virtue. He is also the embodiment of military clout, the stuff of German military strength, and is characterized by his jackboots, steel helmet and large, often muscular frame.

In Cummings's cartoon on the establishment of a European Defence Community (EDC/EVG) which includes West Germany, the German soldier is a giant, whose swastika armband Dean Acheson is disguising and whose potential frightens Robert Schuman (*Express*, 26 May 1952). Vicky depicts a smaller but no less identifiable soldier in his cartoon in which the newsreel of history is set to repeat itself with German rearmament (*Daily Express*, 26 February 1960), whilst seven years later Cummings's soldier-citizen 'Hans' speaks as a representative of his nation (*Daily Express*, 24 February 1967). Hans purports to illustrate the dilemma facing the Germans as a result of their neighbour's changing attitude to German armament. His heartfelt cries are directed at the cartoonist's English audience. In each

⁵⁰⁹ 'Xenophobia: A Barrier to Educating the Euro', *Independent*, 30 October 1997, Education+ section, pp. 4-5 (p. 5).

situation he is responding to orders from a foreign political leadership. The figure Hans presents is by no means an attractive one: he is short and dumpy, shaven-headed and has a look of aggravated confusion.

The image changed little in succeeding decades. Caldwell (*Daily Star*, 20 February 1990) shows a uniting Germany gradually turning into a goose-stepping soldier, while Rain's cover illustration for the *Economist* (27 January 1990) shows a jovial citizen who after a turn of 180° becomes a sword-wielding helmeted soldier. Gaskill (*CWTR*, pp. 122-23) draws a comparison between the goose-stepping soldier of Hitler's wartime and a self-aggrandizing German industrialist forty years later.

When it was mooted that German troops might take part in a London commemoration of the end of the Second World War cartoons of German soldiers goose-stepping in jackboots through London streets appeared in several 'popular' newspapers. Geering's cartoon from the *Daily Sport* is one example (24 March 1994).

Occasionally cartoonists cast German Chancellors as officers or soldiers to suggest their affinity with the qualities and ambitions these roles embody. For example, Cummings shows a spiked helmeted Adenauer enthusiastically goose-stepping ahead of West Germany's new NATO partners, with the origin of his boots alluding to the German link with Spanish fascism (*Daily Express*, 26 February 1960). Another Cummings cartoon shows Nicholas Ridley impaled upon the spiked helmet of a giant, uniformed Helmut Kohl after the minister's resignation over his anti-German and anti-European remarks (*CWTR*, pp. 172-73).

3.3.3.3 The spiked helmet

What cartoon characters wear on their heads is of considerable symbolic importance. Their headgear contributes to their cartoon identity and defines them in terms of national characteristics: Michel's night cap contributes to the image of a naïve simpleton; Britannia's helmet is part of her defensive insularity; while Marianne's Phrygian cap reinforces the figure's freedom-loving, revolutionary spirit. The spiked helmet, while existing as part of the depiction of the national types listed above, is also used independently of them and exists as a symbolic marker in its own right.

The spiked helmet was adopted by the Prussian army in 1842 as a protective leather helmet with metal fittings including an ornamental spike. It was increasingly embellished with the replacement of the spike with a figure of the Imperial Eagle for the Kaiser's ceremonial helmets. It was part of German military uniform until the Second World War when it was replaced by a simpler, spikeless steel helmet.⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated background information throughout this chapter is taken from: *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (17th edn) and *Encyclopædia Britannica* (15th edn).

The helmet became perhaps the most identifiable marker of German troops in the First World War and, despite its withdrawal, continues to function as a national identifier.⁵¹¹ It stands for 'Prussian' qualities in the German character: militarism, order and discipline, arrogance, assertiveness. The phallic spike, particularly, is a symbol of authority and aggressiveness, even brutality.⁵¹²

While usually found on the heads of German officers, it also appears as a character marker for militarism and bellicosity on other identifiably German figures, often German leaders. For example, there are spiked helmets to be found on the head of the dachshund leading President Kennedy to the brink (*Daily Mirror*; reprinted in *Spiegel*, 6 December 1961); on Willy Brandt on the Trafalgar Square billboard (Cummings, *Daily Express*; reprinted in *Hamburger Morgenpost*, 25 June 1971); on Helmut Kohl disturbed on his sunbed by a ranting Nicholas Ridley (Gaskill, *Today*, 13 July 1990); on the swastika patterned serpent in the German Garden of Eden (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95); on Kohl as the dominatrix in charge of the ERM torture chamber (*CWTR*, pp. 206-7); and on the head of the obese ERM Bavarian squashing others beneath him (Krauze, *Guardian*, 3 August 1993).

It can be found in even more unlikely situations, proving it is not only one of the most enduring Germans symbols but also one of the most versatile. For example, spiked helmets form the supports for Gretchen-Brandt's chest of drawers (*CWTR*, pp. 180-81) and are atop beach towels about to parachute onto Mallorca (*Daily Star*, 10 July 1993). In one of Cummings's last cartoons with German content, spiked helmets surmount the funnels and masts of the new Royal Yacht, about to be launched and renamed 'Euromania'. Even the seagulls on deck sport spiked helmets (*Times Magazine*, 1 February 1997, p. 5). This is a scenario set in a future still five years away (2002). While Kohl is at the steering wheel wearing an epauletted uniform and golden eagle helmet, and the Queen is about to christen the vessel, the Prime Minister is a manic-looking Tony Blair, and the Union Jack now features an Iron Cross at its centre.

The spiked helmet, while clearly anachronistic, is seen as 'fair game' as an icon for the depiction of modern Germans by cartoonists such as Steve Bell and Michael Cummings.⁵¹³ It

⁵¹¹ This extends beyond the realm of caricature communication. For example, until recently the image of a spiked helmet formed the basis for the expression 'Germany' in British and American Sign Languages. In ASL the alternate sign represented the eagle. These are now being replaced by signs considered 'pc'. See E. Costello, *Random House American Sign Language Dictionary* (New York: Random House, 1994), pp. 350-51; and D. Miles, *British Sign Language: A Beginner's Guide* (London: BBC Books, 1988), p. 86.

⁵¹² Dietrich, p. 12.

⁵¹³ Former German Ambassador in Britain Peter Hartmann doubts that 'sub-editors and page make-up people really believe that this reflects today's reality'. He adds: 'I remember seeing such a helmet in my grandfather's attic. My children don't even know what it looks like.' *CWTR*, p. 236.

is not held to carry the same baggage as the symbols associated with National Socialism, principally the swastika. Bell believes the image is ‘so historically distanced these days that it has quaint overtones’, being ‘part of a comic book view of Germany’.⁵¹⁴ Cummings saw the spiked helmet – as he did the Iron Cross – as a ‘fun image’.⁵¹⁵ Thus it has, in Bell’s opinion, the same meaning for British cartoonists that kilts once had for German cartoonists in their depiction of the British. Yet Bell also maintains that it makes no sense to use the spiked helmet in the late nineties, because it would not reflect the current power relations between Britain and Germany, which he sees as having changed in the course of the decade. Germany is no longer in a position of power vis-à-vis Britain. Thus such symbols are still seen to carry meaning, which is contingent upon their appropriateness as an expression of the state of relations between the two countries rather than their currency as contemporaneously used objects.

3.3.3.4 The Iron Cross

Designed in 1813 by Friedrich Schinkel for Frederick William IV of Prussia, the Iron Cross was instituted as a decoration for all ranks in the wars against Napoleon. It was re-instituted three times for further theatres of war: 1870-71, 1914-18 and 1939-45. In 1870 William I remodelled the award to three grades: Second Class, First Class, and the Grand Cross. Hitler increased it by one grade, introducing the Knight’s Cross immediately below the Grand Cross, as an honour for ‘Heroes of the Nation’.

The impressively sized Grand Cross, which along with the smaller Knight’s Cross is worn at the neck, could only be awarded to victors of battles or similar achievements. Hermann Göring was awarded the only Grand Cross of the Second World War. Since 1958 the Iron Cross may be again worn as a decoration, but without any swastika embellishment.

A symbolic Iron Cross (a black cross *pattée* with silver edging) was used as an emblem of the imperial armed forces on war ensigns from 1867 until 1945. It appeared in a simplified version as a Greek cross on German military equipment from 1918 until 1945. With post-war West German rearmament the original *pattée* form of the cross was re-adopted as the national identifier for tanks and aircraft and continued to be used as a general military emblem. The 1982 edict on *Bundeswehr* tradition describes it in glowing terms as a ‘symbol for bravery, the love of freedom, and chivalry’ (*Sinnbild für Tapferkeit, Freiheitsliebe und Ritterlichkeit*).⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴ Bell in conversation with the author at the *Guardian*, 22 April 1998. All subsequent comments by the cartoonist refer to this interview, unless another source is cited.

⁵¹⁵ In a taped interview with the author at his Belgravia home, 19 June 1997.

⁵¹⁶ My translation. Quoted in H.-P. Stein, *Symbole und Zeremoniell in deutschen Streitkräften* (Herford: Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, 1984), p. 50.

In cartoons the Iron Cross demonstrates historical continuity by linking modern, democratic Germany with its militarist past, particularly its Nazi past. As an award it frequently appears around the necks of German politicians and others, reinforcing the stereotype of the 'unchanged German', while as a decorative emblem it is used to remind us of Germany's military past. Adolf Hitler personally eschewed the wearing of medals apart from the Iron Cross he had been awarded in the First World War. Images of Hitler invariably include the medal prominently displayed on his left-hand side jacket pocket. By including an Iron Cross in caricatures of contemporary German leaders such as Kohl a potent connection can be made – consciously or otherwise on the part of artist and receiver – with images of the Nazi dictator. It becomes an allusion charged with negative meaning when made in cartoons commenting on Germany's external relations, particularly in the European context.

Perhaps the greatest exponent of the Iron Cross image in cartoons is Michael Cummings, who over a long career as a political cartoonist consistently decorated his drawings on German issues with this military emblem. It is to be found on the giant new German soldier (*Daily Express*, 26 May 1952), Adenauer's 'mark' tank (*Daily Express*, 21 August 1957) and around Gretchen-Brandt's neck (*CWTR*, pp.180-81). In more recent work Helmut Kohl wears an Iron Cross around his neck, modified to represent the order of the deutschmark, whose power Nicholas Ridley had warned against in his attacks (*CWTR*, pp. 172-73). In another, the Chancellor's Iron Cross tie matches the Crosses on the German missiles heading for the Western allies during the Gulf War (*CWTR*, pp. 124-25). It also appears on the V2 with Kohl at its head, about to descend on the battered pound sterling in one of Cummings's most graphic war analogies, drawn at the time of the ERM crisis (*Sunday Express*, 27 September 1992).

Other cartoonists, too, have employed the Iron Cross symbol. Vicky's Erhard-Gretchen wears one on a necklace (*CWTR*, pp. 166-67) while Jak's West German army officers (*Evening Standard*, 29 November 1960) and neo-Nazi *NPD* members (*Evening Standard*, 22 November 1966) both have Crosses as integral to their uniforms. Cookson's Nazi holiday-maker wears an Iron Cross around his neck to reinforce his appearance as a beach commander (*CWTR*, pp. 148-49). Iron Crosses identify a biplane as German, with Chancellor Kohl as a Red Baron figure, in a Brookes comment on Germany's role in the Major Government's embarrassment over fiscal policy (*The Times*, 2 October 1992, p. 14).

Allusions to First and Second World War air attacks were popular amongst cartoonists during the ERM crisis in 1992. The Red Baron image was resurrected because the German ambassador (who became involved in the stand-off between Germany and Britain at the time) was von Richthofen's great nephew and namesake. From the same period another cartoon,

full of stereotype images, makes the Queen a guest at a banquet given by Bundesbank directors, most of whom are wearing Iron Crosses (*CWTR*, pp. 116-17).

3.3.3.5 The *Panzer* (tank)

Developed from tractors, the first tanks were assigned to combat in the First World War by the British and played an important role in several battles. By the Second World War, Germany had created a tank force which, while not the largest, was by far the most effective because of its organization into divisions capable of rapid attack. In the early years of the war German *Panzer* rolled across Europe destroying and conquering everything in their path and were vital tools in the establishment of Nazi Germany's hegemony on the continent.⁵¹⁷

This image has been perpetuated in British cartoons since 1945 with cartoonists using the vehicle as a metaphor for Germany's economic and financial muscle in Europe. The suggestion is that, while the tank may no longer help to realize the military and political aims of National Socialism, it serves a new German master who is no less ambitious. The tank's character cannot be overlooked either in interpreting this metaphor. It is a murderous weapon, well-built rather than technically refined, representing the use of brute force rather than cleverness or cunning.⁵¹⁸

The continued use of this image is surely due to the successful psychological and emotional impact of linking one well-remembered threat with something that is to be understood as another.

Wheeler's '*Lebensraum*' is evidence of this (*Independent on Sunday*, 1 July 1990). The swastika or *Wehrmacht* Cross has been replaced by the new emblem of German imperialism – DM – to make a comment on the currency union between East and West Germany. The cartoonist uses two of the most enduring symbols in the caricature of modern German power – the tank and the abbreviation DM – and combines them in the title with an unambiguous allusion to National Socialist ideology. What the concept of *Lebensraum* does also is to conflate an unthreatening stereotype of the German landscape (*Heimat*) with a threatening German military stereotype: for, as Quinn points out, '*Heimat* as *Lebensraum* was [...] defensible German space set in motion, the German castle in the form of a Panzer tank [*sic*]'.⁵¹⁹

The image of the deutschmark tank is not original, having been current since the rise in value of the mark in the fifties (and the concomitant decline of the pound). Cummings depicts

⁵¹⁷ Such was the impact of German tank warfare upon an alarmed English nation that 'panzer', as well as 'blitzkrieg', became commonly and widely used in English. The *OED*'s first references for the literal and figurative use of these words occur in 1940 and 1939 respectively (2nd edn, 1989).

⁵¹⁸ V. Wörl, 'Die deutschen Panzer', *SZ*, 5-6 February 1994, [n.p.].

⁵¹⁹ *The Swastika: Constructing the Symbol* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.16.

Adenauer in a tank named 'The mark' rolling towards the Channel, having already successfully knocked 'The franc' to the ground (*CWTR*, pp. 188-89). There are other allusions to the Second World War, then no doubt still fresh in the minds of most readers, with the figure of Macmillan dressed as Churchill evoking the Dunkirk spirit. The deutschmark tank seems to be one of Cummings's favourite symbolic devices, for it is often repeated in his cartoons. Another of his cartoons, contemporaneous with Wheeler's, shows spiked helmeted Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher grinning gleefully atop a DM tank firing deutschmarks in all directions, while President Gorbachev and Eastern European leaders prostrate themselves before them (*Sunday Express*, 1 July 1990).

A variation on this use of the tank symbol can be found in Bell's *Guardian* cartoon following the takeover of the car manufacturer Rover by BMW (1 February 1994, p. 21). In an analogy reminiscent of the First World War, a German car-cum-tank has arrived to the relief of battle-worn John Major and his colleagues, although its ominous, darkened appearance suggests that it might not altogether be the harbinger of salvation that is proclaimed.

The tank also features as symbolic of Germans 'on the move' in contexts not necessarily suggestive of economic expansionism. Larry's illustration of a family of German campers shows them in their Mercedes Benz *Panzer*, complete with eagle emblem and caterpillar tracks (*Punch*, 12-18 June 1991).

3.3.4 Allegorical and animal figures

Traditionally animals have been used to symbolize character types and traits. Animals also appear in heraldry as national emblems. Thus they form an important body of caricatural devices used to represent countries or national character and comment on political and social issues.

In cartoons of the Germans and Germany two animals stand out in popularity: the eagle, the German national emblem, and the dachshund, the stereotyped national pet.

3.3.4.1 The eagle

Next to the lion the eagle is the most widely used heraldic animal. The bird has been a symbol of war and imperial power since Babylonian times. It is also emblematic of courage and immortality and is a bird of great honour. With the coronation of Charlemagne the Roman eagle was adopted as a symbol of the state in Germany. Used as such in Imperial and Nazi Germany, where it complemented the swastika, it has also been the symbol of West German state sovereignty appearing on the federal escutcheon and seals since 1950.

Until the fall of the Berlin Wall the symbol was drawn generally to help identify a major image as German – for example, appearing on flags, shields, armour, and uniforms. The eagle also had a ‘supporting role’ such as the pro-British, bowler-hatted one above Erhard’s door in a Cummings cartoon about the impending first State Visit of the Queen to West Germany (*Daily Express*, 17 May 1965). It was, however, rarely used as a principal cartoon image. But in the last five years cartoonists have given the eagle an independent, active identity as an allegorical representation of Germany, appearing in a wide range of contexts. This development parallels the process of German reunification and shows that cartoonists have found in this ancient, (loaded) symbol of power a dynamic means of commenting critically on the changing face of German nationhood.

One of the earliest political cartoons of this kind gives a warning about Germany’s future following the fall of the Berlin Wall. In an allusion to the phoenix, the German eagle rises from a burning Nazi standard (Brookes, *The Times*, 17 August 1989). An illustration from the *Financial Times* (19 September 1990) provides further evidence of the eagle’s transformation from a static, formalized emblem. The German eagle has just broken out of its shell – the two halves are marked ‘W’ and ‘E’ – and its outstretched wings tower over Europe, whose citizens have turned in wonder to gaze upon it. Its fledgling cry is directed at a much smaller American eagle flying past. The accompanying article dealt with questions about the new Germany’s role in the world.

The predatory nature of the bird is often highlighted in cartoons. Reunification is expressed in these terms when Brookes depicts the West German eagle clutching the East

German lamb in its talons (*The Times*, 9 March 1990). Another cartoonist shows the German eagle, wearing a dealer's eye shade-cum-spiked helmet playing poker with the French cock, which is under threat both above and below the table (David Smith, *Daily Telegraph*, 3 August 1993). Already a droplet of blood seems to fall from the eagle's beak. This image is mirrored to a lesser extent in the appearance of the eagle emblem on Kohl's spiked helmet, upon which Ridley finds himself impaled (*CWTR*, pp. 172-73).

Krauze's eagle referred to above presents a different aspect: a bird suffering the after-effects of German reunification (*Guardian*, 12 April 1991). As a two-headed eagle it also appears in the context of reunification and the socio-economic problems born of it. Philpot's illustration shows the neck of the East German head being strangled in the jaws of the striking West German head (*The Times*, 1 May 1992). In a Kal (Kevin Kallauger) cartoon for the *Economist* the figure of the federal eagle on the beer stein riddled with holes and held by Helmut Kohl clearly identifies this as an allegory of Germany's domestic difficulties under his chancellorship.

3.3.4.2 The Dachshund

This canine breed of hound and terrier ancestry was developed in Germany for use in fox and badger hunting and is the only breed commonly identified with its German roots.⁵²⁰ Apart from the period of the two world wars, the breed has been popular in Britain since the nineteenth century; Queen Victoria had several dachshunds.⁵²¹ It is portrayed as the German counterpart to the English bulldog although, unlike the latter, the dachshund has not been linked with national traditions. However, there would seem to be caricatural evidence of a 'dachshund spirit' in the Germans, which may be defined as a propensity to grow fat. Certainly the dachshund's size and shape (it is also commonly known as a 'sausage dog') often mark it out for ridicule in British cartoons together with its frequently plump owners.

It serves as a symbol of Germany or German issues. The following cartoons provide a few examples. Vicky's analogy of Adenauer's attempt to increase German political clout by offering to be part of a European defence force features a dachshund, representing German rearmament, being used to charm the French foreign minister, Robert Schuman, into agreement (*News Chronicle*; repr. in *Spiegel*, 8 November 1950). The role of master and dog are reversed in a *Daily Mirror* cartoon in which a helmeted dachshund, symbolizing German

⁵²⁰ The Alsatian or German shepherd has not been popularly identified with Germany in the same way, perhaps because of its alternative name and because its role in public protection in Britain, primarily as a police dog, excludes it from any heteroimage taint. More recently, the Rottweiler has been occasionally linked with its German origins, having been highlighted in the press because of its ferociousness and propensity for vicious attacks, but to my knowledge it has not yet been used as a caricatural symbol.

⁵²¹ J. Cunliffe, *The Encyclopedia of Dog Breeds* (Bath: Parragon, 2001), p. 212.

politics, is leading President Kennedy to the edge of an abyss over the Berlin crisis (6 December 1961). In a Garland illustration an assertive dachshund with its collar marked Germany is pulling at the lead held by the hands of the EEC (*Independent*, 12 June 1989). It illustrated a Peter Kellner article entitled 'Keeping the Germans on a Leash', which argued the EEC could replace NATO as a tether for the Germans.

In the wake of the publication of Prime Minister Thatcher's Chequers memorandum detailing German character traits, Matt's 'typically' German dachshund watchdog stands incongruously at the gate (*Daily Telegraph*, 16 July 1990).⁵²² With a tail flag to make identification doubly sure the dachshund shares its disdain for the EEC lamp-post with its English counterpart, in Cummings's cartoon on Anglo-German criticism of the provisions of the Maastricht treaty (*CWTR*, pp. 80-81). Whereas the bulldog looks foolish, the dachshund has a scheming appearance with its smug smile and a beady eye trained on its British 'partner'. This effect is reinforced by the chiaroscuro contrast of the black dachshund with the white bulldog and the menacing-looking eagle on the flag attached to the dachshund's tail.

As with many of the symbols identified in this study the dachshund frequently contributes to a stereotyped cartoon image of Germany. Chancellor Erhard's pets are, naturally, dachshunds sporting Union Jacks in preparation for the Queen's first visit to the Federal Republic (Cummings, *Daily Express*, 17 May 1965). When Willy Brandt charms the English with his charisma and political adroitness Cummings fears the worst: Dachshunds will replace lions in Trafalgar Square as the capital goes pro-German (*Daily Express*; repr. in *Hamburger Morgenpost*, 25 June 1971). In Giles's reunification cartoon a picture of an extraordinarily elongated dachshund hangs on the wall along with various martial military portraits (*Sunday Express*, 7 October 1990). Jak suggests that dachshunds are part of the deal when Princess Diana decides to opt for a German car (*Evening Standard*, 6 February 1991).

In cartoons, no self-respecting German is without a dachshund: the dog is to be found at the side of Jak's unrepentant Nazi watchmaker Otto/Arthur (*Evening Standard*, 5 June 1990) and Langdon's bourgeois West German couple (*Punch*, 25 May 1990). The dachshund is also used to illustrate the German takeover of British national symbols. In a pocket cartoon by Matt commenting on the purchase of Rolls-Royce by Volkswagen, the famous 'Spirit of Ecstasy' bonnet mascot – likewise known as Emily or The Flying Lady – is replaced by the doc (*Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 1998).

⁵²² Matt's pocket cartoons on the front page of the *Telegraph* have been described by editorial colleagues as the most important part of the newspaper. Cited in 'Leading Lives', BBC Radio 4, 10 August 2003.

3.3.5 Monuments

Monuments perform two functions in cartoons. Firstly, they are a means of geographic or national identification, where they are well known. For this reason Neuschwanstein Castle or the Brandenburg Gate appear in British cartoons, whereas more significant national monuments, such as the Frankfurter Paulskirche or the Wartburg, do not. Secondly, they represent problematic areas, where the past and present are being confronted or where current conflicts are still being played out.⁵²³ The Berlin Wall is the most common example of both these usages in British cartoons.

3.3.5.1 The Berlin Wall

First erected in August 1961 and made obsolete in November 1989, this concrete paradigm of the Cold War became a symbol of the irreconcilable division not only of a city and a nation but also of two global political systems. This symbolism also found expression in cartoons.

Searle's Angel of Peace anxiously negotiates the barbed wire atop the Wall, against a background of dilapidation and decay on its eastern side (Searle and Huber, 'Berlin 1963'). In other cartoons there is an absence of such allegorical comment about the injustice the Wall embodied. It became a target for jokes about, for example, the quality of its construction, evidenced in Jak's scenario of footballing British troops (*Evening Standard*, 21 November 1961). It was portrayed as an ordinary part of life for British troops and Germans alike in West Berlin. Giles shows a German family complete with dachshund preparing to cross over on the first occasion this was possible after the Wall's construction (*Daily Express*, 1 December 1963). Holly in the barbed wire lends the scene an incongruous touch of festive normality.

In the dying days of the Wall cartoonists reflected a variety of attitudes towards it. Metaphorical holes were seen to appear when the two German leaders met in Berlin in 1987: Garland drew Honecker clambering through such a breach to meet Kohl (*Independent*, 9 September 1987). The caption – '...And through wall's chink, poor souls, they are content to whisper...' – is a quote from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, suggesting however that the division between East and West was still firmly in place. Trog parallels Germany's breaching of the Maginot Line in the Second World War with East Germans' flouting of the Wall; both events demonstrate the German ability to get around any obstacle for the purpose of invasion (*Observer*, 17 September 1989).

Even after its demolition the Wall continued to be used in cartoons as a symbol of division or as a barrier. Margaret Thatcher is shown, for example, with a Wall around her head representing her suspicion of a united Germany (*The Times*, 6 March 1990). A later cartoon

⁵²³ Dietrich, p. 15.

shows the German wall acting as a prophylactic between the Third World and the European Community (*European*, 15 July 1993).

3.3.6 Emblems

Official emblems, such as flags, play a subordinate role in cartoons as accessory decoration and aids to identification of principal images. The German colours and flag have this function, serving in cartoons (as in the real world) as symbols of the state and nation. Other emblems are used to draw links with the past, such as the swastika, or serve as alternative expressions of national identity, such as 'DM', representing the German currency.

3.3.6.1 National colours and the flag

The German national colours – black-red-gold – originated as the colours of early nineteenth century student groups that rallied against Napoleonic imperialism and strove for German political unity. They were subsequently adopted by the liberal nationalist movement and the first German parliament, which proclaimed them their colours in 1848. Officially replaced in 1852, the tricolour continued to be honoured by the common people as the German national colours. The Weimar Republic restored it to this status, but it was banned again by the Nazis in 1933.

After 1949 the tricolour was re-adopted by the two German states, with the German Democratic Republic adding in 1957 the state emblem of hammer and compass in a wreath of grain.

German national colours are not as popular as other means of national identification, such as lederhosen, principally because they do not possess the same comic possibilities. Given the fact that most cartoons are in black-and-white, part of the visual impact is lost anyway. Their place is often taken by the eagle on the German flag, although in reality the eagle only appears on the standard of the Federal President as Jak correctly observes in a cartoon about the Queen's first visit to a united Germany (*CWTR*, pp. 108-9). They most frequently occur in contrast with the flags of other states or organizations or together with other more distinguishable motifs such as the eagle.⁵²⁴

Apart from the flag, the national colours can be found on other things; representative figures such as the tricolour German male dancing with tricolore Marianne in Garland's *Spectator* cover (29 October 1988), on the nightcaps of EC leaders in bed with a giant Helmut Kohl (Bell, *Guardian*, 24 October 1991), or on German beach towels and swimming trunks (*CWTR*, pp. 150-51). Griffin's image of a stereotype 'Prussian' German in the last cartoon stands out because of the inconsistency of the image. Surely any self-respecting Prussian

⁵²⁴ See, for example, *CWTR*, pp. 80-81, 116-17; Searle's 'The Rhine 1963' in Searle and Huber.

would wear black-white-red coloured swimmers, these being the national colours of Wilhelmine and Nazi Germany. Cartoonists, of course, do not need to be concerned with such historical exactitude.

One amusing use of a national flag can be seen in Jak's cartoon of the mid-seventies campaign to promote the British car industry (*CWTR*, pp. 192-93). In this case it is the Union Flag which has been painted over the body of an Englishman's Volkswagen in order to conceal its foreign origin. Despite Henry's best camouflaging efforts his neighbour, looking on, remains unconvinced. The inference here is that Henry's gleaming German car is undeniably better than its British counterparts, an example of which is under repair in the neighbour's driveway. The cartoon thus contrasts a negative autostereotype with a positive heterostereotype.

3.3.6.2 The swastika

Emotionally and psychologically the most powerful symbol used by British cartoonists since 1945 has been the swastika. In cartoons as elsewhere it is interchangeable with the figure of Adolf Hitler as the mnemonic of Naziism and the evil it represents. It is not only used to evoke memories of Germany's National Socialist past, but also to make a statement about that past's influence today and is frequently, however unfairly, used as a metonym for 'German':

Das Hakenkreuz ist werbepsychologisch gesehen eines der kennzeichnungs-kräftigsten Symbole der Weltgeschichte. [...] Es gibt eben kein anderes knappes Symbol, mit dem man einen Deutschen kennzeichnen könnte. Ein völlig zeichenunbegabter Mensch kann sich in der ganzen Welt mit einer Hieroglyphe verständlich machen. Ein Strichmännchen mit einem danebengesetzten Haken-kreuz bedeutet in der internationalen Zeichensprache: Deutscher.⁵²⁵

The name 'swastika' derives from a Sanskrit word meaning 'well being' or 'good luck' and was applied to the emblem by Heinrich Schliemann, who unearthed it in the 1870s in his excavations at Hissarlik in Turkey.⁵²⁶ Originally a symbol of prosperity and good fortune, it occurred widely throughout the ancient and modern world. It was used as veiled symbol of the cross on the tombs of early Christians. In the twentieth century it was adopted as a symbol of independence movements, appearing on banknotes and insignia of countries such as Finland and Latvia.

The swastika's racist and anti-Semitic connotations derive from an exhibition of the symbol organized for the 1889 Paris Exposition by the swastikaphile and Aryanist Michael Zmigrodski. It subsequently featured in several influential Aryanist and anti-Semitic works and became the emblem of various organizations promoting these ideas. It was adopted by

⁵²⁵ Koch-Hillebrecht, p. 143.

⁵²⁶ See Quinn, esp. 'Introduction: Reading the Swastika' and chapter 1: 'Symbol'.

Hitler in 1919 as the ‘corporate logo’ of the nascent National Socialist movement, from which it became inseparable. Thus expropriated, it defies rehabilitation and is used as frequently today as it was in the fifties to signify political power in its most destructive and abhorrent form.⁵²⁷ It is employed particularly as a symbol of neo-Nazi right-wing extremism.

The swastika has, like other Nazi associations, a peculiar psychological pull. Gina Thomas, the London correspondent of the *FAZ*, is a proponent of the theory that things evocative of Naziism act as a kind of ersatz-pornography: ‘To make a change from bums and tits you get a page daubed with a few swastikas and iron crosses.’⁵²⁸

Quinn, however, argues that the emblem has a more complex semiotic:

In pulp fiction and sensationalist journalism, the swastika is not so much a pornographic image as a device which occupies the place of the obscenity which cannot or should not be represented: the Manson murders, the Gestapo cellars, Nazi atrocities. (p. 7)

While it occasionally occurs as the primary cartoon image, it always has a conspicuous presence as part of any drawing. Even when small or only partly visible, as in Illingworth’s ‘The Slate’ (*Daily Mail*, 19 May 1965), it is still easily recognizable.

Neo-Naziism has been a common cartoon topic, and the swastika has been used extensively to illustrate it. Vicky’s Lower Saxon houses contain swastikas in their half-timbering (*News Chronicle*, 9 May 1951), while in a comment on the spread of the ideology amongst young West Germans he draws a boy suffering from German measles in the form of tiny swastikas (*CWTR*, pp. 86-87). In a later example swastikas appear all over the Serpent of Temptation in Thomas’s reunification Garden of Eden (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95). In another, the swastika shape is the natural formation when typical neo-Nazis foregather – ‘158 bald headed young men from various social backgrounds, and of German extraction’ as the observing sociologist notes in Til’s cartoon (‘Sociological findings 1991’, *Guardian*, 8 November 1991; first published in *tageszeitung*, 1991). More conventionally, it can be found on the banners of saluting skinheads marching behind a deliberately ignorant Chancellor Kohl (*The Times*, 1 October 1992, p. 14).

Swastikas serve primarily as identifiers of former or unrepentant Nazis as well as new or potential converts. Their presence in political cartoons suggests the need to be mindful of the mistakes made in the past as well as the need for caution in dealing with Germany today. In a cartoon accompanying an article warning against a royal state visit to Germany, anonymous little Nazis hide behind Chancellor Adenauer and join him in extending the hand of friendship

⁵²⁷ Quinn describes the swastika as ‘the visual equivalent of the word Auschwitz’, p. 5.

⁵²⁸ Speech delivered at the Goethe-Institut London, March 1993.

to the British (Cummings, *Sunday Express*, 19 October 1958).⁵²⁹ Without the swastikas it is highly doubtful the beholder would have understood the point of Cummings's cartoon. In less serious cartoons, an ageing Führer is surrounded by obligatory swastikas, sometimes in places appropriate to his geriatric needs such as a rug covering his legs (*CWTR*, pp. 90-91). Likewise, his ever-loyal minions sport their swastika armbands when planning pre-dawn holiday manoeuvres (*CWTR*, pp. 148-49).

Swastikas are also used as a mnemonic of German aggression in the Second World War. For example, images of the Blitz are evoked in Heath's cartoon, which features planes emblazoned with swastikas dropping bombs on British banks. The Bundesbank had raised interest rates during the British economic recession (*Independent Magazine*, 25 July 1992).

3.3.6.3 The deutschmark

The deutschmark replaced the reichsmark following the German currency reform of 1948. It was a completely new currency with a new name and acronym. As the postwar West German economy began to flourish the deutschmark was regularly revalued becoming, in time, one of the strongest and most valuable of world currencies.

In cartoons the deutschmark has been seen as symbolic of (West) German economic success and the affluence its citizens enjoy. The stereotype successful German businessman drives a Mercedes Benz fitted with wheels in the form of deutschmark coins, while the hood of the car is decorated with a hundred mark note (Searle, 'Düsseldorf 1964'). In another, Chancellor Kiesinger, with bags of deutschmark for muscles, is the 'emergent superman' amongst his Western colleagues (Jensen, *Sunday Telegraph*, 24 November 1968).

The deutschmark has been seen by some critics as the means by which German territorial ambitions are finally being realized. The DM acronym has been used in cartoons as a successor to the swastika, a disguised swastika or a neo-swastika. The strength of the deutschmark is compared to that of Hitler's armies and equated with the same *Blitzkrieg* force.

Cummings's 1957 tank rolling down to the Channel is called 'the mark' (*CWTR*, pp. 188-89), an image the artist repeated and exaggerated thirty-three years later with a tank running on deutschmarks and firing the currency from four barrels (*Sunday Express*, 1 July

⁵²⁹ When it finally took place, in fact, the Queen's visit helped dispel doubts about Germany virtually from the moment she arrived in the country. Glees states that 'it is no exaggeration to say that the public recognition, especially by British public opinion, that the Federal Republic was indeed a new Germany began on that day'. A. Glees, 'The British-German State Visits of 1958 and 1965: From Occupation to Normalization', in *Britain and Germany in Europe 1949-90*, ed. by J. Noakes, P. Wende and J. Wright (Oxford: OUP, 2002), pp. 279-305 (p. 281).

1990).⁵³⁰ Indeed, in the latter Kohl claims that this ammunition is the key to world hegemony. In the more striking cartoon entitled '*Lebensraum*' the acronym DM appears on the side of the tank firing into East Germany (Wheeler, *Independent on Sunday*, 1 July 1990). Here the acronym serves as a disguised or re-born swastika in representing a new programme of conquest and colonization. The use of the 'loaded' Nazi term *Lebensraum* as the cartoon's title lends weight to this association of symbols, making for a potent cocktail of iconography and National Socialist ideology. Quinn explores the idea of *Lebensraum* and compares its semantic significance to that of 'swastika':

What Nazism did was to retain the notion of Heimat as a defensible space, and expand it into the concept of Lebensraum, a 'living space' which put a siege mentality on the move. [...] The concept of Lebensraum exceeds the geographic boundaries of Germany in a colonisation which proceeds from the centre outwards. This logic subsumes a geographic German space within a notional Germanic space whose boundary is theoretically limitless. As the larger space of Lebensraum began both to supersede and redefine the previous limit of the Heimat, so the swastika as the symbol which marked the extent of the new Germanic boundary began both to include and occlude the text 'Germany'.

The shadow of this occlusion still persists in the tabloid shorthand which allows for the reading 'swastika equals German' as an unconscious extension of the interpretation 'swastika equals Nazi'. (pp. 15-16)

The Cummings and Wheeler cartoons take this one stage further by substituting the swastika with 'DM', whilst retaining the allusion to Naziism and equating it with the text 'West Germany'. The function of the swastika as an emblematic signifier of Naziism/Germany also holds true in a caricatural context for the deutschmark acronym vis-à-vis modern Germany: for it, too, takes on a militarized form as an apotropaic motif on warplanes and tanks, the presence of which indicates the current limits of the German (economic) advance.⁵³¹

War metaphors have been used extensively in British cartoons including those dealing with currency issues. During the ERM currency crisis the pound is salvaged from the rubble left by a 'DM' bombing mission in an editorial cartoon constructed around a photograph of Second World War air raid damage (Heath, *Independent*, 25 September 1992).

In the last decade of the twentieth century the deutschmark was closely linked in cartoons with the Bundesbank, which had become widely known in Britain as a powerful, perhaps suspect, European financial institution. Bundesbank look-alike directors celebrate German reunification with a rousing hymn to the deutschmark (Jak, *Evening Standard*, 3 October 1990). In another cartoon the deutschmark is placed securely at the axis of a lethal ERM fair-

⁵³⁰ The cartoon was one of a number reproduced in *Bild am Sonntag* on 22 July 1990 to illustrate an article by the former British Ambassador to the Federal Republic, Sir Oliver Wright, which attempted to explain the British attitude towards Germany (see also below).

⁵³¹ cf. Quinn, p. 16.

ground ‘octopus ride’ controlled by the bank (David Simonds, *Guardian*, 12 September 1992). The other European currencies occupy their own cabins at the end of each arm of the ride and are being eliminated in a kind of ‘Bundesbank roulette’.

One extraordinary currency crisis allegory shows the German mark as a shapely bronzed bikini-clad blonde on one arm of a muscle-bound beach thug, who has ‘interest rates’ written across his broad shoulders and an upwardly zigzagging arrow on his striped swimmers (Griffin, *Daily Mirror*, 15 September 1992). On his other arm is a dark-haired girl, who has ‘Italian lire’ inscribed on the skimpy bikini over her curvaceous buttocks. In the first frame of the cartoon the thug is kicking sand in the face of the meek-looking, sun-bathing British Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont. In the second the thug sulks off, abandoned by his two pretty companions, who are now comforting the bullied, baby-faced Norman. A third buxom companion, wearing a sash marked ‘French referendum’, looks on indignantly. This sort of positive German image is rare in ‘popular’ press cartoons, particularly those dealing with political and economic issues.

3.3.7 Symbolic phrases

Certain (in)famous or catchy phrases, often expressing patriotic sentiment, spoken by notable people or drawn from popular culture acquire, through common usage, symbolic meaning. Cartoonists, like all humorists and satirists, adopt them and adapt them for their own purposes. With respect to Germany two phrases in particular have acquired special places in the ‘cartoonist’s armoury’.

3.3.7.1 *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*

This phrase forms the first line of the patriotic hymn known as the *Deutschlandlied* written by Hoffmann von Fallersleben in 1841. Set to a tune by Haydn, it became popular in the course of the nineteenth century. In 1922 it was chosen as the official German national anthem, sharing this distinction with the National Socialist *Horst-Wessel-Lied* after 1933. Attempts were made to find a new national anthem for the Federal Republic which was entirely free of Nazi taint, but the popularity of the song was such that in 1952 it was re-adopted, albeit with the limitation that officially only the third and final verse beginning ‘Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit’ would be sung. It remained the German national anthem after reunification.

Originally a call to place the concept of a unified nation above regional differences, the hymn – especially the opening line – is seen as symbolic of German political and economic ambition and assertiveness, being linked in the popular imagination with Nazi parades and rallies and the goose-stepping of German troops through Europe in the Second World War. This symbolism is often reflected in cartoons, where no account has been taken of the deletion and change in emphasis made after 1952.

In a Vicky cartoon dealing with the country's transition to sovereignty, the Four Powers court Germania, recognizing her strategic importance. She sings the newly restored hymn under the direction of Chancellor Adenauer, in terms likely to appeal to the Western Allies (*News Chronicle*, 1 April 1952).

In a cartoon from the time of the Gulf War the first line of the hymn is used to stress historical continuity: in one frame it is being sung by a Nazi trooper in 1941 and then, in a slightly modified form, by a self-aggrandizing German industrialist fifty years later (*CWTR*, pp. 122-23).⁵³²

Another variation of the traditional wording can be found in Jak's reunification cartoon featuring Bundesbank directors singing jubilantly 'Deutschmark, Deutschmark, über Alles...!' (*Evening Standard*, 3 October 1990). This alternative form, in fact, is a popular rendering of the text (see also *Daily Express*, 15 November 1989 and 1 July 1990) and suggests that true patriots recognize that the country's power to dominate lies in its currency.

3.3.7.2 *Vorsprung durch Technik*

The Audi company motto *Vorsprung durch Technik* first appeared in a British advertising campaign staged for the automobile manufacturer in 1984. It was probably the first foreign-language advertising slogan used wholly successfully in Britain.

Although not understood by the public at large, the phrase identified the accompanying image of a sleek and stylish car as German, linking with it German automotive engineering's reputation for quality. The slogan has come to symbolize for the British the positive associations of a 'Made in Germany' label: quality, reliability and high technology being the most important.⁵³³ It established itself quickly as a catchphrase and, in an act of transference from one medium to another, it has also become a new vehicle of satire in British cartoons. It has typically been used to parody the German reputation for efficiency and industrial harmony or to criticize German politico-economic policies.

On a billboard poster from the time of the Gulf War a British tank on its way to the Middle East has replaced the Audi, much to the chagrin of the passing Audi driver (Tom Johnston, *Evening Standard*, January 1991). Irony is being used to criticize the Germans' reluctance to

⁵³² This cartoon caused a minor diplomatic incident when it was chosen for the invitation to the 1994 German première of the 'Coping with the Relations' exhibition in the Lower Saxon State Agency in Bonn, which was to be opened by the British Ambassador and the Agency Minister, Green politician Jürgen Trittin (at the time the Greens were already in coalition with the SPD in Hanover). The Federal Chancellery interpreted the businessman figure as a slight against Chancellor Kohl, and the British Ambassador was called in to account for his complicity. Not only was it a misinterpretation of the cartoon but an unfortunate reinforcement of the stereotype of German humourlessness.

⁵³³ cf. D. Head, "'Made in Germany": The British Perspective As Revealed by Advertising', in *As Others See Us*, pp. 99-105 (pp. 100-101).

join the Allied task force. In another cartoon, drawn during the strike by the German public services union, an observer of the Audi advertisement suggests a translation of the German appropriate to the state of the nation's garbage: 'I think it means "rubbish beginning to stink"' (Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 May 1992). The slogan on the Kohl-V2 attests to the weapon's superiority – *Vorsprung durch Kohl Technik*. Neither the pound sterling nor the Prime Minister beneath the rubble can resist its force (Cummins, *Sunday Express*, 27 September 1992).

A modified *Vorsprung* motto – *Vorsprung durch Hun Motors* – is also to be found on the advancing car-tank in Bell's cartoon on the Rover takeover suggesting to a beleaguered Prime Minister and his colleagues that their salvation now lies in German hands (*Guardian*, 1 February 1994, p. 21). It is significant that the slogan is not only transferred to Audi's rival, BMW, but is generalized to embrace all German car manufacturers, the inference being that, when it comes to commercial attack, 'all Huns are the same'. At the same time the German purchase of the British firm prompted veteran pocket cartoonist Mel Calman to reflect on his compatriots' reluctance to support indigenous industries, despite repeated government campaigns featuring the slogan 'Buy British!' (*CWTR*, pp. 214-15). Another variation of the Audi slogan – *Vorsprung durch Banana* – is spoken by one defiant lederhosen-clad German to another as he holds aloft a banana (Newman, *Sunday Times*, 16 July 1995). The cartoon was in response to a report about a German fruit importer's plan to cultivate bananas on the Baltic island of Rügen in an attempt to circumvent EC import restrictions.

3.3.8 The beach towel

In early 1987 a series of articles appeared in the 'popular' press in Britain and West Germany criticizing the behaviour of each other's nationals at popular holiday resorts. It was claimed that German holiday-makers were conspicuous for their greed and lack of consideration for others. This was demonstrated by their habit of reserving poolside sunbeds with towels early in the morning before other guests had even risen. The first of these articles appeared in the mass circulation German 'popular' newspaper *Bild* on 18 March with a self-questioning article entitled 'Essen Deutsche den Engländern Alles Weg?'. It was responded to by the *Sun* with articles detailing German bad behaviour and how to deal with it.⁵³⁴ A month of headline exchanges culminated in 'Victorious.. in 1918.. in 1945.. in 1966.. and now.. *The Sun* Invades Germany!' (*Sun*, 12 April 1987). A *Sun* contingent was dispatched to Hamburg where they

⁵³⁴ For example S. Carroll, 'Vot Makes Krauts Holiday Louts?', *Sun*, 6 April 1987: the article was subtitled 'Herr-raising Antics of the Sunshine Germans' and showed a sequence of photos of a woman organizing sunbeds. The text beneath explained it in these terms: 'DAWN RAID...it's 7 am and while unsuspecting British tourists sleep, one of the greedy German schweins moves in to grab the best sunbeds'

were successfully pacified by blonde *Bild* girls, Oompah music, beer and pretzels, leading to the declaration of a truce in a self-proclaimed 'Urlauber-Krieg'.

The image of the beach-towel as a metaphor for German occupation was readily adopted by 'popular' press cartoonists. It links with the popular stereotyped image of the Germans as petty imperialists, self-assertive and egotistical. Reserving sunbeds was further evidence of the perceived German need to claim territory. Indeed, it was historically consistent with William II's assertion that his Empire had a right to 'a place in the sun'. It is also conducive to the maintenance of a negative heterostereotype that provides cartoonist, newspaper and readership with a sense of in-group solidarity. It reinforces the archetype of the Germans as a competitive threat to British peace and sovereignty. The concept of competitive rivalry is central to the British-German relationship, and the towel-on-the-sunbed became a tussle that was the modern equivalent of the Colditz and Wooden Horse game of outwitting the 'squarehead' Germans.⁵³⁵

Initially the towel image was repeated in the context in which it first appeared. Cookson's Nazi holiday-makers are planning their sunbed occupation at the time the 'Urlauber-Krieg' was raging (*CWTR*, pp. 148-49). A cartoon, drawn as a comment on the Ridley-Chequers Affair, shows a row of sunbeds with towels in the German national colours and a lederhosen-clad German in the business of reserving another. Along with the other stereotypes evident in the cartoon this ridiculous image complemented statements that were made at the time about the German character (*CWTR*, pp. 150-51).

When a leading British travel firm was taken over by the Germans in 1992 it took on a German face in Caldwell's cartoon (*CWTR*, pp. 154-55). Not only are holiday-makers organized to goose-step to the poolside at dawn but they also find that beach towels embroidered with the company's Germanized name have been used to reserve everything for them. In Gaskell's cartoon from June 1994 'Fritz' has already set up his sunbed and laid out his personalized towel, so one-upping the Tommies' re-enactment of the Normandy beach landings (*CWTR*, pp. 220-21). Fritz may himself be absent (as was an official German representation at the commemoration event) but his helmet and copy of *Mein Kampf* show he has keenly entered into the spirit of the occasion. The tables are turned in a different Gaskill cartoon celebrating Britain's mid-nineties economic recovery (*Sun*, 18 September 1997, p. 8). Instead of German towels covering pool-side sunbeds, big-bosomed Heidi and her obese, tricolour-bathered husband arrive with their 'Mein' and 'Und Mein' towels to discover Union Jack towels already reserving the best places.

In the course of time the symbolic claiming of 'a place in the sun' was transferred to a variety of situations beyond the holiday beach and poolside. A Gulf War cartoon shows a

⁵³⁵ A. Beevor, 'Tommy and Jerry', *Guardian*, 16 February 1999, p. 2.

shipment of German aid in the form of beach towels on its way to the war zone to assist the Allies in liberating Kuwait (*CWTR*, pp. 152-53). Given the criticism of the Germans for their lack of involvement in the war, the cartoonist satirically suggests that this is the sort of aid the Germans are prepared to give. In a pocket cartoon by Hector Breeze a wealthy matron being helped into her Rolls-Royce by her chauffeur – autostereotypically called James – is surprised to discover a beach towel on the seat (*Express*, 31 March 1998). BMW had just decided to buy the luxury car manufacturer. The towel image has often been employed for comic effect. Mac's cartoon showing a group of American tourists being shown Hess's frayed beach towel by a kilted guide on an isolated Scottish beach is one good example, and followed the publication of the Nazi leader's diaries (*Daily Mail*, 12 June 1992).

By the nineties the beach-towel symbol had become so popular that it began to appear in cartoons in the 'quality' press and in magazines such as *Punch*. It had become part of the cartoon canon of German stereotypes.⁵³⁶ The beach towel image featured on the cover of *Punch* of 24 August 1990 under the headline 'Iraq. The Crisis Deepens'. Soldiers with gas masks flanked by tanks and aircraft mass at a desert oasis where a towel-cum-magic carpet has been laid and a sign erected stating 'Reserved. West Germany'. In another cartoon, drawn after BMW's takeover of Rover, towels have been laid to reserve prime places on the production line: 'they' refer to BMW employees, presumably Germans, who will take up their places there (Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, 2 February 1994). Thus, the towel symbol has come to be used as a means of commenting on economic and business relations between Britain and Germany. In this context it represents victory in the battle for the spoils of the free market.⁵³⁷

3.3.9 Conclusion

Giles's cartoon on reunification contains many of the symbols referred to in this section (*Sunday Express*, 7 October 1990). The cartoon can be seen as typical of the two ways British cartoonists use symbolism in the portrayal of Germans and Germany.

First, there is a reliance on symbols drawn from the two world wars and the nationalism and imperialism that sponsored them. Even symbolism used originally and inventively in cartoons is frequently drawn from this reservoir or related back to it. This seems to be asserting that today's Germany can best be understood in terms of her track record up to 1945, with little account taken of the socio-political changes that have been wrought since.

⁵³⁶ It was picked up with equal enthusiasm by the advertising industry. The 'Carling Black Label' advertising campaign, for example, used a conflation of this and the legend of the 'Dam-buster' bombing raids (made famous by the 1954 Robert Clark movie *The Dam Busters*).

⁵³⁷ See H. Husemann, 'We Will Fight Them on the Beaches', in *Stereotypes in Contemporary Anglo-German Relations*, ed. by R. Emig (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 58-78.

Secondly, while this tendency can be found in both the ‘popular’ and ‘quality’ press, cartoonists in the former are more likely to employ cliché images of Germans and Germany drawn from the context of militarism and war than their counterparts on ‘quality’ newspapers. The most likely explanation for this lies in the nature of ‘popular’ newspaper journalism – the need to see things in terms of black-and-white, as generalities, avoiding the complexities of an issue – and the sort of audience it appeals to. Simple, familiar metaphors based on established stereotypes are appealing and reassuring. In the absence of education or personal experience that might teach otherwise, they confirm what we have learnt from our own cultural environment.

3.4 Principal cartoon themes

Cartoons, particularly political cartoons, document history and are windows on events newsworthy at the time they were drawn. Indeed, Ralph Waldo Emerson is cited as saying that cartoons supply ‘the best history of our times’.⁵³⁸ They are certainly contemporary readings of issues of public interest. They comment on and interpret news rather than present it in any unbiased, factual way. As such they are probably more of a mirror of public opinion or feeling about an event than many other historical accounts. Although they are journalistic productions, they are not constrained as print journalism is in the use of language and imagery. Unlike much historical interpretation which seeks to present significant material well after an event, cartoons are normally a spur of the moment reaction, preserving mood and feeling and not shrinking from emotional, gut reactions.

This section identifies the major themes in British cartoons of Germans and Germany. Virtually everything of moment in British-German relations since the Second World War has been reflected in British cartoons during this period.

The following survey centres on political issues. This is because most of the images collected for this study were political cartoons, these being the most abundant form of illustrative critique of contemporary events at home and abroad.

3.4.1 Rearmament

German rearmament was one of the most significant issues debated by cartoons in the post-war years. In 1949 Western foreign ministers agreed to include the newly hatched Federal Republic in a system of western defence, something to which the Soviet Union was resolutely opposed. The USSR proposed instead a reunited but neutral Germany. Adenauer mistrusted

⁵³⁸ See S. Heneage, ‘Nucleus of a Museum’, in *The Art of Laughter*, ed. by L. Lambourne and A.-J. Doran (London: CAT, 1992), pp. 17-25 (p. 17) and J. Harvey, ‘Stiletto in Ink: Contemporary British Political Cartooning’, *Quiplash*, 3 (1994), 4-8 (p. 4); My unsuccessful attempts to trace the original context of this quote in Emerson’s writings suggest, however, that this is an apocryphal attribution.

Soviet intentions and wanted West Germany to be a full member of the Western European alliance. He offered a German contingent towards the establishing of a European defence force as a way to advance this aim.

Following the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 the United States sought to win support from its European allies for the raising of West German divisions for NATO. Plevin, the French Prime Minister, proposed the creation of a European army including the West Germans. In the event the European Defence Community (EDC/EVG), which was instituted by the Treaty of Paris in 1952 as part of a system of European co-operation, failed to materialize because the French parliament declined to ratify the treaty in the summer of 1954. However, after the attainment of complete sovereignty in 1955, the Federal Republic rearmed subsequent to its membership of the Western European Union (WEU) and NATO.

From the start there were reservations in Britain about a rearmed Germany. The Germans were seen as being too keen to carry arms again so soon after the war and to reassert latent militarist tendencies. This mood was naturally conveyed in cartoons.

In a Vicky cartoon Fräulein Adenauer cunningly engages her innocent-looking rearmament dachshund in courting Robert Schuman, whose proposals for European economic cooperation envisage German involvement (*News Chronicle*, 8 November 1950). Churchill, a supporter of European integration and the joint defence force, is playing Cupid, while the French Foreign Minister is being nudged from behind by other Western allies. Vicky depicted himself in a later cartoon with a lookalike son seeking to avoid a re-run of the newsreel of recent history (*Daily Mirror*, 23 April 1954).

Criticism was not, however, levelled only from the left. Cummings suggests that German military traditions die hard in drawing a group of helmeted German officers ('Easter Bonnets', *Daily Express*, 10 April 1950). The assembly represent not only imperial regiments but also those of the Third Reich, as the swastika on the bottom far-right helmet makes clear. This is an unappealing, mostly anonymous group, their hidden faces adding to a sense of conspiracy amongst dyed-in-the-wool militarists.

Another Cummings cartoon contemporaneous with the EDC proposal shows the stature of the German soldier being kitted out by British and United States foreign ministers intimidates Schuman (*Daily Express*, 26 May 1952). The suggestion is that changes in the soldier's loyalty are purely cosmetic: the old swastika is simply covered over by the new European armband. Size contrast is a basic tool of the cartoonist and is used here to identify the giantism of German military might.

West German membership of NATO did not dispel misgivings in Britain about Germany's military ambitions. Cummings draws Adenauer as an over-enthusiastic European soldier, alarming his Western allies (*Daily Express*, 26 February 1960). His uniform reflects the style

of German soldiers up until 1918, with his spiked helmet, knee high boots and Iron Cross. His goose-stepping and fascist-made boots suggest the Chancellor's sympathies are not entirely democratic.

3.4.2 Neo-Naziism

The rise of neo-Naziism in Germany and suspected lingering German sympathy for Nazi ideology and behaviour have been recurrent themes in British cartoons since the Second World War. From the difficulties of the immediate post-war re-education programme to the emergence of radical right-wing groups in former East Germany, cartoonists have highlighted this socio-political problem in modern, democratic Germany. One of the reasons for this is that anything daubed with swastikas makes good copy in both the 'popular' and 'quality' press. They are a potent 'enemy' symbol evoking memories of conflicts where British bravery and solidarity did the nation proud. The suggestion is also made that there is something inherently 'Nazi' in the German national character, with all the negative connotations this involves (extreme racial out-group/in-group categorization, political control and social manipulation, fervent militarism) and that this trait is virtually ineradicable.

The cartoonist can use an eye-catching, instantly recognizable visual image such as a swastika, in a way unavailable to his colleagues of the written word. For example, in referring to the growing political power of the radical right wing *Sozialistische Reichspartei* in Lower Saxony Vicky and 'little Vicky' are in a 'typical' German town where swastikas form designs not only in the half-timbered architecture but also in the pavement (*News Chronicle*, 9 May 1951).⁵³⁹ Hitler's mou and forelock are reflected in everything from the street flagstones to the shadows and also appear on cats and dogs as well as birds.

In another Vicky cartoon Chancellor Adenauer gives an artful diagnosis of what is, in fact, an infectious disease (*CWTR*, pp. 86-87). Increased anti-Semitic activity in Germany at the start of 1959 caused great concern about the spread of neo-Naziism, especially amongst the young, with the British press making this an occasion to examine the contemporary Germans' relationship to Naziism.

A Low cartoon entitled 'Alas! A New Generation', dealing with the same topic, provoked controversy when the newspaper announced its intention to reproduce it as a poster on hoardings in London and twenty-five other cities (*Guardian*, 15 January 1960). The Joint Censorship Committee of the Poster Advertising Industry objected because the cartoon

⁵³⁹ The *SRP* was founded in late 1950 with an unequivocally neo-Nazi programme. By 1952 it had sixteen seats in the Lower Saxon state parliament, eight in the Bremen House of Burgesses and one seat in the Bundestag. In October that year the party was declared unconstitutional, in expectation of which it had dissolved itself. A. Webb, *The Longman Companion to Germany since 1945* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 16, 91, 131.

appeared to imply that all Germans were being brought up as neo-Nazis. The industry's code of practice stipulated that posters which may cause offence to a foreign power should be censored. Only after the caption had been changed from a statement to a question – 'A New Generation?' – did the poster appear.⁵⁴⁰ This case demonstrates that the critical freedom a newspaper cartoonist enjoys is not without limits, particularly when the caricatural licence is extended beyond the circle of the newspaper's readership.

During the early Sixties the British media covered in great detail the events of the Eichmann and Auschwitz trials and the foundation of the neo-Nazi *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD)* in 1964, thus helping to keep the image of the Nazi-German alive in the popular imagination during this period. Breeze's cartoon from a maverick new satirical magazine, *Private Eye*, commented on this by pointing to the truth that it is often the notorious who are more easily called to mind than the virtuous (*CWTR*, pp. 88-89). This is particularly the case when they belong to an out-group.

In the late eighties and early nineties German neo-Naziism again became a 'hot' cartoon topic. This was not only because of the increased media publicity given to the actions of radical right-wing groups in Germany but also because the process of German reunification was seen to present opportunities for revanchist political ideas to be reasserted. An illustration featuring a swastika formation, created by typical neo-Nazis accompanied an article about the plight of 'Honecker's children' (Til, 'Sociological findings 1991', *Guardian*, 8 November 1991; *tageszeitung*, 1991). It showed that this image still had the power to alarm despite decades of use. Another satirical illustration accompanied an article by Bernard Levin entitled 'A Leader Who Disregards Evil', reinforcing the title by portraying Chancellor Kohl as the three good-luck monkeys who choose to ignore the evil marching behind them (Brookes, *The Times*, 1 October 1992, p. 14). A two-frame cartoon by Halliday published during the BSE crisis shows Helmut Kohl in lederhosen and Tyrolean hat stating in the first frame that 'there's no need to import health hazards into Germany' (*Sunday Independent*, 17 April 1994). In the second frame he finishes his statement with '...we're already self-sufficient!' as he is chased by swastika-adorned neo-Nazi youths rampaging with torches and clubs.

3.4.3 The military presence

British forces stationed in West Germany since the end of the war, initially as an occupying power and then, after 1955, as an allied NATO presence, provided cartoonists with many opportunities to produce material of German content, particularly in the fifties and sixties. They commented upon postwar Anglo-German relations both from the political perspective of arguments to do with financing the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR) and from the

⁵⁴⁰ Reported in the *Guardian*, 15 January 1960, [n.p.].

perspective of ordinary British servicemen, often with their families, experiencing local German life for themselves.

As Britain wrestled with post-war economic difficulties and the West German economy went from strength to strength, the issue of BAOR stationing costs became a major bone of contention between the two governments. Britain demanded increasing financial support from the Germans, especially through foreign currency offset, with which the German government only reluctantly complied. In cartoons dealing with this issue the Germans are generally portrayed as affluent but mean, enjoying the benefits of the Allied presence but loathe to accept the responsibilities this security involved.

In a cartoon on talks to do with funding the BAOR, Vicky contrasts an expensively dressed and seemingly indifferent German Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano, with a desperate, poverty-stricken British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd (*Daily Mirror*, 5 December 1957). The cartoon is cynically entitled 'Interdependence'. In another Vicky cartoon Chancellor Erhard is depicted as Prime Minister Wilson's corpulent, suitably Germanic-looking spouse (*CWTR*, pp. 166-67). She looks with astonishment at her shabby husband, who on top of domestic economic problems has to cope with the burden of troop costs.

Other cartoonists preferred to comment on the life of the common soldier in Germany, sometimes depicting it against the backdrop of important historical events. For example, Jak shows British soldiers playing football at the newly built Berlin Wall until their ball disappears through it (*Evening Standard*, 21 November 1961). He packs a later cartoon with an array of stereotyped male and female Germans plying a weedy-looking Scots squaddie with cigars, sausage, steins of beer and bonhomie, accompanied by a local rendition of 'Annie Laurie', all in an effort to make him feel at home in Germany. Explaining the bonhomie to a stern-faced Military Policeman he says he has told his hosts that if the British were to leave they would be replaced by the Russians ('JAK Spotlights Life in BAOR', *Evening Standard*, 16 June 1962, p. 11).

West Germany's membership of NATO resulted in German troops participating in military exercises in Britain, and so provided eager 'popular' press cartoonists with opportunities for historical parallels. Jak's German officers are dressed in a manner more reminiscent of the *Wehrmacht* than the *Bundeswehr*. Their unattractive features (one with a hook nose and the other scarred and chinless) and their peaked caps covering their eyes (one embellished with a death's head) make these figures appear menacing. These are elements, too, of the stereotype of the unchanged Nazi-German, underlined by the caption alluding to Nazi-Germany's attempt to subjugate Britain in the Second World War.

3.4.4 German national character: the Ridley-Chequers affair

Supposed German national characteristics are frequently portrayed in British cartoons, often implicitly in dealing with issues of the day. The Ridley-Chequers affair provided cartoonists with a rare opportunity to comment on German stereotyping as developed by other practitioners.

In an interview for the *Spectator* in July 1990 the Trade and Industry Secretary in the Thatcher Cabinet, Nicholas Ridley, spoke contemptuously of the German role in European integration as well as the Brussels bureaucracy of the European Community.⁵⁴¹ His anti-German remarks were taken up by the British press and led to a heated debate about the attitude of the Thatcher Government towards Germany.⁵⁴²

The outcry brought about the minister's resignation, which was followed closely by the publication of another document deeply damaging to the Government's standing. The 'Chequers Memo' was the product of a seminar held by the Prime Minister and attended by a group of experts on Germany earlier that year to discuss the German Question. The text of this meeting contained a list of German character attributes which were condemned by most sections of the press as blatant expressions of anti-German prejudice.⁵⁴³ Indeed, the seminar participants themselves were dismayed at the way their views were misrepresented by the memorandum, and most of them wrote subsequently about their experience of the event.⁵⁴⁴

Ridley's attack and the Chequers Memo were a gift to press cartoonists. It was a field day for them as well as for print journalists, and for a time British newspapers were concerned with little else. Part of the outcry had been triggered by the Garland illustration on the front cover of the *Spectator* (CWTR, pp. 170-71). The vivid colour picture of Chancellor Kohl with a Hitler forelock and moustache was as provocative as the interview itself. It was irrelevant that Ridley had not directly compared Kohl to Hitler. One commentator described it as 'the

⁵⁴¹ See D. Lawson, 'Saying the Unsayable about the Germans', *Spectator*, 14 July 1990, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁴² He described, for example, the common European monetary policy as a 'German racket' which had to be thwarted. He maintained that the Germans could achieve an economic take-over of Europe, as the deutschmark would always be the strongest European currency 'because of their habits'. No explanation was given, however, of exactly which habits he meant. Lawson, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴³ The Germans' less pleasant historic characteristics were listed as: insensitivity to the feelings of others, obsession with themselves, strong inclination to self-pity, a longing to be liked, angst, aggressiveness, assertiveness, bullying, egotism, an inferiority complex, sentimentality, and an inclination to overestimate their own strength and skill and to overdo things. cf. 'What the PM Learnt about the Germans', *Independent on Sunday*, 15 July 1990, p.19. For further information on the affair and the British press and popular reaction to it see L. Moyle, 'The Ridley-Chequers Affair and German Character: A Journalistic Main Event', in Husemann, ed., pp. 108-22.

⁵⁴⁴ See, for example, G. Urban, *Diplomacy and Disillusion at the Court of Margaret Thatcher* (London: Tauris, 1996), pp. 153-59.

cartoon which won a Minister of the Crown the sack', a statement about the remarkable leverage a cartoon can have.⁵⁴⁵

Following his resignation Ridley was portrayed by Cummings impaled on the spiked helmet of a smug-looking German Chancellor (*CWTR*, pp. 172-73). The cartoonist contrasts the size of the 'little Englander' with that of the giant, uniformed Chancellor adorned with Iron Cross insignia and wearing a deutschmark Grand Cross at the neck. Kohl is clearly the victor in this battle between an international heavyweight and a cabinet minister.

In a colour cartoon by Gaskill a connection is made between the stereotype German holidaymaker and Anglo-German wartime antipathy (*Today*, 13 July 1990). The artist has drawn a helmeted Ridley in Union Jack shorts running amok on a beach he believes to be controlled by the enemy. The mighty bulk of a spiked-helmeted Chancellor Kohl, reclining on his sun bed in his German tricolour bathing trunks, proves impossible to displace. The title of Kohl's holiday reading adds another political allusion: it is *Mein Klanger* by Nicholas Ridley.

The Chequers memorandum was also the target of caricatural comment. Gibbard was exceptional in that he presented an unusually positive image of an affable, forgiving German Chancellor in comparison to a spiked-nosed Mrs Thatcher and her conspiratorial Private Secretary, the memo's author (*CWTR*, pp. 64-65).

Another cartoon links one set of stereotypes to another and applies the pseudo-scientific evidence presented in the memo to the domestic image. The German character traits listed are used as a warning on a garden gate. Waiting behind it is Matt's harmless-looking dachshund (*Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1990).

By and large, cartoonists who commented on the Ridley-Chequers affair ridiculed the anti-German statements made by Nicholas Ridley and those presented in the memorandum; for once stereotypes were deployed to criticize the stereotypers. Moreover, the affair provided the opportunity for the British public's own beliefs about the Germans to be surveyed, and they were found to be generally favourable.

3.4.5 The Unification of East and West Germany

The demise of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 put Germany firmly in the spotlight again, and over the months that followed until the unification of East and West Germany, British newspapers reported almost daily about the developments taking place there. British cartoonists similarly followed events, highlighting the problems, issues and concerns associated with the process of reunification.

Even before the Wall was breached British journalists were discussing the reunion of the two Germanies. Brookes's illustration accompanying Bernard Levin's article 'The Severed

⁵⁴⁵ W. Deedes, 'The Power of the Political Cartoon', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 1990, p. 19.

Twain Shall Meet as One' offers a pastoral setting with castle for the separated halves of a German man to come joyfully together again (*The Times*, 2 November 1989). The mood, however, soon changed and fears about what could emerge from the collapse of the East German regime began to be voiced. A fortnight later in the same paper another Brookes illustration showed a phoenix rising from a burning Nazi standard. This accompanied Conor Cruise O'Brien's article: Taking Germany's Nationalist Pulse (*The Times*, 17 November 1989).

The sense of anxiety and unpredictability continued into the New Year and can be found reflected in both the 'popular' and 'quality' press. For example, an *Economist* cover featured a genial 'Bavarian' who after a 180° turn becomes a sword-wielding, helmeted soldier (27 January 1990). Even more explicit was a two-frame Caldwell cartoon entitled 'March of the Third Reich' which showed East and West Germany melding together to become a goose-stepping soldier reminiscent of the Nazi marchers of the Thirties (*Daily Star*, 20 February 1990).

Avoiding the military symbolism so widely used in the 'popular' press in presenting German issues at this time, Brookes makes use of a classic form of caricature in the geographic personification of a country: as the political head of West Germany Chancellor Kohl swallows East Germany (*CWTR*, pp. 34-35). The image is no less disturbing. Occasionally cartoonists criticized those in Britain who had grave doubts about the unification process. The Brookes illustration for the article 'Wall of Suspicion Britain Must Raze' shows Mrs Thatcher with the Berlin Wall she has reconstructed around her head (*The Times*, 6 March 1990).

Other cartoonists commented on the feelings and experiences of average Germans at the time. Langdon shows a stereotypical West German couple disaffected at the sight of a young East German family that is not ethnically identifiable (*Punch*, 25 May 1990). Jak draws a rustic East German couple, incongruously conforming to the Bavarian stereotype, who have made a particularly costly Western purchase – a Rolls-Royce – after the Currency Union (*Evening Standard*, 3 July 1990).

One of the most chilling cartoons of this period was produced as a comment on the Currency Union. Colin Wheeler drew upon potent images from Germany's militaristic past, in depicting a tank marked 'Lebensraum' firing towards the east (*Independent on Sunday*, 1 September 1990). The suggestion is that the mantle of Nazi hegemonic ambition has been assumed by a new generation of Germans.

When reunification finally took place in October cartoonists responded to the celebration critically. Jak saw it in terms of a victory for the Bundesbank and the deutschmark (*Evening Standard*, 3 October 1990) whilst with more wit Gaskill portrayed East Germany as a

dishevelled Cinderella at midnight with 'Prince' Kohl discovering that the glass slipper is really an old army boot (*Today*, 3 October 1990). Cartoons in the 'quality' press highlighted the economic difficulties unification entailed. Lurie's grotesque marriage between the living West German groom and a skeleton representing the East German economy is one example (*CWTR*, pp. 36-37).

The threat of neo-Naziism was not forgotten either. 'Tomorrow belongs to them' is the title of a *Punch* cartoon evoking the biblical Creation story with a German Garden of Eden through which a stereotypical German couple, no doubt 'Adam und Eva', are walking, beer steins in hand (*CWTR*, pp. 94-95). Eva has spotted the swastika-patterned and spiked-helmeted serpent waiting in the Tree of Knowledge.

Finally, non-political humour could also be found in cartoons at the time, such as Matt's depiction of a dirty, dishevelled East German who emerges at a unification party – spade in hand – from an escape tunnel he has been digging for a year (*Daily Telegraph*, 3 October 1990, p. 2).

3.4.6 **Deutschmark versus sterling: re- and devaluation**

Comment on politico-economic issues is a mainstay of the newspaper cartoonist, particularly in the 'quality' press where cartoons are expected to appeal to an informed, educated, middle-class readership. Since 1945 one of the most important Anglo-German issues has been the changing differentials between the currencies. They are closely linked with the Federal Republic's rise and Britain's decline as world economic powers. In cartoons German economic progress and the regular upward revaluation of the deutschmark are contrasted with British economic troubles and the devaluation of sterling.

This contrast has frequently been presented in British cartoons using war imagery. Britain is depicted as fighting its monetary corner against the attacks of the stronger deutschmark; references to Second World War conflicts are common. Cummings's cartoon from the time of the summer pound crisis of 1957 is an early example (*CWTR*, pp. 188-89). Churchill's dress and Dunkirk speech are mirrored by the new Prime Minister Macmillan, who waves his fist at Chancellor Adenauer advancing in his deutschmark *Panzer*.

The crisis of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in 1992, which led to the pound's withdrawal from the system and subsequent devaluation, was illustrated by evoking similar wartime images. These related to a variety of contexts. The pound is being salvaged from the rubble after an air raid by a DM-bomber in one Heath cartoon (*Independent*, 25 September 1992). John Major and Chancellor of the Exchequer Lamont are prisoners of war attempting to escape their deutschmark captors using a vaulting horse for camouflage (*CWTR*, pp. 208-9). The vaulting horse image refers to the successful escape of British POWs from a German camp during the Second World War, when such a horse was used to conceal the

digging of the tunnel.⁵⁴⁶ Cummings's graphic illustration depicts an air raid attack on the pound by means of a V2-style rocket with a Helmut-Kohl warhead and alludes to a proposed German commemoration of the V2 rocket project which was, in effect, vetoed by the British (*Sunday Express*, 27 September 1992). Brookes portrays Chancellor Kohl as the pilot of a First World War biplane with two successful 'kills' already emblazoned on the fuselage: namely, the British Prime Minister and his Chancellor of the Exchequer (*The Times*, 2 October 1992, p. 14).

Not all cartoonists, however, leant on images of the last war to comment on the crisis, although this did not mean their depiction of Germans, such as Chancellor Kohl, was any more appealing. Bell, for example, portrayed the German chancellor as a spiked-helmeted dominatrix in charge of the ERM torture chamber, clipping her toenails – an allusion to shaving a percentage off the Lombard rate – until the next victim was flung out (*CWTR*, pp. 206-7).

3.4.7 European issues: the BSE crisis and Monetary Union

In early 1994 a dispute erupted between Germany and Britain over the 'safety' of the human consumption of beef, which might or might not have come from an animal suffering from bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) or 'mad-cow disease'. By the summer of that year this had led to a ban by the German government on all imports of British beef and beef products, despite vigorous protests by the British government that the condition could not affect humans. It was another low point in British-German relations and continued to be a thorny issue until the British government recognized in 1996 that BSE – appearing as the new variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease – indeed posed a risk to public health, and took measures to deal with it.

The crisis was chronicled in British cartoons (as in German cartoons) with the stock of stereotypes and wartime allusions hauled out for another cause. For example, a be-monocled German detective smoking his Black Forest pipe in a *Jak* cartoon sees British beef as the cause for the mass murder at 'Shultz's Bierkeller': the victims are dressed in lederhosen, and beersteins lie on the table (*Evening Standard*, 11 May 1994, p. 8). The German affection for pork and their own problem with swine fever is the basis for Austin's cartoon of Beefeaters being renamed 'Porkeaters' on the eve of Kohl's visit to Britain (*CWTR*, pp. 218-19), while

⁵⁴⁶ The tale was told in Eric Williams's best-seller *The Wooden Horse* (London: Collins, 1949) which was subsequently issued as a schoolbook and celebrated in celluloid (same title rewritten by Williams and directed by Jack Lee, 1950). The film is one of the old wartime chestnuts repeated at regular intervals on British television. See Husemann (1997), pp. 374-76.

Gaskill portrays British beef cattle contemptuously lying on sunbeds reserved by German tourists (*Today*, 1 June 1994).

Griffin presents Kohl as a European war leader drawing battle lines with the British mad-cow forces at the Straits of Dover. Swastika armbands have been replaced by ones bearing the European Ring of Stars, but the goose-stepping adjutant and dark-faced general staff with peaked caps, spiked helmets and monocles prove such changes are merely cosmetic (*Daily Express*, May 1996; reprod. in *Spiegel*, 23/1996, p. 26). In a different and wittier vein, the Germanic tradition of psychoanalysis as a way of dealing with deep-seated problems is satirized in a BSE cartoon by Newman (*CWTR*, pp. 216-17). Reference to 'the British beef' suggests here the 'food lab' is situated in Germany or, at least, on the mainland of Europe.

Bell quotes a famous Low cartoon from the Blitz entitled 'Very well, alone' in his interpretation of the crisis, in which a mad-cow Tommy stands at the coast defiantly shaking a fist at cutlery flying back to the safety of the Continent (*Guardian*, 22 March 1996).⁵⁴⁷ British satirical comment on this crisis in British-German relations was thus also self-critical. Priestley & Riddell's *Bestiary* strip entitled 'The British Beef' (*CWTR*, pp. 228-29) is pointedly ironical, with both the pun in the title – a beef is also a grievance – and the mad animal's abusive challenge to the Germans to eat it.

At the same time as BSE was souring relations between Britain and Germany, debate was hotting up about European monetary union (EMU) a key stage towards full integration. The Treaty of Maastricht (negotiated in 1991) set out strict convergence criteria, which subsequently needed to be re-defined, as member states failed to meet them. In 1993 Frankfurt am Main was chosen as the seat of the European Central Bank. This was seen as a personal triumph for Helmut Kohl and came in the face of strong lobbying from London, the other financial capital of Europe. The British bid was, however, disadvantaged by the 'wait-and-see' policy on EMU pursued by the Conservative government under John Major. Kohl's commitment to the vision of a united Europe was contrasted in British cartoons with Major's vacillation on the subject, largely due to his desire to maintain consensus within his own divided cabinet.

Most cartoons dealing with this issue highlighted the inevitability of a German-dominated EMU, with Chancellor Kohl seen as its principal advocate. It is evidenced in Bell's depiction of Kohl on the head of a huge Euro coin rolling down on the worm-like figure of Major (*Guardian*, 7 February 1995). Major is facing in the opposite direction, unaware that he is already standing in the coin's shadow. He wears an admiral's cocked hat (as well as the Y-fronts characteristically attributed to him by Bell as a metaphor for uselessness) and has a

⁵⁴⁷ Reprod. in *Low! The Twentieth Century's Greatest Cartoonist*, p. 116; Low's cartoon is reprod. on p. 60.

telescope raised to an opaque eye.⁵⁴⁸ He claims not to see a single European currency. This alludes to the famous story of Lord Nelson at the Battle of Copenhagen (1801), who raised a telescope to his blind eye in order not to see the signalled order from Admiral Hyde recalling him from engaging the Danes. Yet Bell's Major is only a would-be-Nelson: he is not only oblivious of the looming danger but is also choosing to ignore the signs of the times.

Pro-EMU politicians have been branded as 'Kohl-ites' by cartoonists critical of the project. Chancellor of the Exchequer Kenneth Clarke – believed to be the most pro-EMU member of the Major cabinet – appears on budget day with the famed red briefcase outside No. 11 in a Brookes cartoon; he is dressed in Bavarian garb, smoking a pipe with Helmut Kohl's face on its bowl (*The Times*, 26 November 1996, p. 16). There is also much scepticism in cartoons of Kohl's Euro-vision. Riddell, for example, draws the German Chancellor as an armoured warrior complete with Euro shield. His crusading zeal, however, makes him oblivious to the state of his EU-stead, which is collapsing in exhaustion beneath him (*Economist*, 12 April 1997).

The change in government in both countries has meant the issue has had less of a German focus. On 1 January 1999 the first phase of EMU was accomplished with the introduction of the Euro as a second currency in all continental member states. This however did not mean that Germany was no longer popularly seen as the engine behind the process of monetary unification. A Gaskill cartoon from the first week of that new year shows a giant steamroller marked 'Germany' moving over the Continent with Euro wheels and an opaque-spectacled 'Bavarian' behind the controls (*Sun*, 4 January). It is about to flatten the Eiffel Tower, *le drapeau tricolore* already lying under its wheel. Thrown up in the steamroller's wake are the flags of the Benelux and Denmark, while before it the flags of the southern European nations still fly at full mast with representative buildings beside them. Across the water in the distance, by a pole bearing the Union Flag, is the Tower of Big Ben. It remains to be seen whether the steamroller will venture across the Channel.

3.4.8 Conclusion

It is important to remember that British cartoons of Germans and Germany cover a great many more topics than have been outlined in this chapter and have included the Allied division of Germany; Britain's entry into the EEC, which closely involved the Germans; the state visits of the Queen to West Germany; the Gulf War and Germany's stance towards it. Indeed, virtually every issue of Anglo-German relations and every major event of international significance that has occurred in Germany since 1945 have been dealt with by

⁵⁴⁸ Bell explains this now famous attribution in 'A Psychopath, a Mega-Nerd and now Bambi', *Guardian*, 21 July 1994, [n.p.] (repr. in 'Cartoon, Caricature, Animation', *Art History Special Issue*, 18 (1995), 1-3).

British cartoonists. Cartoons have also commented on news stories of the most ephemeral kind, making these cartoons barely interpretable to the contemporary analyst. The enormous number of cartoons dealing with Germans and Germany is evidence of that nation's importance to Britain.

The principal themes discussed in this chapter demonstrate two significant trends. First, that the greatest number of cartoons dealing with Germany are published during situations of perceived threat or of conflict in British-German relations. Secondly, in the course of the last fifty-five years of peace, images evocative of Anglo-German military conflict or pre-1945 German militarism have been profoundly important to cartoonists. Instead of such images becoming outdated and passé with the passage of time, it appears that in recent years they have become more common. However, this must be seen in relative terms. Cartoons dealing with German topics have burgeoned in recent years, principally as a result of the increase in Germany's political and economic power following reunification and Britain's closer ties with a Europe in which Germany is a key player. That being said, it is unlikely that cartoonists would continue to employ such imagery if the British public's appetite for it had diminished.

3.5 'Once a German – Always a German!': In summary

In the foregoing the nature of the British caricatural image of Germans and Germany has been explored. It was discovered that a diversity of symbols and stereotypes make up this image.

Some of these are less contentious than others. An obese, lederhosen-wearing German is likely to be considered less offensive as a stereotype of modern Germany than a goose-stepping, spiked-helmeted one, because the first stereotype reflects a Germany which actually exists. It is seen to contain a kind of truth which is still pertinent and not out of date.⁵⁴⁹

The extent to which cartoonists still need to rely on devices such as spiked helmets, goose-stepping, swastikas and other Nazi and military imagery in order to make comments on contemporary Germans depends on factors beyond the realm of cartooning. It concerns public perception of Germans as an out-group. The most blatant and frequent use of such devices occurs in cartoons in the 'popular' press. As has been seen, however, it also exists in the 'quality' press.

A former British ambassador in Bonn saw it as symptomatic of the British dilemma in dealing with Germany. Writing in a leading German 'popular' newspaper in the wake of the Ridley-Chequers affair he suggests that, as with Faust, two souls live in the British breast.

⁵⁴⁹ I am reminded of Ambassador Hartmann's words: 'To be useful, stereotypes must also contain truth, a grain of truth at least. If they have lost their inherent truth, if they are out of date and have outlived their shelf life, then they become poisonous, no longer suitable for human consumption. That is surely the moment we should get rid of them!' *CWTR*, p.236.

There is a conflict in thinking, especially for the older generation. On the one hand their thoughts go back to the past while on the other they include the present and affirm the future. While German post-war achievements are recognized, the Second World War and the events leading up to it cannot be forgotten.⁵⁵⁰

Other commentators have been less charitable. Pearce maintains that the British cannot fairly judge or criticize the Germans because Germany is a 'psychological fixture' to be admired in a defeatist way and 'to be identified in any game of consequences with Hitler, jackboots, military caps and extended stiff right arms'.⁵⁵¹

Tusa believes that the common currency of clichéd images of Germans is indicative of an English expertise in dealing in stereotypes generally. It reflects poorly on a nation imprisoned in the past, because the present is uncomfortable and the future uncertain:

It is an activity which lacks confidence, that cuts intellectual corners, that ducks reality, that evades self-knowledge. And it is we who are better at doing it, who enjoy it more, who play this game more regularly, and who find comfort in creating a world of Hogarthian grotesques, rather than facing up to the fully rounded complexity of the nations with whom we must deal. In this parlour game at least we are the masters.⁵⁵²

If this is true then the stereotypes of the Germans, including those that are considered out of date and 'poisonous', will have to be lived with. They are part of the British tradition: a tradition that is as much about the perception of others as about self-perception. From the German standpoint Kleinstauber concludes that learning to live with such stereotypes is the only option on offer: 'Wir Deutschen werden damit leben müssen, daß wir im Ausland, folkloristisch gesehen, immer wieder in das leidige Bajuwaren-Klischee gepreßt werden.'⁵⁵³

It would appear that unpleasant, even untrue stereotypes cannot simply be 'got rid of'. As Lippmann noted, 'there is nothing so obdurate to education and criticism as stereotypes.'⁵⁵⁴ They conform to the normative convictions of a society and are the product of its popular thinking.⁵⁵⁵ The persistence of a negative image of the Germans fashioned from past experience may suggest a British inability to cope with present realities but may also mirror

⁵⁵⁰ Sir Oliver Wright, 'Ticken die Engländer Nicht Mehr Richtig?', *Bild am Sonntag*, 22 July 1990, pp. 4-5. Wright (b. 1921) had served with distinction in the Second World War and as a career diplomat. He was first posted to Berlin in the fifties and headed the embassy from 1975 until his retirement in 1981. At the time of writing he was President of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry in London.

⁵⁵¹ 'Cardboard Brutes and Jackboots', *Guardian*, 8 May 1993, p. 27.

⁵⁵² John Tusa in the keynote speech opening the cartoon exhibition 'Coping with the Relations' and the seminar 'The Image Makers' at the Goethe-Institut, London. *CWTR*, p. 235.

⁵⁵³ 'Stereotype, Images und Vorurteile: Die Bilder in den Köpfen der Menschen', in *Die häßlichen Deutschen*, ed. by G. Trautmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), pp. 60-68 (p. 67).

⁵⁵⁴ *Public Opinion* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922; Macmillan, 1965), pp. 98-99.

⁵⁵⁵ cf. F. Dröge, *Publizistik und Vorurteil* (Münster: Regensberg, 1967), p. 127.

the continued threat, albeit no longer military, felt by many to be posed by the most powerful and most populous European nation. To remove the negative stereotypes one would have to alter these attitudes first.

Stereotypes may change in response to political, economic and contactual events (although certain elements may be more fixed or basic than others) and they are seen to follow and rationalize rather than precede and determine reaction to a certain nation.⁵⁵⁶ Attitude change, however, is generally a very slow process, one commentator describing it as being slower than the turning of an oil tanker.⁵⁵⁷ It may be too soon to expect that stereotypes of the Germans as Nazis and militarist aggressors will fade. These images are active not just in cartoons but in other parts of the media, and thus represent a kind of truth for a good many people.

While not always a realistic reflection of the Germans and Germany in the second half of the twentieth century, the image of this 'otherness' in British cartoons and caricature over more than fifty years is best understood as providing a lively insight into British attitudes, beliefs, and fears concerning things German during this period, albeit often expressed in hyperbolic form. The British cartoons dealt with here, with their dramatization of contentious and milder parts of the German image, in common with the stereotypes they often employ, tend to say as much about those who influenced their creation as about their subjects.

The charm of the cartoon image is in the eye of the beholder, and through that social and cognitive filter the world the cartoon presents is perceived. Perhaps then the best apologist is, in this case, one of the beheld: 'In England, dem Land der Exzentriker, hat gerade die übertreibende, exzentrische Seite der Karikatur Künstler und Publikum immer besonders angezogen.'⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁶ cf. Dröge, pp.157,162, 225; and O. Klineberg, 'The Scientific Study of National Stereotypes', *The International Social Science Bulletin*, 2 (1951), 505-15 (p. 508).

⁵⁵⁷ R. Berthoud, 'Faschist mit D-Mark', *Die Zeit*, 18 February 1994, p. 68.

⁵⁵⁸ K. Hillebrand, 'Englische Humoristen und Karikaturisten von Hogarth zu Searle', *Das Kunstwerk: Humor*, 5 (1953), pp. 27-41 (p. 28).

4 THE IMAGE OF BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH IN GERMAN CARTOONS AND CARICATURE SINCE 1945

4.0 Introduction

The German image of the British has been as subject to flux and change as the British image of the Germans over the course of the last four hundred years. In stark contrast with the perception today, the English of the eighteenth century were seen as having an underdeveloped sense of ceremonial because of their libertarian values; they were considered honest and blunt, with eccentric and melancholic tendencies.⁵⁵⁹

To nineteenth-century German Romantics modern, industrialized Britain was disdained as a mercantilistic, unpoetic country where utilitarianism ruled.⁵⁶⁰ Others saw redeeming qualities here. Goethe believed the Germans' salvation from burdensome cerebrality lay in the example of the English, whose pragmatism he held in high esteem:

‘Könnte man nur den Deutschen, nach dem Vorbilde der Engländer, weniger Philosophie und mehr Thatkraft, weniger Theorie und mehr Praxis beibringen, so würde uns schon ein gutes Stück Erlösung zutheil werden [...]’⁵⁶¹

Yet Goethe also deplored aspects of British society, equating the visual violence of Gillray's cartoons and verbal violence of the Westminster parliament with the notorious physical violence of London streets.⁵⁶² In ‘Ein Sommer in London’ (1854) the anglophile Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) describes English pragmatism and German idealism as a ‘wonderful contradiction’:

Dasselbe Volk, das den Schein über die Wahrheit setzt, das Millionen im Götzendienst der Eitelkeit und hohler Räpresentation verprunkt, [...] ist praktisch vom Wirbel bis zur Zeh, von der Magna Charta an bis zur neupatentierten Häcksellade [...] . [...] Und wir?! Dasselbe Volk, das die Wahrheit liebt und dem Wesen der Dinge nachforscht, es

⁵⁵⁹ J. Kelly, *England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921), pp. 61-62, 88-89, 104-106, 111-119.

⁵⁶⁰ E. Holzer, *Das Bild Englands in der deutschen Romantik* (Interlaken: Oberland, 1951), p. 85, cited in E. O'Sullivan, *Das ästhetische Potential nationaler Stereotypen in literarischen Texten* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1989), p. 106.

⁵⁶¹ ‘Ohne daß wir auf das Erscheinen der persönlichen Hoheit eines zweiten Christus zu warten brauchten.’ Goethe in conversation with Eckermann, 12 March 1828, in J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1868), ‘Dritter Theil’, p. 173; cited in T. Kielinger, ‘Die Rolle des Stereotyps in der Internationalen Politik – Das Beispiel der Deutsch-Britischen Beziehungen’, in *Festschrift für Martin Kriele*, ed. by B. Ziemse and others (Munich: Beck, 1997), pp. 1513-28 (pp. 1518, 1520). Original, archaic spelling has been retained.

⁵⁶² D. Kunzle, ‘Goethe and Caricature: From Hogarth to Töpffer’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 48 (1985), 164-88 (p. 174).

verliert im Suchen nach dem Wirklichsten die Wirklichkeit unter den Händen und wird zum Träumer, dem das Leben in seiner Welt über die Welt da draußen geht.⁵⁶³

The image of Britain was generally very positive at this time, and the country was admired as an ideal example of enlightened, prosperous nationhood, competing with France in German estimation. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, as Germany pursued national and international aspirations, German public opinion began to turn against a country seen as intent on blocking Germany's rise and protecting its own imperialist interests. The British were portrayed as domineering and self-assured, prudish and hypocritical.⁵⁶⁴ Writing at the beginning of the twentieth century the youthful cartoon historian Fuchs supports his discussion of English cartooning with a six-page-long negative character study, which includes the following observation about the negative character traits of the English:

Die spezifische Eigenart des englischen Charakters offenbart sich in erster Linie in einem Selbstbewußtsein ohnegleichen. Das natürliche Produkt dieses so ungemein ausgeprägten Selbstbewußtseins ist ein Nationalstolz, der selbst dem geringsten Bürger innewohnt und nur zu oft ins Lächerliche umschlägt. Der Engländer ist der größte Chauvin unter allen Nationen. Der Engländer betrachtet sich als die Krone, oder noch richtiger als den Zweck der Schöpfung. Jeder Nichtengländer dagegen ist für ihn ein Mensch zweiten Ranges, was dieser sogar in seinem eigenen Lande aus dem Munde des reisenden Engländers hören muß [...].

Ein übertriebenes Selbstbewußtsein pflegt leicht in Roheit und Brutalität auszuarten, und in der That ist die Brutalität, wie Eugen Dühren in seinem Buche über das englische Geschlechtsleben überzeugend belegt, einer der hervorragendsten Züge des englischen Nationalcharakters. [...]

Zu diesen Elementen des englischen Nationalcharakters, sagt Dühren, gesellt sich endlich, scheinbar ganz heterogen, jene merkwürdige Prüderie und Heuchelei, welche das ganze englische Leben durchzieht, jener extreme Puritanismus, welcher bei diesem Volke der Freiheit und des geistigen Fortschritts doppelt befremdend wirkt.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ T. Fontane, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by E. Gross and others (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1959-75), XVII: *Aus England und Schottland*, ed. by C. Jolles (1963), 'Parallelen', p. 178; cited in M. Humble, *Zum Stereotyp des Deutschen in der englischen Literatur und des Engländern in der deutschen Literatur* (Düsseldorf: Fraternitas, 1975), p. 11.

⁵⁶⁴ This paragraph based on: R. Leonhardt, *Zeitnotizen: Kritik – Polemik – Feuilleton* (München: Piper, 1963), pp. 62-65; O'Sullivan, p. 111. Leonhardt points out a major distinction here: While the German image of Britain may have been an ideal and model, this has never been the case with the British image of Germany (p. 62).

⁵⁶⁵ *Die Karikatur der Europäischen Völker*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Berlin: Hofmann, 1904), I: *Vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit*, pp. 278-285 (pp. 278, 280), citing E. Dühren (Ivan Bloch), *Das Geschlechtsleben in England, mit besonderer Beziehung auf London*, 3 vols (Charlottenburg: Barsdorf, 1901, I; Berlin: Lilienthal, 1903, II and III). Original spelling retained. Dühren's scholarly study comprehensively details sexual practices and perversions. Each volume is quaintly introduced by the quote from the eighteenth-century poet William Cowper: 'England, with all thy faults, I love thee still.'

Such anglophobia reached a high water mark in the First World War and was refired by the National Socialists for the second round of hostilities between the two nations in the forties.⁵⁶⁶

The last fifty years have witnessed the development of a more varied image of the British, although this has not necessarily meant an overhauling of stereotypes inherited from the past.⁵⁶⁷ One of the most comprehensive studies of the post-war German image of the British was undertaken by Sodhi and Bergius's in 1951. A high percentage of West Germans judged the British (alone of all the nations surveyed) to be conservative, reserved, arrogant, class-conscious and conventional, and associated with concepts of 'the master race' and 'the gentleman'. National pride, attachment to tradition, and sportiness were attributes they were seen to share with other nations, as were being diplomatic and having good politicians (both of these shared with the US-Americans).⁵⁶⁸ A more recent and less comprehensive survey of national characteristics was undertaken by Wilterdink in 1987 at the European University Institute. He looked at the attitudes of Institute students, faculty and administrative staff and found that the English were described by a fairly high proportion of respondents as nationalistic, chauvinistic, and isolationist.⁵⁶⁹

In what follows the extent to which these stereotypes have come across in cartoons are investigated. The aim of this chapter is to develop a counterpart catalogue profile of the cartoon image of Britain and the British in German cartoons since the Second World War. As in the previous chapter the first section provides an overview of the depiction of Britain and the British in German caricatures and cartoons from the beginning of the eighteenth century to 1945. The focus in succeeding sections is on the component parts of the contemporary cartoon image, and how they developed and may have changed in the decades since 1945. Thus, in the second section, the stereotypes which have been used by German cartoonists over the last fifty odd years are identified. In the penultimate section the principal topics in German cartoons of Britain are analysed and the way images of the British have related to

⁵⁶⁶ W. Mommsen, *Two Centuries of Anglo-German Relations: A Reappraisal* (London: German Historical Institute, 1984), pp. 21, 24; O'Sullivan, p. 111. Mommsen states that at the core of this anti-British feeling was a widespread anti-modernism, resulting from divisions in a society subjected to rapid social changes and from the nation's difficulties in coping with industrialization. Thus, the national characteristics attributed to the British primarily reflected the dominant idealistic values of German society caught in transformation (pp. 17-18, 22).

⁵⁶⁷ Humble suggests that ephemeral phenomena such as the Beatles fad may have effected this variation (p. 13).

⁵⁶⁸ *Nationale Vorurteile: Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung an 881 Personen* (Berlin: 1953) cited in O'Sullivan, pp. 103-5; they employed the list-of-attributes method developed by Katz and Braly (1933; 1935), which since the seventies has been severely criticized and is therefore no longer used.

⁵⁶⁹ N. Wilterdink, *Where Nations Meet* (Florence: EUI, 1990), pp. 33-34.

these themes explored. The final section suggests reasons for the continuity of certain images in the German perception of the British.

4.1 Historical overview: The cartoon image of Britain and the British to 1945

The first direct references to the British in German satirical prints appear from the beginning of the eighteenth century. At a time when caricature was still at a formative stage, the alliance of Prussia and Britain during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713/14) is reflected in the identical depiction of two fiddlers labelled as 'German' and 'Englishman' in a composition showing European figures enjoying a musical amusement.⁵⁷⁰ A print produced during a later conflagration, the Seven Years War (1756-63), sets the tone for the establishment of a stereotype of the English that was current until well into the twentieth century. Here an English lord ('ein Englischer Lord'; named as such but not otherwise distinguished in appearance) admires the card-playing by figures representing other European powers and declares his readiness to subsidize their gaming.⁵⁷¹ This alludes to Britain's preference not to fight her causes herself but to provide funds for her allies to do so.

One of the first appearances by Britannia in German pictorial satire dates from the time of the American Wars of Independence and shows her as a proud figure with plumed helmet, shield and sword of justice standing alone on the right-hand pan of a set of scales.⁵⁷² Hers is firmly on the ground, while the other scale – containing a Frenchman, a Native American, a Dutchman and a Spaniard – hangs in the air. The piece probably served as propaganda for the Hanoverian subjects of Britain's King George III.

During the many periods of Anglo-Prussian partnership in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, depictions of the English were favourable and usually of soldiers on equal footing with their Prussian counterparts. Wellington appears devoid of caricature as tall and gallant alongside Blücher in prints of the Napoleonic defeats. When the two generals are shown escorting the downcast French emperor onto land at Torbay, awaiting them with an open rat trap is a prototype jolly, rotund John Bull in a country that seems verdant and hospitable.⁵⁷³ This characterization of the English develops in the course of the nineteenth century, as John Bull is identified with political liberty and the freedom of the press as well as smug imperial

⁵⁷⁰ Anon., untitled, 1704, reprod. in W. Coupe, *German Political Satires from the Reformation to the Second World War*, 3 parts in 6 vols (White Plains, NY: Kraus, 1985-1993), Part I: *1500-1848* (1993), I.219, I (Commentary), 241; II (Plates), 220. All further page references from Part I will imply this sequential citation of vols I and II.

⁵⁷¹ Anon., 'Abbildung des jetzigen Politischen L'Ombre Spiels im Hause der Frau Germanin' (1757), in Coupe, I.225, p. 226; pp. 245-46. Original orthography and capitalization maintained in title and quote.

⁵⁷² Anon., 'Die Waag der Macht', [1781], in Coupe, I.233, pp. 251-52; p. 234.

⁵⁷³ Anon. (text signed 'F.E. '), 'Was lange währt wird gut', [1815], in Coupe, I.312, pp. 302-3; p. 313. The target of the satire is, of course, Napoleon who has ass's ears, a ring through his nose and accompanied by supercilious strutting standard-bearers.

and industrial success, casting a shadow over his restrained but no less ambitious German ‘cousin’ Michel.⁵⁷⁴ For example, a cartoon from 1847 shows John Bull as a portly, jowled stern-looking schoolmaster with a unicorn and crowned lion in tow and a birch raised in his hand, tutoring an intimidated Michel in political geography.⁵⁷⁵ The focus is on Michel, who is answering Bull’s question about the borders of the German Federation by comparing them to those of ‘England’. He states that, like the British Empire, Germany borders on every side with other parts of itself. The cartoon highlights an understanding of German national identity that would have concrete repercussions for German foreign policy for nearly a century. It would also be a source of conflict between Britain and Germany and thus a major theme in their cartoons of each other.

The bulldog as a symbol of Britain makes its caricatural debut in Germany around the middle of the nineteenth century. It is shown in a large spike-studded collar along with other representative European figures and Prince Metternich at the bedside of a grotesquely large infant Michel, strapped in bed – an allegory of the containment of German national aspirations by the European powers.⁵⁷⁶ At around the same time an image of the lion as a regal, bewigged British exporter appears in an allegory on the need to protect fledging German industry by import tariffs.⁵⁷⁷

With the progressive realization of Prussian territorial ambitions in the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain’s position as a rival and threatening imperial power becomes more clearly thematized in German pictorial satire. The British as colonial masters are generally seen as opportunists out to feather their own nest, hypocritical in their values and exploitative of native populations and resources. In ‘Kolonialmächte’ T. T. Heine compares the colonizing behaviour of the four European powers in separate colour frames.⁵⁷⁸ The spike-helmeted, uniformed Germans are shown drilling a numbered row of giraffes in the goose-step and collaring and muzzling a crocodile, while a palm tree has a ‘verboten’ sign attached to it. The British are seen in the process of extracting gold coins from a representative native by means of a horizontal body press. Just as the German frame is a satire of the Wilhelmine obsession

⁵⁷⁴ See, for example, H. Dyck, ‘Fromme Wünsche’, *Fliegende Blätter*, 6 (October 1847), p. 32, in Coupe, I.352, pp. 332, 353 [cited incorrectly as J. Dyck]; also anon., ‘Import & Export’, [n. pub.], [1848], in Coupe, I.425, pp. 382-83; p. 426. At this time British industrial productivity was far higher than in Germany, and English goods in particular were imported in large quantities.

⁵⁷⁵ Unsigned, ‘Wie der deutsche Michel Geographie studiert’, *Leuchtkugeln*, reprod. in *Facsimile Querschnitt – Humor aus zwei Jahrhunderten*, ed. by P. Eisele (Berne: Scherz, 1977), p. 32.

⁵⁷⁶ Klaus, untitled, published by W. Hermes, [1843], in Coupe, I.335, p. 319; p. 336.

⁵⁷⁷ H. Dyck, ‘Schutz deutscher Arbeit’, *Fliegende Blätter*, 211 (1848), p. 149. Reprod. in *Facsimile Querschnitt durch die Fliegenden Blätter*, ed. by E. Zahn (Berne: Scherz, [1972(?)]), p. 85.

⁵⁷⁸ *Simplicissimus*, 1904, reprod. in *Simplicissimus 1896-1914*, ed. by R. Christ, 2nd edn (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1978), p. 122.

with social control and regimentation, the British frame highlights stereotypes of class distinction and moral hypocrisy. The black native in the press is being filled with whisky by a monocled, moustachioed gentleman in a tweed check cap, Norfolk jacket and knickerbockers. This was the popular stereotype of the English gentleman, also evidenced in the tall, thin figure of Wilhelm Busch's rich eccentric 'Mister Pief'.⁵⁷⁹ The press is operated by a topee-helmeted, putteed soldier, whilst standing by the gold-filled crate at the end of the press is a robed, pious-looking parson reading from the Bible.⁵⁸⁰

German cartoonists took up the popular cause of the Boers in their war against the British at the close of the century. For example, John Bull is depicted amidst slaughter and destruction as a cowardly Goliath with bloodstained talons and diamond tie-stud, drinking greedily from a keg of gold, following the British capture of the Rand gold mines.⁵⁸¹

During the German-British naval arms race in the decades leading up to the First World War German cartoons reflected the standard view that Britain's proclaimed pacific intentions merely masked her imperial greed and aggressive selfishness. *Jugend* cartoonist Erich Wilke (1879-1936) drew Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman as a portraitist rendering as a handsome angel of peace a grossly fat and menacing-looking John Bull with a Dreadnought in his hands and a toothy, spike-collared bulldog at his feet.⁵⁸²

Britannia rarely appears in German cartoons of the British in this period. When she does she is typically emaciated and buck-toothed with a long face, small nose and cranky manner. As such she is the unattractive possible partner for a stiff Prussian officer in 'Kabale und keine Liebe', a cartoon comment on the unpopular alliance between Britain and Germany forged at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸³ Her absence from cartoons was probably because Queen Victoria provided the necessary female personification of Britain for most of this period. In the closing decade of her reign, when the tension between the two countries was heightening, she was commonly drawn as a frumpy old woman with a small crown and a

⁵⁷⁹ See *Plisch und Plum*, 3rd edn (Munich: Bassermann, 1882), pp. 59-65. Pief also has a strong dash of the Romantic, falling into a pond because he prefers to look into the distance with a telescope while walking. When he purchases the two dogs of the title, they are given a parting wish which refers to the stereotypical British love of (rare) beef: 'Lebt vergnügt und ohne Noth; Beefsteak sei euer täglich Brod!' (original spelling retained) cf. Humble, p. 13; The pipe-smoking gentleman in tweed jacket, plus-fours and cloth cap was also the usual representation of the male Anglo-Saxon tourist and applied equally to North Americans.

⁵⁸⁰ The French colonial officers are seducing native women, while the Belgian (a caricature of King Leopold I, the notorious owner of the Congo) is seated at a fine table enjoying a repast of spit-roasted native.

⁵⁸¹ G. Brandt, 'Der Held in Südafrika', *Kladderadatsch*, 53 (1900), Erstes Beiblatt, in Coupe, Part II: 1848-1918 (1987), II.195, III (Commentary), 147-48; IV (Plates), 199. All further page references from Part II will imply this sequential citation of vols III and IV.

⁵⁸² 12 (12 March 1907), p. 240, in Coupe (1987), II.265, pp. 192-93; p. 269.

⁵⁸³ F. Czabran, *Lustige Blätter*, 14 (28 December 1899), p. 7, in Coupe (1987), II.193, pp. 146-47; p. 197.

broad girth. A Heine cartoon scurrilously expresses the opinion of the many Germans who were ill-disposed towards an imperial neighbour seen as untrustworthy and greedy and trying to keep emergent nations such as Germany under heel. It shows Victoria trying to persuade a bashful, half-undressed Michel to take all his clothes off, ostensibly for a riverside romp.⁵⁸⁴ Her motives appear dubious, however, for she remains fully robed, and the suspicion is that she intends to humiliate him, having once taken the shirt off his back.

Victoria's son and successor, Edward VII (1841-1910), fared little better at the hands of German cartoonists, reflecting the popular anti-British opinion of the period. Depicted in cartoons as an obese roué, both scheming and lascivious, Edward was nonetheless 'the man the Germans loved to hate'.⁵⁸⁵ The ineptitude and imprudence of his nephew Wilhelm II is contrasted in cartoons with 'Uncle Bertie's' wily mastery of the European political stage. He was widely perceived as responsible for Germany's diplomatic isolation in the first decade of the twentieth century. The British monarch is thus 'the perfect billiards player in the Hôtel de l'Europe' in Ludwig Stutz's 1909 cartoon of the same title. Dressed in a fashionable check suit and smoking a cigar he leans on the edge of the table to execute with the cue behind his back a stroke which will indirectly pocket the German ball via a line of Italian, French, Russian, Serbian and Austrian balls.⁵⁸⁶ Generally, British monarchs from Victoria to George VI were portrayed as mean-spirited, cold-hearted individuals with no great affection for Germany (despite their family connections).

German style and manners are often compared negatively to those of the British in the German pictorial satire of the period. This not only demonstrates the imagological technique of describing an out-group as a means of criticizing the in-group but is also evidence of German disquiet about its image abroad. For example, Erhard Thinly (1866-1950) places cameos of cultured and noble-looking British diplomats in winged collars and neckties alongside those of their uniformed German counterparts in an attempt to answer the 'sixty-four-thousand-dollar question': 'Woher kommt es, daß die englischen Diplomaten so viel und die Deutschen so wenig Erfolg haben?' The Germans appear as militaristic brutes and effete aristocrats, and the text concludes: 'Jetzt versteht man alles'.⁵⁸⁷

British-German relations had reached a low ebb by end of the Edwardian era. When war is finally declared, tall, thin, supercilious-looking moustachioed officers and long-faced, pipe-

⁵⁸⁴ 'Deutsch-Englische Verträge', *Simplicissimus*, 3 (1898), p. 240, in Coupe (1987), II.179, pp. 137-38; p. 183.

⁵⁸⁵ Coupe (1987), III, 218.

⁵⁸⁶ 'Der perfekte Billardspieler im Hotel [sic] de l'Europe', *Kladderadatsch*, 13 (28 March), Erstes Beiblatt, in Coupe (1987), II.300, p. 215; p. 304. It was inspired by a report that, whilst on holiday in Biarritz, the monarch was inventing a new way to play billiards.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Preisfrage', *Simplicissimus*, 16 (18 December 1911), p. 684, in Coupe (1987), II.331, pp. 234-35; p. 335.

smoking soldiers in kilts, glengarries or pork-pie hats dominate cartoons of the British forces.⁵⁸⁸ However, the caricatural portrayal of the British as incompetent or ridiculous was to prove highly misleading for those sent to the front. Adolf Hitler recalls in *Mein Kampf* that the consequent underestimation of the enemy was ‘most bitterly paid for’:

Es war [...] grundfalsch, den Gegner lächerlich zu machen, wie dies die österreichische und deutsche Witzblattpropaganda vor allem besorgte. Grundfalsch deshalb, weil das Zusammentreffen in der Wirklichkeit dem Manne vom Gegner sofort eine ganz andere Überzeugung beibringen mußte, etwas, was sich dann auf das fürchterlichste rächte; denn nun fühlte sich der deutsche Soldat unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck des Widerstandes des Gegners von den Machern seiner bisherigen Aufklärung getäuscht, und an Stelle einer Stärkung seiner Kampfeslust oder auch nur Festigkeit trat das Gegenteil ein. Der Mann verzagte.⁵⁸⁹

The anti-German hysteria of the English at the onset of the war is pilloried in cartoons such as ‘Die Spionenfurcht in London’, in which an angry crowd sets upon a ‘German dachshund’, seen waving its tail at a Zeppelin.⁵⁹⁰ It is led away in chains as a spy to be executed blindfolded by firing squad. Germans were equally anglophobic. The belief was widespread that the British attitude to the war was based on commercial gain rather than principle, and this found pictorial expression innumerable times throughout the war. A characteristic example is ‘Der Hüter des Völkerrechts’ by Olaf Gulbransson. Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey is a haughty-looking representative of the firm of ‘Albion & Co.’ selling skulls dripping with blood and declaring that ‘the war is a business like any other’.⁵⁹¹ Images often emerge which reflect more stridently German identity and beliefs. Heine (whose mother was Mancunian) shows a mean-faced drill instructor barking commands at a fat, unhappy-looking John Bull, who is being goose-stepped around a neo-Gothic, Oxford-style quad. This ignores the fact the goose-step has never been part of the British military tradition.⁵⁹² American-born Arthur Johnson (1874-1954) depicts the ‘John Bull of today’ as an aggressive-looking black with thick lips and large teeth, clenching a pipe, having a flattened nose with a ring through it and a George V coin in his ear lobe.⁵⁹³ Germans were incensed by

⁵⁸⁸ Kilts had long been a source of curiosity and amusement for the Germans. They were/are thus as distinctive as the lederhose. In cartoons Edward VII was often dressed in Scots garb, and soldiers were easily characterized as British/Scottish by this means. Included in it was the suggestion of effeminacy and cowardice. cf. Coupe (1987), II.378, III, 265-66.

⁵⁸⁹ 54th edn, 2 vols (Munich: F. Eher Nachfolger, 1933), I, 198-99.

⁵⁹⁰ Heine, *Simplicissimus*, 10 November 1914; reprod. in R. Douglas, *The Great War 1914-18* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 19. In fact, the breed was so persecuted that after the war it had to be restarted in Britain from German stock.

⁵⁹¹ *Simplicissimus*, 19 (18 August 1914), p. 328, in Coupe (1987), II.372, pp. 261-62; p. 376.

⁵⁹² ‘Allgemeine Wehrpflicht in England’, *Simplicissimus*, 19 (16 February 1915), p. 606, in Coupe (1987), II.406, pp. 281-82; p. 410.

⁵⁹³ ‘John Bull von heute’, *Kladderadatsch*, 25 (20 June 1915), p. 1, in Coupe (1987), II.424, pp. 293-94; p. 428. Paragraph based on this source.

news that the British had deployed black colonial troops on the Western Front, which they saw as proof not only of the fact that the British preferred to let others do the fighting for them but also of the hypocrisy of the British, who claimed to be defending civilized values against the barbarian Hun.⁵⁹⁴ By using black troops they were, it was claimed, shamefully betraying the white race to lesser, uncivilized breeds. These were perennial propaganda themes, with Johnson's cartoon displaying the racism inherent in the German position.

John Bull continued to be the central iconographic figure used in caricatural depiction of the British. He is smoking his pipe on the pinnacle of a steep rock, surrounded by a sea of blood, in a 1916 cartoon entitled 'Die Sintflut'.⁵⁹⁵ Oblivious to the plight of his allies below him, who are desperately clinging onto the sides of the rock, he is also unaware of the presence of an Ark in the background carrying a dove with an olive branch (a slight manipulation of the biblical metaphor). The cartoon takes up two frequently repeated propaganda themes: that Britain always manages to avoid disaster itself while being indifferent to the suffering of others (as in the catchphrase: 'The English would fight to the last Frenchman'); and a theme from this point in the war onwards: that peace is on offer if the Allies will negotiate.

The German image of the British in the difficult years following the Armistice in 1918 was influenced by the ambiguous role Britain was seen to play in enforcing the harsh terms of the despised Treaty of Versailles. While the French are depicted as actively aggressive, seeking to humiliate Michel at every turn and exploit his defeat, the British are seen to take more of a back seat, acquiescent even conciliatory. Yet there is often a strong suggestion of hypocrisy and connivance with the French. Oskar Garvens (1874-1951) allegorizes a 1926 meeting of the British, French and German foreign ministers to discuss further concessions in terms of the Faust legend. Austen Chamberlain is Mephisto hiding behind a tree while Aristide Briand is the seducer Faust, tickling Gustav Stresemann-Gretchen under the chin in the hope of charming her into giving up her purse marked 'Eisenbahn-Obligationen'.⁵⁹⁶

One of the first Nazi-influenced cartoon images of the British is an amusing Epiphany-tide allegory on German rearmament reflecting Britain's conciliatory attitude. Britain is a

⁵⁹⁴ In this war of ideologies German cartoons reflected the propaganda line that *Kultur* - as an expression of aesthetic values - was superior to *Zivilisation* - negatively expressed in capitalism, industrialization and urbanization. This idea was satirized with equal bitterness in British cartoons of the Germans (as discussed in 3.1). E. Demm, 'Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 28 (1993), 163-92 (p. 176).

⁵⁹⁵ Fips, *Der Wahre Jacob*, 33 (4 February), in Coupe (1987), II.451, pp. 308-9; p. 455. Paragraph based on this source.

⁵⁹⁶ *Kladderadatsch*, 79 (21 November 1926), p. 5, in Coupe, Part III: 1918-45 (1985), III.229, V (Commentary), 137-38; VI (Plates), 229. All further page references from Part III will imply this sequential citation of vols V and VI.

bewhiskered Magus in deerstalker hat, jacket and kilt, pointing with his American companion to the new Star of Bethlehem, a glowing swastika with rays making up the word 'Friede', while the French wise man is turned away from them ignoring their gesticulation.⁵⁹⁷ By 1939 a different attitude has emerged. The stereotype of British perfidy and moral hypocrisy is employed for a Garvens cartoon for the front cover of *Kladderadatsch* on the eve of the Second World War.⁵⁹⁸ It shows Prime Minister Chamberlain in morning dress and top hat, bearing a palm frond and a Bible under his arm and standing behind a mounted machine gun disguised as his open umbrella.

Cartoons reflect the propaganda line that the British and their Jewish backers were responsible for the outbreak of the war. Caricatural *Feindbilder* of the British are soon commonplace in German journals and newspapers; most cartoons lack wit or sophistication. Winston Churchill is portrayed as a cigar-smoking John Bull with bulldog-like features, frequently dominated by Stalin and/or Roosevelt.⁵⁹⁹ He is, for example, a duplicitous old lady tricking the smaller nations of Europe to take shelter under her voluminous skirt only to secure their capture for a knife-bearing Stalin.⁶⁰⁰ Others concentrated on the image of Britain as a class-ridden nation of social inequality and capitalist exploitation.

There are, however, examples of light-heartedness. Will Halle provides an image of the typical British home, conspicuously decorated with pictures of animals, models of sailing ships and a huge portrait of the king.⁶⁰¹ The owners are bound and gagged whilst their daughter is gagged and held in the firm grip of a large cigar-smoking American GI. Reading a pamphlet entitled 'Wie benehme ich mich in England' with a bottle of whisky by his side he exclaims that he thinks he has made a faux-pas ('Ich glaube, ich habe mich vorbeibenommen!'). The cartoon was inspired by news that the US authorities had issued a leaflet to troops instructing them on how to behave inoffensively in Britain, and also picks up on British resentment of the fact that the Americans were 'overpaid, oversexed, and over here'. Another ingenious cartoon refers to the doodlebug (V1 and V2) attacks on Britain in the last year of the war. A forlorn, lion-faced John Bull in Union Jack top hat is held firmly

⁵⁹⁷ Johnson, 'Die Drei Könige aus dem Okzident', *Kladderadatsch*, 87 (7 January 1934), p. 1, in Coupe (1985), III.411, pp. 231-32; p. 411.

⁵⁹⁸ 'Englischer Friede', 92 (30 July 1939), in Coupe (1985), III.455, p. 255; p. 455.

⁵⁹⁹ The cigar can be understood to symbolize greed and Churchill's bloated, jowled round face suggests self-indulgence. J. Darracott, *A Cartoon War: World War Two in Cartoons* (London: Cooper, 1989), p. 11.

⁶⁰⁰ [n.a.], 'Die Mausefalle', *Kladderadatsch*, 3 September 1944, final page, in Eisele, p. 207.

⁶⁰¹ Untitled, *Lustige Blätter*, 57 (16 October 1942), p. 9, in Coupe (1985), III.504, p. 278; p. 504.

between the knees of a huge robot which is pounding away on his behind with two bomb-shaped hammers marked 'V'.⁶⁰²

An Erich Schilling cartoon from May 1944 does sound a prophetic note, whilst expressing the German propaganda of the time that, whatever the outcome of the war, Britain would be the real loser: she would lose her status as a world power and be overshadowed by her two imperialistic allies. 'Miß Britannia beim Weltheater' centres on an old, wrinkled, hook-nosed actress in front of her dressing room mirror who says wistfully; 'Wie schnell das doch geht! Vor ein paar Jahren habe ich noch die Hauptrolle gespielt und jetzt spiele ich nur noch die komische Alte!'⁶⁰³

4.2 British stereotype content in German cartoons since 1945

The purpose of this section is to detail stereotypes in caricatural currency over the last fifty years. According to the definition chosen in the first chapter, stereotypes are shared, generalized beliefs about a group of people, an event or an institution. A cartoon stereotype, therefore, needs to be one that has been used with some frequency and by more than one artist. Where these criteria are not met, then what is being dealt with is an image.

As in the previous chapter two groups of stereotypes will be examined – the general and the specific.

4.2.1 General stereotypes

In cartoons everyday folk are depicted according to general stereotypes. In terms of stereotyping, 'British' is seen as synonymous with 'English' and is used interchangeably in German cartoons and hence in what follows. A further common characterization exists for the Scots, but not so for the Welsh, while the Northern Irish are identified separately from these other nations only in the context of their sectarian conflict, and then usually as thugs, terrorists or paramilitary troops (see *CWTR*, p.143).

Caricatural stereotypes for the British family and child could not be identified as these were not sufficiently represented in the sample.

4.2.1.1 The Englishman or 'Britisher'

The most common stereotype of the Englishman/'Britisher' consists of a man carrying a black umbrella and a newspaper and wearing a bowler hat. These are key, ubiquitous identifiers of

⁶⁰² W. Krain, 'Reuter meldet', *Lustige Blätter*, 59 (11 August 1944), p. 3, in Coupe (1985), III.532, p. 292; p. 532.

⁶⁰³ *Simplicissimus*, 49 (10 May), p. 220, in Coupe (1985), III.529, pp. 290-91; p. 529. See also G. Strobl, *The Germanic Isle: Nazi Perceptions of Britain* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), ch. 8.

‘Englishness’, and in unity form a caricatural innovation during the period under study.⁶⁰⁴ Witness, for example, the bemused onlooker being addressed by the trouserless Cabinet Minister in Haitzinger’s comment about Mrs Thatcher’s prime ministerial style (*CWTR*, p. 43). The Union Jack on his hat confirms these attributes as British/English and is a typical, post-1945 caricatural addition. The flag also helps identify the context and *mise en scène* of the cartoon’s internal dialogue as domestic (rather than international, as is usually the case). The German viewer of the cartoon is thus given a window on the British perception of their own political situation: quasi ‘as we see ourselves’, albeit through German eyes.

In addition to these most common features the Englishman in caricature is often depicted wearing a bow tie, instead of a conventional tie, and a waistcoat; these elements also being part of the John Bull image. Like his German counterpart he often sports a moustache, which may be twirled (see *CWTR*, pp. 42-43, 44-45, 98-99). Unlike his German counterpart the typical Englishman smokes a pipe rather than cigars, a fact famously associated with Harold Wilson (Prime Minister 1964-70, 1974-76; see *CWTR*, pp. 72-73, 74-75, 164-65, 166-67) as well as Sherlock Holmes, an archetypal English character in his deerstalker and full-length tweed cape. Traxler’s cartoon of Germans armed with hard deutschmarks ‘pillaging’ London includes such a figure as a shop window mannequin (*CWTR*, p. 198). In the second frame the Teutonic horde has stripped him of everything but his pipe.

In his cross-cultural study of political cartoonists in Europe and the USA, Knieper lists the ‘British gentleman’ as the second most popular symbol (after the lion) used by artists ‘working predominantly in Germany’ for their encoding of ‘England’. This is a misdescription on Knieper’s part. Whilst the ‘gentleman’ image is designated as British rather than English – as traditional usage has it – it serves its function vis-à-vis England rather than Britain, thus employing the traditional German and anglocentric synecdoche. It is, however, unlikely that a gentlemanly figure in a kilt would be used as a caricatural encoder for England. Knieper cites the figure being pictorially defined as wearing a black suit and carrying an umbrella.⁶⁰⁵ The following sections focus on its most generally accepted attributes: umbrella, bowler hat and newspaper.

⁶⁰⁴ This is not to say that this composite stereotype did not exist prior to 1945. However, I have found no evidence of it in the German cartoons I have surveyed. An explanation for this may be found in the following sections on the umbrella and bowler hat. The latter had become a fashion anachronism in Germany by the end of the war. Yet it remained conspicuous amongst certain groups in Britain such as bankers, civil servants and former military officers, for whom it served as an ersatz-uniform or in-group identifier.

⁶⁰⁵ T. Knieper, *Die Politische Karikatur* (Cologne: Halem, 2002), p. 198. The findings for ‘England’ are based on responses from 28 cartoonists. In 1998-99 Knieper analysed feedback on a variety of topics from – amongst others – 45 German and seven Austrian political cartoonists as well as others whose work appears regularly in Germany, such as Dutch cartoonist Fritz Behrendt and Greek cartoonist Bas. Of the 44 British cartoonists

4.2.1.2 The umbrella

Although now every Englishman's 'companion', the umbrella was seen by the English in the eighteenth century as foreign (that is, French) and ridiculous, and in the nineteenth as unmanly. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had acquired metaphorical significance when it was described as 'the Englishman's sceptre of empire by which he ruled!' In the first half of that century, although it was not seen as a wholly desirable fashion accessory – the Prince of Wales was criticized in the thirties for using one for a short walk – it had become part of the image of the older, more conservative English gentleman.⁶⁰⁶

Perhaps the most famous umbrella of the twentieth century was the one taken by Neville Chamberlain to Germany when preparing the Munich Agreement of 1938. Though it was unlikely that he would need to use it on his journey, it was an essential accessory for a gentleman of his generation. The umbrella being gripped by the British Prime Minister on boarding his aircraft 'could almost be seen to exude confidence, security and the British way of life'.⁶⁰⁷ The fact that the broolly is firmly part of the continuing German image of the English must in part be due to the visual impact of this event and its association with an archetypically English figure.

The umbrella is not exclusively a stereotypical attribute of English males, although they are more commonly depicted with them than are females. It is a more frequently used caricatural identifier of Englishness than either the bowler hat or *The Times*. One reason for this may be that it also communicates a popular understanding of the British climate as inclement. It can serve as a metaphor in this respect, as for example in Gerhard Mester's cartoon of John Major holding a tattered umbrella against the storms around Parliament ('Major im Regen', [1996]). It symbolizes his government's diminishing majority due to the deaths and defections of Tory MPs.

4.2.1.3 The newspaper

The British are perceived as a newspaper-reading nation. When a newspaper is identified in a cartoon, it invariably carries the masthead of *The Times*, the quintessentially British newspaper, in circulation under this title since 1788. It is Britain's oldest national newspaper. Its rise to national and international pre-eminence in the nineteenth century was due to a number of interconnecting factors: its innovative approach (it first combined comprehensive

contacted, there was a predictably tiny 11% response (p. 115). The cartoonists provided the descriptive terms themselves, having been asked to list the symbols, figures or graphic elements they would use to draw 'England'. This was the second item in a long list, which began with 'Germany' and was followed by 'France' (p. 340).

⁶⁰⁶ This paragraph based on T. Crawford, *A History of the Umbrella* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970), pp. 113-15, 145, 149, 152.

⁶⁰⁷ Crawford, p. 156.

news reporting with editorial comment, entertainment and advertising), its championing of popular causes (thus originally attracting a liberal-minded readership) as well as its first use of innovative technologies such as steam printing, introduced by the Saxon Friedrich Koenig in 1814. By the beginning of the twentieth century it had been overtaken in circulation by many of its competitors, yet it remained conservatively anglocentric, politically influential, and was considered essential reading for ‘men of affairs’.⁶⁰⁸ By the end of the twentieth century – under the ownership of the Australian media magnate Rupert Murdoch – it was striving to reclaim its original liberal-minded readership.

Exceptionally, Haitzinger’s cartoon on the newspaper reporting of the Royal Family (*CWTR*, p.106-7) features the *Sun* and points to a developing German perception of British reading habits, reflecting the high profile – largely due to their sensationalism – and immense popularity of the ‘popular’ press.

4.2.1.4 **The bowler hat**

The bowler hat (like John Bull’s top hat) appears to lack the national distinctiveness of, say, Marianne’s Phrygian cap or the Dutch cap, and this may be due to its not exclusively British usage pre-1945. The bowler appeared in *Punch* cartoons from an early stage, the modern form of the hat itself dating from 1850. Its comic function is rooted in late nineteenth-century English music-hall theatre. There it featured in routines for mainly working-class audiences as an emblem of middle-class aspiration and pretension, which the audience could enjoy seeing deflated by circumstance. From this context it was made internationally famous by Charlie Chaplin and, later, Laurel and Hardy, causing it to be associated with the common, working man. As Robinson points out, ‘the bowler [...] is thus at once the sign of something funny and of something stereotyped’.⁶⁰⁹

The stereotype of the bowler-hatted man in the business suit, with umbrella and/or briefcase, probably began in the twenties. The bowler was the ‘hat of the decade’. It was both a conservative sign, because of its identification with nineteenth-century respectability, and a sign of threatening change, because of its identification with the modern. Chaplin had enormous influence in Weimar Germany, and the bowler was adopted as a German fashion, becoming a symbol of Weimar – ‘the burghers’ republic’ – and of its commercial and progressive middle class. As such it was execrated by both the Left and the Right: whoever

⁶⁰⁸ Information based on *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, ed. by D. Griffiths (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. 26.

⁶⁰⁹ F. Robinson, ‘The History and Significance of the Bowler Hat’, *TriQuarterly*, 66 (1986), 173-200 (p. 175). This paragraph based on Robinson (1993), p. 112-115.

felt their antagonists were lacking *Geist* imagined them in bowler hats, respectably selling off Germany:⁶¹⁰

The bowler was identified with England and American films, and its fit, like the fit of everything else in Germany, was not comfortable. It became filled with various and transferable anxieties: about industrial, functional urban life; about rootless entertainment; about machines; about finance; about Jews; and about a lower middle class that, if it was new to England and France in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was almost alien to Germany en route from an atavistic and antimodern monarchy to an atavistic and antimodern dictatorship.⁶¹¹

In Germany during the thirties the bowler hat became increasingly identified with Jews through its use by the financial and commercial classes. Nazi caricatures of the Jews frequently showed them wearing bowler hats.⁶¹² Consequently, the hat went out of fashion there and was only worn by those wishing to advertise their sympathy with the Jews. Indeed, a Nazi epithet for the bowler was *Judenstahlhelm*, an expression implying Jewish profiting from the war rather than the fighting of it.⁶¹³ Thus, the use of the bowler hat as a post-war German caricatural motif has not been without anti-Semitic implications.

By the fifties the bowler was firmly part of the hetero- and autostereotypes of the British conservative, middle class, metropolitan male. It was worn ‘almost exclusively by men in the City of London, or by London men who wished others to think they were in banking or trade, that is, at the heart of things British.’ The man in the bowler hat ‘had become a comic stereotype of respectability shrunk to conformity. City of London dress [...] had already become the sign of something past, almost a parody dress.’⁶¹⁴

While the bowler is now rarely seen even in Threadneedle Street (the site of the Bank of England), it continues to function as a metaphor for a distinctive, insular character who is both progressive and conservative. A tongue-in-cheek *Times* editorial makes this point:

The bowler hat made Britain great, the Empire was won by men in bowler hats, the Industrial Revolution would never have happened without the bowler hat, the Barons at Runnymede wore bowler hats to a man, Speaker Lenthall defied Charles I with a bowler hat precariously perched on his wig [...]. The English, for one thing, relied upon

⁶¹⁰ This paragraph based on F. Robinson, *The Man in the Bowler Hat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 96, 106, 115.

⁶¹¹ Robinson (1993), p. 92.

⁶¹² A counterpart to this usage is to be found in the photomontages of the Dadaist John Heartfield, which satirize bowler-hatted (pro-)Nazi fools such as ‘Bishop’ Ludwig Müller in *Der Reichsbischof richtet das Christentum aus* (1934). Robinson (1993), p. 115.

⁶¹³ Chaplin appeared as a bowler-hatted Jewish barber in his satire of National Socialism: *The Great Dictator*, 1940. When playing Hitler (with whom the barber is confused) he does not wear it. Robinson (1993), pp. 113, 117.

⁶¹⁴ Robinson (1993), p. 166.

it to distinguish them from foreigners; who ever saw, without giggling, a German, a Frenchman, a Japanese in a bowler?⁶¹⁵

The central place of the hat in the costume of financiers is reflected in Radler's Englishman inviting the Germans to fill the royal safe with deutschmarks (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). The raising of a bowler emphasizes both the gesture of welcome and of politeness. The latter is an expression of stereotypical British manners known in Germany as 'die feine englische Art', which includes a sense of fair play and keeping a 'stiff upper lip' (that is, being self-disciplined).⁶¹⁶ The link is also made in the giant bowler held out to receive German donations towards the cost of the BAOR by a tramp-like Prime Minister Wilson (*CWTR*, pp. 164-65). The hat is an immediately identifiable signifier of old-fashioned 'Englishness'. Pielert comments on the merging of the London and Frankfurt stock exchanges by depicting an eager German and an alarmed British stockbroker standing side by side watching their respective hounds – an autostereotypical dachshund and a bulldog – sniffing one another up ('Schnupperkurs', *WAZ*, 5 May 2000, p. 1). The Englishman has the same striped trousers, jacket, waistcoat and briefcase as his German counterpart but differs from him in wearing a bowler hat, bow tie and round glasses and sporting a moustache. By contrast, the German wears a Homburg, a tie and square spectacles. There are neither flags nor country codes to aid identification, only the names 'Frankfurt-Börse' and 'London-Börse' on the two dogs.

Yet the bowler hat is not exclusively employed in the financial context. A *Stern* cartoon makes the prototypical link with the image of 'the common man' in featuring a British male in overalls, open-necked shirt and bowler contentedly drinking tea on a Britain-shaped raft that is slowly sinking into the sea (15 February 1979).⁶¹⁷ The figure represents a trade unionist at a time when the Unions were holding the country in thrall (see *CWTR*, pp. 40-41).

4.2.1.5 The woman

In contrast to its British caricatural counterpart, the German image of the British woman lacks a definable identity that is not conflated with national personifications such as Britannia, or specific personalities such as the Queen or Mrs Thatcher.⁶¹⁸ The German caricaturing of British women seldom occurs outside these parameters, thus making the discernment of a general stereotype difficult. However, where the British woman has been portrayed – as for example in Köhler's female personification of the pound (*CWTR*, pp. 196-97) – it is as an

⁶¹⁵ 'The Fourth Leader', *The Times*, 23 August 1986, p. 7.

⁶¹⁶ See H.-D. Gelfert, *Typisch englisch* (Munich: Beck, 1995), pp. 24-32.

⁶¹⁷ Sonderteil zum *Stern* Nr. 8; reprod. in *As Others See Us*, ed. by H. Husemann, 2 vols (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1984), I: *Student's Book*, 128.

⁶¹⁸ This is not generally the case. Gelfert identifies a tradition of three (literary) stereotypes in the continental perception of English women: the cool lady, the puritanically strict governess, and the emancipated bluestocking (p. 20).

unattractive frumpy, dowdy and/or emaciated figure that lacks the gentlemanly style of the male caricatural stereotype.⁶¹⁹ One thing though she does often share with the latter is an umbrella.

4.2.2 Members of Parliament and Civil Servants

Members of Parliament (MPs) and civil servants particularly conform to the 'Britisher' stereotype and are almost without exception men. The exception is Mrs Thatcher, who will be dealt with separately. However, one telling parliamentary portrait is provided by Sartin who shows Members in school uniform rather than dark suits. They are a rowdy group engaging in a variety of puerile pranks, whilst Mrs Thatcher is calmly seated in their midst. The Speaker of the House appears a witless figure with opaque spectacles, a distended upper jaw and a long, beak-like nose (*CWTR*, pp. 134-35) attempting to maintain order. Typical caricatured British civil servants wear bow ties and bowler hats even within doors (see *CWTR*, pp. 98-99) and carry an umbrella and a copy of *The Times* without.

4.2.3 The businessman

The stereotype of the tall, thin Englishman in tweeds or uniform continued to feature in cartoons of the post-war period, but by the sixties it had been effectively replaced by a more solid figure in a dark suit, often pinstripe, thus with a distinctly urban, businesslike appearance. Tweed continues to appear as traditional attire reminiscent of Sherlock Holmes (see *CWTR*, pp. 198-99), as the garb of the British when contrasted with their dark-suited continental counterparts (as tourists or politicians), or as the preferred dress of aristocrats. The scandal surrounding the collapse of Barings Bank gave cartoonists an opportunity to satirize the staid image of the City gent. In one cartoon Nick Leeson (the trader responsible for the bank's collapse) was drawn in a bowler hat and pinstripe, yet minus his trousers, unleashing a storm from a bottle marked Barings over the Houses of Parliament. There is a sense of anarchy and subversion in the figure: this gentleman is really the Sorcerer's Apprentice (Tomëi, *FAZ*, 4 March 1995, p. 15).

A social-sartorial contrast between this image and that of a working class Englishman is drawn by Sartin, who depicts a giant T-shirted skinhead eating fish and chips wrapped in the *FT*.⁶²⁰ The paper is being studied at the same time by a small, bespectacled figure in pinstripes

⁶¹⁹ Köhler used the same allusion for a very similar cartoon in 1957, in which an even wider-bodied Frau Mark is being petitioned by an emaciated Mille Franc. The latter appears more *mondaine* in a black off-the-shoulder dress hitched up to expose her thighs beyond her black stockings. This is unlike Miss Sterling in her check/tartan dress covering her shoulders and at least one knee. 'Nachbarin – Euer Täschchen', reprod. in *Der Deutsche in seiner Karikatur*, ed. by F. Bohne (Stuttgart: Bassermann'sche, 1963), p. 162.

⁶²⁰ In E. Daum and L. Sartin, *England heiter betrachtet* (Munich: Tomis, 1991), p. 27.

and a bowler hat. The cartoon also humorously differentiates between the facilities the newspaper provides: conveyor of information for the middle class, and of fast food for the lower class.

When the stereotype of the metropolitan Englishman (pinstripe suit, bowler hat, umbrella, reading *The Times*) appears disgruntled or acting aggressively within a European context, it is usually a depiction of a ‘Little Englander’ or a Euro-sceptic. This is a caricatural type which has come to the fore in the years since the Maastricht Treaty and in response to the well-publicized factionalism within the Conservative Party over the issue of further European integration. For example, Ebert shows such a figure with a long, sour face sipping tea alone on his island fortress being surprised by the appearance of a matronly, buxom Europa coming up through a manhole and greeting him with ‘Huhu!’ (*RP*, 7 May 1994). Another, drawn by Horsch at the height of the BSE crisis, shows a group of such gentlemen marching forwards with set demeanour, brollies and briefcases (*Die Zeit*, 31 May 1996, p. 8). Pairs of animal horns – varying in size and shape according to the individual – protrude from their bowler hats. The cartoon illustrated an article by Martin Kettle entitled ‘Als wäre der Krieg ausgebrochen...’ which argued that Tories were using the crisis to revive British nationalism.

4.2.4 The aristocrat

Germans have a fascination with English aristocracy. Their cartoons of the British are populated by images of the upper class with its haughty, starched appearance and stiff upper lip, first established as a result of contact in the nineteenth century with British aristocrats travelling the Continent.⁶²¹ Sir Anthony Eden (Foreign Secretary 1951-55; Prime Minister 1955-57), Harold Macmillan (Prime Minister 1957-63) and currently Prince Philip personify this image, unlike Churchill and Wilson who were cast more in the role of John Bull.⁶²² A *Jak* cartoon reproduced in *Die Welt* (28 February 1981) testifies to the curiosity Germans have about the British aristocracy and the institutions of which they are a part, as well as being an example of the one-way traffic in British cartoons for German readers.⁶²³ It is set in the House of Lords and contrasts the stereotypical appearance of a peer – an elderly monocled man dressed in pinstripe and robes – with the new intake of Labour Party appointees – working class men in flat caps and boots. The drawing also shows that the monocle is used to

⁶²¹ See O’Sullivan, p. 110.

⁶²² Edward Heath (Prime Minister 1970-74), typically caricatured with a long, pointed proboscis, and John Major (1990-96) with his large square glasses, fitted neither stereotype and tended to be portrayed as pinstripe bureaucrats.

⁶²³ The contemporary German taste for British cartoons was, in part, developed by the use of work by untainted British artists in immediate post-war publications. The German appetite for British satirical humour thus whetted, and in the absence of indigenous material of the same order, the practice has continued. However (sadly) it has remained a one-sided arrangement. German political cartoonists are virtually unknown in Britain.

communicate anachronistic upper class style in both British and German caricatural contexts. Chancellor Erhard affects a pro-English aristocratic style during the Queen's first visit to the Federal Republic in an earlier cartoon (Leger, *SZ*, 28 May 1965). Dressed in riding boots, breeches and tie, and with a copy of *The Times* in hand, he is instructing his butler, who is proffering him a candelabra with which to light his cigar.

The British upper classes are not ordinarily depicted in a positive light. The old stereotype attribute of hypocrisy is linked with this social group in a cartoon comment on the Falklands War (Wolter, *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 14 April 1982). Two tweedy aristocrats with pipes and large moustaches are depicted denouncing the Argentinians for the sort of banditry that a portrait of a pirate ancestor in the background clearly indicates was the source of the family's own fortune. Aristocratic pique and cruelty are the focus of a drawing by Plaßmann, in which a monocled member of the privileged classes is shown sitting under an umbrella in the middle of the desert waiting to take tea (CCC, 1988). His worn and ragged butler (stereotypically called 'James') has crawled over the dunes with a flask of water, which his master however pronounces 'too hard' and pours out onto the sand.

4.2.5 The officer/soldier

This is a caricatural type which featured frequently in German cartoons of the forties and the fifties and has rarely appeared since the end of the Occupation and the less visible presence and political role played by the British forces in Germany. Only when Britain was involved in an international conflict such as the Falklands and Gulf Wars did this type make a return appearance (see, for example, *CWTR*, pp. 120-21).

For the most part these images are positive. In Kreische's multi-image cover cartoon for the short-lived Berlin magazine *der Insulaner* (15 October 1948) soldiers of the occupying British Army are shown in one frame as happy-go-lucky types striding past the Astor cinema in their berets with pipes clenched between their lips.⁶²⁴ In another frame pipe-smoking British officers in peaked caps are smiling benignly from generous armchairs at a group of boys standing before them.

The officer/soldier personified Britain and its supportive role in the establishment of a democratic German state after the Second World War. He often appears in distinctive uniform alongside soldiers representing the other Allied powers. For example, he is one of those

⁶²⁴ Reprod. in G. Lammel, *Deutsche Karikaturen* (Weimar: Metzler, 1995), p. 243. *Der Insulaner* was published fortnightly in West Berlin by the cabaret artist Günter Neumann. It showcased a raft of talents including Günter Kunert, Chlodwig Poth, and Eberhard Wachsmuth, but lasted only from September 1948 to September 1949. *ibid.*, p. 244. Lammel incorrectly cites June as the month it ceased publication; cf. the bibliographical record of the Dortmund 'Institut für Zeitungsforschung' via the *Union Catalogue of Serials/Zeitschriftendatenbank (ZDB)* <<http://pacifix.ddb.de>> [accessed 25 March 2002].

bringing their respective zones of occupation together like pieces of a jigsaw (Szewczuk, 'Heute – Morgen?', 1946).⁶²⁵ One of E. M. Lang's first political cartoons for the *Süddeutsche* features a moustachioed British officer holding toddler Michel's hand on the street (20 January 1948).⁶²⁶ The other hand is held by an American officer, who is trying to calm an excited Marianne in high heels standing under a lamp. She exclaims that the gormless little figure was trying to rob her of her innocence.

By the fifties the British, along with the other Allies, were being portrayed in more critical terms. A *Simplicissimus* cartoon by Carl Sturtzkopf from 8 January 1955 shows the 'tetrarchs' in uniform and wearing the crowns of *Sternsinger* (Epiphany singers). They have arrived at Michel's house ostensibly to sing carols in return for alms. However, they seem more content to feast on the *Knödel* (filled dumplings) he and his pretty wife have laid out for them. The British officer conforms to type, being the tallest of the four – with a long neck, long moustachioed face and a somewhat superior air. Michel's abject look of resignation suggests they have not only overstayed their welcome but are eating them out of house and home.⁶²⁷

4.2.6 The bobby

The British policeman in his distinctive helmet is an image occasionally occurring in German cartoons. He may be depicted on the beat (for example, *CWTR*, pp. 198-99) or as part of a composite traditional image such as at the entrance to the prime minister's London residence, No. 10, Downing Street. Policewomen do not conform to this stereotype – for one thing they do not wear a helmet – and are therefore unknown in the caricatural context.

A Skott cartoon (*Welt*, 17 July 1997, p. 4) departs from this stereotype and shows three jacketless policemen cum customs officers in peaked caps with black and white check bands. They appear as a constabulary version of the infamous 'Three Monkeys': one is blind, the second is wearing ear muffs, and the third is in a wheelchair with his mouth taped over. They make up the 'Export Control Force' ineffectually enforcing the restrictions on the export of British beef at the height of the BSE scare. The image is of interest for another reason, as well. The language of the cartoon, both the caption and written texts within the frame, is exclusively English, which the cartoonist assumes his readership (which Skott describes as 'a classic group of subscribers – civil servants, Catholics, and practising Christians') will be able to understand.

⁶²⁵ Reprod. in H. Pötzsch, *Deutsche Geschichte nach 1945 im Spiegel der Karikatur* (Munich: Olzog, 1997), p. 40.

⁶²⁶ Reprod. in Bliesener, p. 53; and E. M. Lang, *...so Lang die Tusche reicht* (Munich: Süddeutscher, 1976), p. 10.

⁶²⁷ There is an irony here evoking the final couplet in Emanuel Geibel's 1861 nationalist poem 'Deutschlands Beruf': 'Und es mag am deutschen Wesen / Einmal noch die Welt genesen'. The cartoon is reprod. in Lammel, p. 251.

4.2.7 The Scott

German cartoonists easily distinguish between an Englishman and a Scot by means of a kilt and/or the carrying of bagpipes. The kilt is a symbol in its own right and is employed in contexts where (British) frugality is thematized – for example in contributions to the EU budget (*CWTR*, pp. 200-201). It conforms to a popular, international stereotype of the Scots as thrifty and avaricious.⁶²⁸ The metaphor is not confined to the depiction of the British. Tomicek shows President von Weizsäcker on the occasion of his State Visit to Britain as a tartan-clad and bagpipe-playing Scot successfully wooing Britannia ('Love Song from Richard', *Westfalenpost*, 8 July 1986).⁶²⁹ In the first address by a German President to the Westminster Parliament, von Weizsäcker had shown sympathy for Britain's critical attitude towards European Community spending, criticized the Common Agricultural Policy, and declared that German and British interests lay in ensuring that the Policy's generous subsidies not be underwritten indefinitely. Such support for fiscal prudence went down well with a majority of his listeners, in particular the Prime Minister.

4.2.8 Locomotion

Traxler's cartoon of German tourist shoppers ransacking London (*CWTR*, pp. 198-99) depicts two means of transport which make up the caricatural stereotype: the Rolls Royce (or 'Roller') and the double-decker bus. They represent opposite ends of the transportation spectrum: the bus is a popular and most inexpensive form of public transport, while the Roller is the preserve of the most affluent and a symbol of individual success. The London black cab, with a position perhaps at the centre of this scale, does not feature in German cartoons, although it is a common enough feature of the stereotype elsewhere.

Rolls Royce is identified as a symbol of Britishness. When the company was taken over by Volkswagen in 1998, Horst Haitzinger brought together other key national symbols in a composition entitled 'Aloisius statt Emely' (*Welt am Sonntag*, 5 April 1998, p. 9). A man in a dark suit and bowler hat, *The Times* in hand and a brolly on his arm, is tearfully imagining a future Roller where the Spirit of Ecstasy has been replaced by a winged, smiling Bavarian holding pretzel and beer stein. Even the Englishman's moustache droops at the thought. In the background Big Ben can be seen.

⁶²⁸ This image has a long history in popular ethnic humour. The canny 'oeconomy' of the Calvinist Scots is first mentioned in English plays from the latter half of the eighteenth century and quickly established itself as a national stereotype. The image found currency abroad, even in countries such as France and Germany with relatively little direct experience of the Scots. They not only import jokes about the Scots but also invent new jokes often with a distinctly local flavour. C. Davies, *Jokes and their Relation to Society* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 46-48.

⁶²⁹ The artist's trademark bird appears at his feet in a busby, the characteristic tall fur headdress of the Queen's Foot Guards.

The German acquisition of one of Britain's international trademarks – albeit a relatively recent addition – was in itself extraordinary, although it was not the first time such a symbol had passed into foreign ownership.⁶³⁰ As a recent commentator points out, this was a humiliation for traditional British manufacturing and showed the extent to which British labour was dependent on German business:

Dass die altehrwürdigen britischen Marken von Rolls Royce und Rover jetzt den deutschen Konzernen BMW und VW gehören, kommt nicht nur einer symbolischen Demütigung der traditionellen britischen Unternehmen gleich. Vielmehr zeigt sich darin, wie viel Macht die deutsche Automobilindustrie über die Arbeiter in Großbritannien hat.⁶³¹

4.2.9 The press

The British press has been stereotypically depicted as hostile to Germany, an image that has changed little since the nineteenth century. A Hicks cartoon from 1957 shows a group of mean-faced, chain-mailed 'Siegfrieds aus England' with shields displaying the titles of British newspapers upon them and bearing enormous pen-lances and clubs ('Nibelungenlied', *Die Zeit*, 15 August 1957). They are attacking Michel as 'Alberich', who is sitting upon a castellated tower-cum-potty defecating gold ingots into its moat. The press is most frequently represented by snarling bulldogs, as in a Kolffhaus cartoon showing Adenauer arriving to stay with Macmillan ('Besuch in London', *Deutsche Zeitung*, 19 November 1959). The German spies his host's guard dog angrily poking its head out of a kennel marked 'britische Presse' and asks him if it is still fierce and vicious. When Helmut Kohl was awarded the Freedom of the City of London in 1998 Haitzinger drew him being congratulated by a stereotypical City gent holding a victory wreath behind the chancellor's head (*Tagesspiegel*, 19 February 1998, p. 10).⁶³² At the same time their suits and underclothes are being ripped to shreds by 'Presse' bulldogs.

Paul Flora presents a different image in his *Zeit* cartoon of 3 March 1967. John Bull is warned to be nice to the Germans by a newspaper bird with *The Times* masthead visible on its wing. The cartoon is entitled 'Ein weißer Rabe' ('A White Raven'), a bird symbolic of hope and good portent.⁶³³

⁶³⁰ Another commercial symbol, Harrods, was purchased by the Egyptian magnate Mohamed Al Fayed in 1985.

⁶³¹ H. Kundnani, 'Britannien als Vorbild', *Die Zeit*, 22 July 1999, p. 9.

⁶³² Reprod. in H. Haitzinger, *Politische Karikaturen von Horst Haitzinger* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1998), p. 60.

⁶³³ It is also the artist's 'heraldic animal' (*Wappentier*). Paul Flora, ed. by K. Arndt and H. Guratzsch (Gifkendorf bei Lüneburg: Merlin, 1984), p. 8.

4.2.10 Food, drink, leisure, and social behaviour

The drinking of tea is seen as stereotypical British behaviour and as such is reflected in cartoons. Teapots, cups and saucers have been included in a variety of settings over the last fifty years, although they feature most commonly in the hospitality offered by British heads of government and/or state to their German counterparts.

There is an allusion to the Pipi Langstrumpf expression ‘Abwarten, Tee trinken’ in Murschetz’s comment on Tony Blair’s attitude to the Euro, entitled ‘Wait and See’ (*Die Zeit*, 31 October 1997). The cartoon shows a group of Euro parachutists preparing to jump from an aircraft. At the front is a burly figure suggestive of Helmut Kohl. In his kit Blair is crouching in a corner taking tea. He has a wide grin and is identified not only by the tea service but also by the letters ‘GB’ printed on his backpack. Haitzinger wittily Anglicizes the German idiom ‘das ist kalter Kaffee’ (‘that’s old hat’) in his cartoon on the British media reporting of the scandals surrounding the Royal Family (*CWTR*, pp. 106-7): the mischievous angel uses ‘Tee’ instead of ‘Kaffee’ in his remark to the Bard, studying the *Sun* with some alarm. This is emphasized by the teacup and saucer placed upon four of his better-known works just to his right.

The consumption of gin is also stereotypically associated with the ‘island race’. In Wolf’s international comparison of wives’ reactions to their husbands’ infidelity, a suited English matron is found flat on the floor by her husband (in tartan boxer shorts) and his bikini-clad mistress. The smell of the bottle next to her tells them that it is gin and not poison that has rendered her so.⁶³⁴

German cartoons reflect stereotypical perceptions of the British penchant for royalty and formality. Haitzinger’s 1992 comment on Royal marital scandals is one example (*CWTR*, pp. 106-7), while Pielert shows the monarch complete with crown arriving in Germany to patch up British-German relations followed by two haughty servants in ostentatious livery (*CWTR*, pp. 112-13). Rotraut Berner’s cover for *Handbuch der feinen englischen Art* (Munich: DTV, 1992) shows a queue of people minding their own business with brollies on their arms.⁶³⁵ The exception is the only bearded man, who is introducing himself to the ermine-clad, crowned lady behind him using the idiomatic cliché ‘How do you do?’

⁶³⁴ ‘Hilfe – mein Mann betrügt mich’, in F. Wolf, *Bilder aus der Provinz* (Bergisch Gladbach: Lübbe, 1972), p.59. The cartoon first appeared in *Stern*.

⁶³⁵ The book by Laurie Graham was originally published in English as *Getting it Right: A Survival Guide to Modern Manners* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1989), and was translated into German by A. Loewenthal. The cover cartoon was sadly removed from later German editions (2000, 2001) and replaced by a kitschy photograph of a silver knife and fork in golden soft focus on a linen cloth.

4.2.11 Architecture, geography, and climate

British architecture is caricaturally neoclassical with square multipane windows and six-panelled doors with lintels outside and straight-sided pediments and friezes within (see, for example, *CWTR*, pp. 98-99). It is famously associated with the Georgian façade of No. 10, Downing Street, while London is usually signified through the name of Harrods and Oxford Street, and the structural images of Big Ben and the Tower Bridge.⁶³⁶

Great Britain's status as an island is occasionally used as a vessel in German cartoons to comment on the country's relations with Europe. A smiling John Bull is handling the sails and rudder of Great Britain as he manoeuvres it towards Marianne and Michel waiting on the European shore (Mussil, 'Ei, ei – wer kommt denn da?', *FR*, 3 June 1960).⁶³⁷ On one of his sails is written 'wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit' (economic co-operation). At the time the Macmillan government was preparing to apply for EEC membership. Thirty-seven years later Bensch portrays Tony Blair soon after his election triumph as a grinning oarsman rowing the Union Jack-covered island towards the EU quay, thus signalling a change in the British government's attitude to Europe ('Zurück in die Zukunft', *Handelsblatt*, 9 May 1997).⁶³⁸ The distinctive white cliffs of Dover feature in German contexts of cross-Channel interaction just as they do in British cartoons. A Leger cartoon from 1964 depicts Chancellor Erhard leaping across the Channel – the long shadow of de Gaulle cast over it – to a welcoming Prime Minister Home waiting on the Cliffs with outstretched top hat and umbrella at the ready ('Sprung über den Schatten', *Hannoversche Presse*, 16 January 1964).

When English weather is thematized in cartoons this means rain (hence also the omnipresence of the gamp). It is the rain that floods the centre court at Wimbledon, which causes the last determined spectator to shout 'Time!!!' from under his umbrella (Wolf, *NOZ*, July 1991). Rain is also used metaphorically in cartoons as, for example, the BSE downpour that the cows of Europe are shielding themselves against with their brollies (Horsch, 'Englisches Wetter über Europa', *Die Zeit*, 1 November 1995).

4.2.12 Auto- and heterostereotype content

Auto- and heterostereotypes often occur together in German cartoons because of the tendency for caricatural comment on German conditions or topics to contain an international

⁶³⁶ Twentieth century additions to the architectural topography of London have not made a lasting impact. Neither the Canary Wharf Tower – the tallest building in the capital, at the centre of an IRA terrorist attack in 1996 – nor the Millennium Dome – despite its unusual design and the controversies surrounding its construction and usefulness – have featured in German cartoons (to the best of the author's knowledge).

⁶³⁷ Reprod. in Bliesener, p. 93.

⁶³⁸ Reprod. in *Blairing Britain towards Europe*, ed. by H. Husemann and others (Osnabrück: Universität Osnabrück, 1999), pp. 40-41.

perspective. The German preoccupation with the way they are perceived abroad is equally expressed in cartoons, and this frequently includes a British element.

In the early years after the Second World War the British were represented in German contexts along with the other Allied occupying powers. For example, Meinhard combined human heterostereotypes with an animal autostereotype in a cartoon comment on the Allies' strategies for dealing with vanquished Germany [1947(?)].⁶³⁹ The four powers are depicted as men nonchalantly teasing with birches a dachshund tethered within a kennel compound. A sign warns to beware of the dog, which is snarling and pulling at the chain that restrains it. This induces the beretted Frenchman to ask his colleagues the reason for the German dog's behaviour: 'Liegt der nun an der Kette, weil er böse ist, oder ist er böse, weil er an der Kette liegt?'. The Briton in the group is a long-faced, slim figure dressed in check plus-fours and cap and is smoking a pipe, in keeping with the traditional German stereotype of the English ruling class.

German cartoonists more commonly compared like with like in employing hetero- and autostereotypes together after 1945. German corpulence is often contrasted with English slimness or even emaciation, a characteristic contiguous with pre-war representations of British soldiers, politicians, English ladies and others. It thus serves as a metaphor for the imbalance of affluence between the two states and can be understood as exposing a German sense of superiority, if only in fiscal terms. Where the inverse ratio is described, it serves as a metaphor of influence rather than affluence: British political clout/strength contrasted with German political dependence/impotence.

Two examples are Köhler's 1976 cartoon 'Nachbarin – Euer Täschen!', which contrasts an emaciated Miss Sterling with a corpulent Frau Mark in an analogy of currency values (*CWTR*, pp. 196-97) and Busse's 1992 comment on a similar theme, showing Queen Elizabeth II in the spectral shape of the pound sign greeting the massive bulk of Chancellor Kohl in the form of the deutschmark acronym (*CWTR*, pp. 110-11). German obesity – a German autostereotype and a British heterostereotype of the Germans – also featured in German cartoons on Germano-British relations as a reference to Kohl's long-term chancellorship. One cartoon by Rademacher from *Die Zeit* accompanied an article by Jürgen Krönig entitled 'Orgiastische Beschwörung nationaler Leidenschaft' (28 June 1996, p. 45). Krönig argues that the English press has been fanning the flames of Germanophobia in order to strengthen resistance to the European Union, and the cartoonist shows a group of angry British thugs (one with an umbrella) brandishing sticks and holding high huge Kohl-sized lederhosen decorated with the German eagle. Each has a Union Jack board nailed to his forehead covering his eyes, an allusion to the German colloquialism 'ein Brett vor dem Kopf

⁶³⁹ Reprod. in Bohne, p. 116.

haben', meaning to be really thick. In this case their dim-wittedness is part and parcel of their blind nationalism. The hooligans appear to be searching for the person who fills the trousers. Another cartoon, this time by Burkhard Mohr (b. 1959), shows a slim Tony Blair in athletic singlet and shorts skipping with a rope while being admired by Oskar Lafontaine and Gerhard Schröder, who are each filling one leg of a giant-sized pair of trousers (*FAZ*, 22 October 1997, p. 1). The inference here is that the trim, dynamic image Blair presents is more attractive to the then leaders of the German opposition than trying to emulate the stature of Kohl.

4.2.12.1 *Deutscher Michel*

The most common autostereotype employed by German cartoonists has been *deutscher Michel*, a figure discussed in the previous chapter (3.3.1). Unknown in British cartoons of the Germans, Michel is the most significant contextual counterpart to representations of the British in German cartoons. Michel – the product of self-reflection rather than self-enhancement – is the only Western national stereotype to embody failure and inadequacy. Although Michel's characteristics have been traditionally negative or self-mocking, his physical and emotional identity has undergone change often in line with other nations' perceptions of Germany.⁶⁴⁰ Disapproved of by the Nazis, he reappeared upon defeat in 1945.⁶⁴¹

In the post-war period he was often depicted as a child and/or as Siamese twins denoting the Allied division of the country into eastern and western zones. He has since become analogous to other European national stereotypes in expressing both positive and negative aspects of German self-understanding. His night-cap has acted as a seismograph of Germany's political fortunes, being accordingly erect or limp.⁶⁴² In an early Lang cartoon the infant Siamese twins are seated on a potty high chair being attended to by the Allies ('Londoner Besprechungen', *SZ*, 24 February 1948). The Michel on the left-hand side is being fed by Uncle Sam, with Marianne and John Bull benignly looking on. His cap is pointed vertically. His twin's cap on the right hand side is pointed diagonally as he is tickled under the chin by the huge figure of 'Uncle Joe' Stalin.⁶⁴³

Michel usually appears in cartoons dealing with international topics along with his counterpart national personifications. Michel's cap often suffices as a signifier of his

⁶⁴⁰ This and the previous sentence based on E. Sagarra, 'The Longevity of National Stereotypes: The German "National Character" from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day', in *German Reflections*, ed. by J. Leerssen and M. Spiering (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 1-28 (pp. 2, 23).

⁶⁴¹ See T. Szarota, *Der deutsche Michel* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 1998), pp. 274-79.

⁶⁴² These comments based on Sagarra, pp. 12, 20, 27.

⁶⁴³ Reprod. in Pöttsch, p. 43.

representative function. During the negotiation of the last BAOR currency offset agreement, a *Handelsblatt* cartoon has it on the head of a cow branded with a stylized German eagle (Bensch, 'Der Torero', 6 September 1977). The animal is being milked by a laughing John Bull and parried with by a rapier-thrusting, indignant-looking Prime Minister Callaghan, who is dressed as a bullfighter.

In the German Democratic Republic, Michel largely disappeared as part of national culture. He did not fit the positive socialist autoimage required by the regime and was too closely identified with a right-wing agenda and a petit bourgeois mentality, of the sort attributed to West Germany. However, he staged a comeback in East Germany after 1989.⁶⁴⁴ Thuringian cartoonist Otto Damm depicts him in 1994 as a fat, gormless-looking, self-conscious figure sitting on a bench with Marianne and a moustachioed Englishman. The latter is characteristically dressed in a bow tie, a tweed suit and cap, and wearing brogues (*Thüringer Allgemeine*, 19 March). This reintroduces an antiquated heterostereotype of the British which had not been maintained in West German cartooning from 1945, thus paralleling Michel's absence in the GDR. It is interesting also to note that the Englishman is not explicitly identified by a Union Jack or the letters 'GB', as has become so common a guarantee of recognition in West German cartooning. In the absence of further research I assume that this sartorial stereotype of the British remained familiar currency in at least parts of East Germany after 1945.

Michel has generally been portrayed as a smallish figure, often aspiring to the grander, larger stature of the major political players on the world stage. This was particularly the case following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the breakdown in 1989-90 of the German political partition. But the caricatural comparison existed well before this. A cartoon by Fritz Wolf from the mid-sixties shows a tiny Michel with a stool in hand approaching the Allied Powers, who are seated in armchairs at the 'Atomic Club' (*NOZ*, [1964]).⁶⁴⁵ At the centre of the group, eyeing the interloper and flanked by the uniformed US-American and Soviet representatives, are Wilson – looking avuncular in a BAOR/'Monty'-style beret and characteristically smoking a pipe – and de Gaulle, who is haughtily holding his head upwards. Michel tells them plaintively that he is thinking of becoming a member. In another cartoon, some twenty years later, Michel is standing on the top of a ladder looking longingly upwards at four gigantic figures representing the United States, the Soviet Union, China and the oil-

⁶⁴⁴ Szarota, p. 296.

⁶⁴⁵ Reprod. in Wolf, *Karikaturen: Politische Karikaturen aus Tageszeitungen 1958-1978* (Osnabrück: Kulturgeschichtliches Museum, 1978), p. 22; and *Fritz Wolf: Karikaturen* (Bramsche: Rasch, 1994), p. 22.

producing Arab states (Hanel, *EG-Magazin*, 1978).⁶⁴⁶ Grouped around Michel are other small figures representing the European powers, separated from one another by striped, pro forma border barriers. The John Bull figure – distinctive in his Union Jack top hat – is busy angling for fish in an oil drum (presumably a reference to the North Sea). The others are engaged in similar self-absorbing pursuits.

4.2.12.2 ‘As others see us’

Germans have retained a fascination for the way they are caricatured by other nations. The pictorial comments of British cartoonists on Germany and German affairs have frequently been reproduced in German publications. One such drawing by H. M. Bateman is reproduced in an anthology of international cartoons edited by the noted East German cartoonist Herbert Sandberg (1908-91) in the early sixties.⁶⁴⁷ Bateman imagines Germany as a country of fat, flushed-faced people, sausage trees and dachshunds with razor-sharp teeth.⁶⁴⁸ Given Sandberg’s dialectical position it was probably included in the anthology as a criticism of aggressive (West) German affluence and materialism. Sandberg also reproduces a cartoon by Vicky, which takes as its theme the growth of neo-Naziism in the Federal Republic. The piece shows a typical half-timbered German streetscape in which swastikas and Hitler’s mou and forelock are reflected in architecture and animals (see 3.4.5). For both the artist and the editor this is a more pointed critical statement than the Bateman piece, given the cartoon’s post-war

⁶⁴⁶ Reprod. in *Europa: Politische Karikaturen von Walter Hanel*, ed. by J. Ackermann and K. Arndt (Göttingen: Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar, 1993), p. 30.

⁶⁴⁷ *Der freche Zeichenstift* (East Berlin: Eulenspiegel, 1963). It brought together the work of cartoonists from around the world which Sandberg had publicized in a column of the same name he wrote for the monthly journal *Magazin*. Sandberg was a survivor of Buchenwald, where he recorded his seven-year incarceration in drawings done with oven soot and Spanish white. Later he founded with Günther Weisenborn the first post-war illustrated satirical magazine in Germany. Entitled *Ulenspiegel* and licensed by the Americans, it modelled itself on *Simplicissimus* pre-1914 and was published in Berlin from 1945 to 1950, when it fell victim to the Cold War. See L. Lang, *Herbert Sandberg: Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Henschel, 1977), pp. 5, 16-21; and *Ulenspiegel: Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und Satire 1945-1950*, ed. by Sandberg and G. Kunert, 2nd edn (East Berlin: Eulenspiegel, 1988).

⁶⁴⁸ The cartoon is entitled ‘Wie Herr Bateman sich Deutschland vorstellt’ and is reproduced without date in Sandberg, p. 223. Drawn by Bateman in 1928 prior to his trip to Germany under the aegis of the Berlin-based ‘lifestyle’ magazine *Uhu*, the cartoon was the lead illustration for his article ‘Von deutschen Betten, Dackeln und Würsten’ (*Uhu*, February 1929, pp. 19-23 (p. 19)), where it carried the caption: ‘Warum wir Mr. Bateman nach Deutschland kommen ließen.’ cf. A. Anderson, *The Man Who Was H. M. Bateman* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1982), p. 154. Sandberg revels in heterostereotypes when describing Bateman’s reaction to Germany: ‘Der Engländer ist ja als sehr wortkarg bekannt. Nur als Bateman nach Deutschland kam, machte er plötzlich staunend den Mund auf, fast erschrocken darüber, daß man in der Welt so unenglisch sein kann: so ernst und eifrig, auf gutes Essen und Trinken so erpicht – und so komisch in seiner Humorlosigkeit.’ (p. 14.) In fact, according to his daughter, Bateman had become something of a Germanophile and greatly enjoyed his trout-fishing visits there. (Interview with Diana Willis, Somerset, October 2001).

provenance and its contemporary reference to the West German political landscape. Whilst published in the German Democratic Republic following the construction of the Berlin Wall, Sandberg's compilation would have been available to a wider German audience, as East German publications were not only sold in West German bookstores but were the preferred purchase (along with music) for visiting West Germans, when spending their compulsorily exchanged Ostmarks.

Very occasionally during the period under study German newspapers reproduced British cartoons satirizing German affairs with equally critical annotations referring to their source. Brookes's comment on post-unification neo-Naziism in Germany featuring Chancellor Kohl as the three wise monkeys with their backs to rampaging skinheads brandishing swastikas (*The Times*, 1 October 1992, p. 14) was reproduced in the Springer title *Welt* four days later. Below it was added the annotation 'Perfides Deutschlandbild: Auf unfeinste englische Art wird Kanzler Kohl vorgeführt', thus negating the stereotype of English good manners and refinement referred to as 'die feine englische Art'.

A new aspect of German caricature appeared in the nineties, of which the following example bears testimony. Schoenfeld produced a cartoon in 1996 commenting on the behaviour of the British during the European World Cup entitled 'Das Spiel England-Deutschland aus britischer Sicht' (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 June). It caricatures a British stereotype of the Germans and particularly the British propensity to see contemporary competition with Germany in terms of the two world wars. It is an invasion scenario enacted on the soccer field. The Germans are depicted with spiked helmets entrenched in their half of the pitch protected by barbed wire and with bayonets fixed to defend against an onslaught of British tanks from across the half-line. Their goal is boarded up and surrounded by a second line of barbed wire and one-man trench defences with an armoured gun post as goalkeeper. A steel-helmeted *Daily Mirror* commentator reports on the scene in one corner, a British beef steak lying before him half-eaten. Granted it is set against the backdrop of the BSE crisis, when British-German tensions were at their height, but what is innovative here is a German cartoon satirizing the militaristic stereotypes employed by the British in describing a competitive event involving both countries, long after the hostilities of the first half of the twentieth century.

4.2.13 Conclusion

The British use of war stereotypes to make sense of or comment on British-German or German affairs is not shared by German cartoonists. On the contrary, German cartoonists tended to disavow the use of such imagery in the period under study. Only relatively late in the twentieth century did they come to employ it to comment on the British perception of Germans and Germany. The use of such imagery by German cartoonists thus reflects on the

iniquity of being measured and understood on the basis of a more distant past, however light-heartedly that might be done. More importantly, it thematizes the innate absurdity of such a comparison, in light of present realities, and so allows those to whom it is directed to have the last laugh. The British sting is neutralized through humour, the taunt defused, and the bully confronted. Perhaps it demonstrates the greater emotional distance many Germans now have from their country's twentieth century past, about which they have hitherto often appeared so painfully sensitive. Such behaviour may speak of a more confident, contemporary German self-image, which is boosted by comparison with their image of the British as trapped in a constant rehashing of the past and a need to 'lord it' over others. In this they may be doing no more than drawing on a global, necessarily negative perception of the British that is itself not so easily changed. As one British commentator has suggested:

The world needs the arrogant Englishman, the crude despoiler of other cultures, the thick general raised on the Eton wall game who nods at massacres, the befuddled Forster heroine whose sexual repression is projected on the licentiousness of 'the natives'. It is part of the global collective treasure trove of stereotypes, and will not be given up. Cool does not play as well as cruel; it is our late millennial version of the white man's burden.⁶⁴⁹

4.3 Symbols

4.3.1 Allegorical human figures

Two allegorical human figures feature prominently in the German caricatural perception of the British: John Bull and Britannia. Both have developed to serve as national personifications. The question of 'perception' is a significant one, because figures such as John Bull and Britannia (just as Germania, *Deutscher Michel*, the Bavarian and the Gentleman) personify nations not as they **are**, but as they are perceived or ought to be perceived.⁶⁵⁰ In this they serve the central imagological function of self-description through transference and projection.

4.3.1.1 John Bull

Whereas the allegorical Britannia symbolizes the nation, John Bull is more an English 'Everyman'. This figure gradually developed over centuries out of different elements: the symbolic British bull or English bulldog, the literary work of John Arbuthnot (1667-1735)

⁶⁴⁹ J. Lloyd, 'The Making of Cruel Britannia', *New Statesman*, 26 June 1998, pp. 8-10 (p. 10).

⁶⁵⁰ cf. P. Dittmar, "Ein man theurer dann 1000 Weiber", *Welt*, 23 September 1995, section G1.

and an eighteenth-century graphic tradition of a certain type of popular Englishman, to whom the name coined by Arbuthnot was attached by the end of the century.⁶⁵¹

Arbuthnot – court physician, satirist and friend of Jonathan Swift – introduced John Bull as the humanized representation of England in a collection of political satires entitled *The History of John Bull* (1712).⁶⁵² He is described there as ‘an honest plain-dealing Fellow, Cholerick, Bold, and of a very unconstant Temper ... [and] very apt to quarrel with his best Friends, especially if they pretended to govern him’.⁶⁵³ Arbuthnot’s John Bull has been characterized as a ‘patriotic victim, the put-upon common man’, a projection which changed radically when he was purloined by the Victorian ruling elite and remodelled, as Low first put it sneeringly in 1937, as ‘this obese, smug, side-whiskered country squire’.⁶⁵⁴

John Bull began appearing in English satirical prints from the middle of the eighteenth century and appears for the first time as a typical Englishman in 1779.⁶⁵⁵ The German eyewitness commentator on late eighteenth century England, the historian and publicist Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz (1743-1812) describes the John Bull type for his continental readers in a superior tone as a successful artisan, unsophisticated and his own man, who personifies the national character and is the darling of English satirists:

In andern Ländern suchen die niedern Stände die vornehmern so viel wie möglich zu kopiren: hier aber bemühen sich die erstern vielmehr, sich von den letztern zu unterscheiden. Ein reicher Handwerksmann glaubt ganz nach seiner Weise leben, und sein eigen Original seyn zu können. Diese Gattung Menschen von originellen unverfeinerten Sitten, deren man auch oft in den höhern Volksklassen antrifft, haben einen besondern Namen: man nennt sie John Bull; unter welcher wunderlichen Benennung jedoch auch bisweilen der große Haufen des englischen Volks verstanden wird. *John Bull wird jedoch allemal mit gewissen National-Tugenden, als Ehrlichkeit, Muth, u.s.w. vorgestellt. Es ist eigentlich der personificirte National-Charakter, so wie ihn Swift zuerst gezeichnet hat.* Uebrigens ist er auch der Lieblingsgegenstand der

⁶⁵¹ J. Surel, ‘John Bull’, in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, ed. by R. Samuel, 3 vols (London: Routledge, 1989), III, pp. 3-25 (p. 6).

⁶⁵² The series became better known when republished in the popular *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1st edn, 1727), a work of collaboration between Arbuthnot, Swift, Alexander Pope and John Gay. See J. Arbuthnot, *The History of John Bull*, ed. by A. Bower and R. Erickson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. xxiii-xxv.

⁶⁵³ Arbuthnot, p. 9.

⁶⁵⁴ In *Punch* and similar journals, John Bull came to represent and reflect ‘the values of the high Victorian commercial and county gentry; their delight in success and material prosperity; their reverence for decorum; their stuffy conservatism and strident chauvinism.’ R. Matthews and P. Mellini, ‘From Britannia to Maggie’, *History Today* (Sept. 1988), 17-23 (pp. 17, 22). D. Low, ‘Streamlining the Cartoon for the Airplane Age’, *New York Times Magazine*, 7 February 1937, pp. 10-11 (p. 10). The passage was repeated in his *Autobiography* (London: Joseph, 1956), p. 210. In the late twenties Low introduced a transmogrified conflation of John Bull and Britannia in the form of flapper Joan Bull, but she never caught on in the same way as his other invention, Colonel Blimp. Matthews and Mellini, p. 22.

⁶⁵⁵ M. George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (London: Allen Lane, 1967), p. 13.

englischen Satyrenschreiber und dramatischen Dichter, und nie ergoetzt sich das Volk mehr, als wenn dieser John Bull durch die beissendsten Spöttereien von ihnen ganz unbarmherzig behandelt wird.⁶⁵⁶

John Bull was first popularized for German audiences via a play bearing his name published in 1803 by George Colman the Younger (1762-1836), which was performed in Germany from 1825.⁶⁵⁷

Whilst John Bull may have declined as a cartoon figure in Britain, in Germany he remains popular. On the whole John Bull has been portrayed by German cartoonists since the Second World War as an anxious, timid, sometimes passive character, who takes a second or third position behind the United States and France in compositions containing national personifications of the Western and European alliances. Typically dressed in a quaint bow tie, boots, breeches and jacket, he is a shortish rotund man with mutton-chop whiskers. Most significant for visual recognition is a Union Jack on his top hat or broad waistcoat. This is perhaps the most John Bull-ish feature, with other characteristics serving as additional, optional cues. Thus, the fat man in bow tie and Union Jack waistcoat tied to the stake in Auth's cartoon reprinted for the *Münchener Merkur* (CWTR, pp. 40-41) can be interpreted as John Bull although other characteristics of the figure are absent. Bensch's unmistakable John Bull is a similarly anxious figure, putting the finishing touches on his portrait of German Michel as the commander of the ERM cohort accused of undermining the pound (CWTR, pp. 68-69). In contrast with Bull's own wide-eyed insight, the belligerent's eyes lack pupils, suggesting blind obedience and insensitivity. The cartoon is a German appraisal of British anxiety about Germany's growing economic and political clout. The outdated military uniform which Bull portrays Michel as wearing suggests that only by a simplistic harking back to the past can Bull (that is, the British) make sense of complexities of international finance.

There have also been instances where John Bull has displayed guile and hypocrisy, notably in the late fifties when British demands for a currency offset to help fund the British Army of the Rhine began antagonizing a German public just beginning to enjoy its hard-won prosperity. For example, *Der Fortschritt* published a cartoon entitled 'Appell an die

⁶⁵⁶ *England und Italien* (Carlsruhe: Schmieder, 1791), 3. Theil, 12. Abschnitt, pp. 126-27. Original capitalization and orthography retained; my italics. Swift was believed until relatively recently to be the author of John Bull. The Schmieder edition was a pirate reprint of the second, improved and expanded edition of Archenholtz's work, published in Leipzig in 1787. The second edition was itself an attempt by the author to counteract the success of a pirated reprinting in 1786 of his sold-out first edition of 1785 (Leipzig: Dyk). Most of the text quoted above appeared in the first edition; I have rendered the section added in 1787 in italics. See Archenholtz, *England und Italien*, ed. by M. Maurer, 3 vols (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993), I: *England*, p. 476; III: *Varianten, Materialien, Untersuchungen*, pp. 342-44.

⁶⁵⁷ Dittmar, section G, p. 1.

Europäer' in early 1957, in which a well-attired John Bull is on a dais turning out empty pockets to an assembled crowd including Michel.⁶⁵⁸ Bull has a theatrically sorrowful look on his face.

In the late sixties, with changes of government in Bonn and London, the German image of John Bull began to soften a little at the edges and demonstrate a more collaborative mood. For example, Prime Minister Harold Wilson is depicted as Bull, complete with trademark pipe, in a Gerboth cartoon from 1967 (*CWTR*, pp. 72-73). With his Foreign Minister George Brown, dressed as his female counterpart – 'Mrs' Bull with headscarf and Union Jack apron – he is hoping to woo the new Kiesinger-Brandt coalition with a programme of mutually beneficial talks.

More recently the iconographic wheel appears to have come full circle, with John Bull portrayed again in the Arbuthnot mould as a figure of pugnacious bourgeois independence, usually in the European context. In the run-up to the Maastricht Conference the *FAZ* published a Lurie cartoon of John Bull as a post-modern Robinson Crusoe vociferously trying to turn away the ship called 'The New Europe' that is sailing to rescue him from his isolation.⁶⁵⁹ Here John Bull embodies the 'Little Englander' spirit: He has surrounded his island with 'no entry' signs and tied his Union Jack breeches to a flagstaff. His ragged polka dot drawers and the crossed plasters on his cheek suggest he has had a rough time of it. As Giles Radice – a prominent Europhile Labour MP – astutely points out, the cartoon 'reflects the view about Britain's negative posture on Europe which is widely held in Germany'.⁶⁶⁰ It was most likely judged a good cartoon by the newspaper's readership, for the very reason that it confirmed their own perception of the situation. In the wake of the royal scandals of the nineties and their reported effect on British public opinion, John Bull has even been portrayed

⁶⁵⁸ 31 January. The cartoon is reprod. in E. Bliesener, *Europäische Integration als Thema der Karikatur* (Heidelberg: Impuls, 1962), p. 89. An independent weekly (later fortnightly) newspaper, *Der Fortschritt* was published in Düsseldorf from 1949 to 1960. *ZDB* [accessed 20 September 2002].

⁶⁵⁹ December 1991; reprod. in G. Radice, *Offshore: Britain and the European Idea* (London: Tauris, 1992), p. 117.

⁶⁶⁰ Radice, p. 116.

as a republican subversive.⁶⁶¹ Pielert's Bull demonstrates this in sawing through one of the legs of the throne, upon which the Queen is seated, to help destabilize it for the future.⁶⁶²

Despite the figure's high recognition value, only fourteen per cent of German artists admitted to choosing John Bull for the encoding of England in Knieper's survey of political cartoonists. This was the same percentage as for the Union Flag, occupying equal third place in the choice of national encoders for Britain (p. 198). Of the cartoonists I interviewed only two expressed a preference for the figure. Haitzinger uses John Bull to represent Britain (along with the British Lion).⁶⁶³ Pielert also prefers John Bull as a symbol of Britain, because his readers 'understand immediately who is meant'. He always includes the Union Flag on his waistcoat though, for otherwise 'there is a danger that the figure would perhaps be open to ambiguity'.⁶⁶⁴

Of the other cartoonists, Skott asserts that he hardly has the chance to use a John Bull. At any rate there is no classic figure which he would particularly employ for Britain. For him the old national images have had their day and have largely become worn out. Only the German Michel ('for sociological reasons') and Uncle Sam (as 'World Policeman') have any significance for him as caricatural media. Physiognomical features are more important in his opinion.

4.3.1.2 **Britannia**

Originating as the personification of a conquered Britain on Roman commemorative reliefs and coins from the middle of the first and early second centuries C.E., the image of a bareheaded Britannia carrying ensign and shield was revived in the reign of James I (b. 1566; 1603-25) as a symbol of national unity and a common British identity.⁶⁶⁵ On British medals and coins following the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1662, her spiked shield became

⁶⁶¹ Ironically, one of the suggested origins for the melodic line of the British national anthem 'God Save the Queen/King' is a keyboard composition by one John Bull (c.1562-1628). A talented composer and virginalist who enjoyed the patronage of both Elizabeth I and James I, Bull fled to the Continent in 1613 in the face of an adultery scandal and ended his career as the organist of Antwerp Cathedral. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie, 2nd edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan, 2001), IV, 584-86; XVII, 659-60. However, Bull's tune could not have been intended to have patriotic words sung to it, as it is in a minor key.

⁶⁶² *WAZ*, 25 October 1994. It carries the spoken caption 'Wenn Charles da mal sitzen will, wird er sich umgucken!'.

⁶⁶³ In written response to an interview question, 20 December 1997. All subsequent comments by Haitzinger are taken from this text unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁶⁴ In interview with the author, 8 October 1997. All subsequent comments by the artist are taken from this source unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁶⁵ Already James VI of Scotland he succeeded Elizabeth I, combining the thrones of England and Scotland and styling himself 'King of Great Britain'. The earliest known representation of Britannia occurs on a relief panel discovered at Aphrodisias in Turkey in 1982. It shows her being vanquished by the Emperor Claudius (41-54 C.E.). K. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (London: Muller, Blond & White, 1986), pp. 112-17.

patriotically emblazoned with the cross of St George and the saltire of St Andrew representing England and Scotland respectively. At around the same time she was first fitted with her helmet and spear adopted from Pallas Athene, the Greek goddess of war and the personification of wisdom.⁶⁶⁶ A conflation thus occurred of Britannia with Athena/Minerva, to which in the nineteenth century was added Boadicea, the warrior Queen of the Iceni, in a popular iconographic process not unlike the conflation of Germania with Gretchen and Brünnhilde. By the early nineteenth century her lance had likewise been permanently replaced by Neptune's trident, yielded symbolically to her as the paramount naval power.⁶⁶⁷

Britannia only becomes established in satirical prints around the middle of the eighteenth century, at a time of aggressive nationalism and imperialism. Yet she was one of the few emblems to thrive with the development of caricature and featured prominently in the cartoons of the Golden Age.⁶⁶⁸ At this point, too, she entered the repertoire of German satirical artists. Like John Bull she has undergone changes of personality over time. The buxom blowze of Rowlandson and Gillray, who stood for the rights of the people, had become a sagacious siren of the establishment and the might of empire by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶⁹ It was the association with official power and national identity that was to stick, enabling the symbol to be assimilated in the latter half of the twentieth century with both a maturing monarch and the country's first female prime minister.⁶⁷⁰

Depicted sometimes strong, sometimes weak (depending on political context and circumstances) Britannia has lagged behind John Bull as a symbol of Britain in German

⁶⁶⁶ Most famously, she appears in this guise on the ceiling of the Great Hall at Blenheim Palace, painted by Sir James Thornhill in 1716 in celebration of the Duke of Marlborough's victory over the French and Bavarians in the War of Spanish Succession. The composite martial image of Britannia appeared on the British currency from 1821 until decimalization in 1971, when the olive branch of peace replaced the trident in her raised left hand. It can be seen on the reverse of the heptagonal fifty-pence piece.

⁶⁶⁷ Boadicea/Boudicca (like King Arthur) enjoyed a comeback amongst the Victorians as part of a renewed patriotic interest in Britain's pre-Roman, 'native' past. Britannia also incorporated the Earth Mother and the Virgin Mary in a way acceptable to Protestants. Information for this paragraph based on M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), pp. 45-46, 48-51; M. Dresser, 'Britannia', in Samuel, III, pp. 26-49 (pp. 26, 28, 30, 34, 36-37); H. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), pp. 90-91, 97; M. George, *English Political Caricature to 1792 (1793-1832)*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), I, 44-45, 61.

⁶⁶⁸ Atherton, pp. 91, 97.

⁶⁶⁹ In cartoons up until the Victorian era, Britannia is depicted not with a trident but a staff or spear usually surmounted with the cap of liberty (the Phrygian hat or the pileus, the sign of a freed Roman slave). See, for example, Rowlandson's 'The Contrast' (1793) in George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, II, 4, pl. 1. To denote her representation of the British constitution and the law she also holds Magna Carta and the Scales of Justice. cf. Dresser, p. 26; Warner, pp. 273-75.

⁶⁷⁰ In poll taken by BBC TV's *Saturday Review* in 1985 26% of the public considered the Queen to be the best model for Madame Tussaud's newest version of Britannia, while 18% opted for Mrs Thatcher. This paragraph based on Warner, pp. 48, 41, 45; Matthews and Mellini, p. 23; George, *English Political Caricature to 1792*, I, 61 & 228.

cartoons since 1945. A cartoon from the far-right, neo-Nazi *Deutsche Nationalzeitung* shows Michel peering through a smashed window – labelled ‘Sozi-Schaufenster’ – of a crumbling dwelling into a scene of desperate impoverishment (20 June 1969).⁶⁷¹ A skeletal Britannia in miniskirt *sans* shield is being offered a large meatless bone by her ragged ‘husband’ Harold Wilson. She is seated on a crate and is sizing up the bone with a fork that resembles a miniature trident. The caption refers to the state of Britain under socialist Labour as a warning against sole socialist rule in Germany, given the gradual disintegration of the governing Grand Coalition of SPD and CDU/CSU. Behrendt depicts Britannia five years later in 1974 as a dowdy, forlorn old woman with an arm in an ‘inflation’ sling and a leg in ‘EEC’ plaster in an allegory on the nation’s state of health at the changeover of the Heath and Wilson administrations.⁶⁷²

With the premiership of Margaret Thatcher, the figure received new caricatural life, although admittedly this was more so in Britain than in Germany. Warner asserts that Mrs Thatcher ‘achieved this singular hypostasis not because she is a battle-axe like Boadicea, but because she is so womanly, combining Britannia’s resoluteness, [*sic*] Boadicea’s courage with a proper housewifely demeanour.’⁶⁷³ Thus, in Behrendt’s 1984 cartoon for the *FAZ* Thatcher appears shapely in a long flowing gown as Britannia at the centre of the triumvirate of British national icons that include John Bull and the Lion.⁶⁷⁴ She is the tallest figure, and all have a look of defiance directed at Europe. Behind them a banner flies with the words ‘Rule Britannia in Splendid Isolation’.

When Behrendt again used the Britannia allegory in 1990, it had a markedly different connotation, showing Thatcher in the guise of this British symbol of resistance to foreign domination (*CWTR*, pp. 54-55). The centre of her Union shield is emblazoned with the word ‘No’, a reference to her recently delivered threefold disavowal of further European integration. Yet there is irony in the caption ‘Maggie versus the rest’ and the dark clouds behind her are an omen that her defiant days as premier are numbered.

4.3.2 Historical figures

Personalities are used to represent the destiny and politics of a country. Demm points out that these ‘personifications’ allow an emotional response to events (especially hatred) to be directed against a concrete person, depicted as ridiculous, laughable or loathsome, and then

⁶⁷¹ It carries the caption: ‘Anschauungsunterricht für den deutschen Michel [*sic*] über sozialistische Alleinherrschaft.’

⁶⁷² ‘Dr’ Heath’s parting wish to his successor is ‘Viel Glück Mr Wilson!’ (‘Lots of luck Mr Wilson!’), alternatively ‘Viel Vergnügen Mr Wilson’ (‘Enjoy yourself Mr Wilson!’) according to the cartoon state. The latter was the caption when published in the *FAZ* on 8 March.

⁶⁷³ Warner, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁴ 30 March, reprod. in *As Others See Us*, ed. by H. Husemann, 2 vols (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1987), II: *Teacher’s Book*, 36.

by transfer, against the country as such.⁶⁷⁵ Of the British public figures caricatured by the Germans since the Second World War, two stand out in particular for both the frequency and content of their portrayals: the Queen and Mrs Thatcher.

All the prime ministers since 1945 have been caricatured in Germany. Churchill continued to be eminently caricaturable even after the demise of Goebbels's propaganda offensive. However, in Knieper's survey of 28 German editorial cartoonists, British prime ministers were not associated with the encoding of England (the term Knieper employs, although Britain is implied; p. 198). This was unlike other European cartoonists, who saw prime ministers as by far the most significant vehicle for the encoding of England (30%). By contrast, members of the Royal Family were viewed by the German cartoonists as encoders, albeit as the least significant means for this purpose (11%).

This then provides an explanation for German cartoonists' consistent use of names, the country code 'GB' and representations of the Union Flag to assist reader recognition of a British personality and context. On the face of it, this seems to lack imagination or subtlety. If a caricature of a British prime minister is not perceived to sufficiently and successfully signal 'Britain' or 'England' alone, then German cartoonists have simply felt the need for an additional code signifying to their readers uniquely and immediately that the context or person is British or English. This is despite the fact that, in turn, each post-war British prime minister has been widely caricatured in Germany (with perhaps the exception of Home), Mrs Thatcher ranking as the most caricatured of them all. What does this say about German cartoonists' faith in their caricatural powers and/or in their audience's ability to recognize personalities in caricature?

4.3.2.1 The Queen

Queen Elizabeth II (b. 1926) ascended the throne as an attractive young mother of two small children in 1952, following the early death of her father George VI (b. 1898; 1937-1952). For over half a century she has been the monarch, and as such has represented Great Britain in hosting four Federal German presidents on State Visits (Heuss, Heinemann, von Weizsäcker and Herzog) but more significantly, in terms of domestic reporting, in visiting Germany herself on three State occasions.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, the allure to Germans of this hereditary, semi-permanent, female head of state – all unfamiliar features in the Federal Republic – and her

⁶⁷⁵ Demm, p. 178.

⁶⁷⁶ State Visits are, in protocol terms, a step above Official Visits, which have also been undertaken by both Heads of State and have included Presidents Carstens, Scheel and Rau. For the dates and frequency of these visits to 1994 see *Aussenpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Dokumente von 1949 bis 1994*, ed. by Auswärtiges Amt, Referat Öffentlichkeitsarbeit (Cologne: Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1995), pp. 1123-33. Correspondence of the author with the *Bundespräsidialamt*, September 2000.

colourful and conspicuous role at the apex of British public life have guaranteed her a place in the cartoonist's repertoire. So significant is the lady that there is a unique linguistic signifier for her in German ('die Queen') and so recognizable is she that a Union Jack is not needed to help identify her caricaturally. A crown or royal style usually suffices.

Because of her representative function as well as the affluence she is perceived to enjoy, the Queen has been closely identified with the financial and economic concerns of the kingdom. As the chatelaine of Castle UK she is called when Sheriff Adenauer and his sidekick Etzel arrive with the 'Rheingold' tribute (*CWTR*, pp. 158-59). On the battlement above them the trumpeter's banderole is emblazoned with her initial. In a strip cartoon for *Stern* an audience with the Queen is one of the bonbons Prime Minister Wilson offers Chancellor Kiesinger in return for his support of Britain's application for EEC membership (Wolf, 20 October 1967). The promise of a place in Madame Tussaud's 'cabinet' in the final frame seems to clinch the deal with the chancellor. Almost twenty years later Hachfeld depicted her warmly welcoming a worried President Chirac of France into her special carriage for EU visitors, which is drawn by a team of six crazy-looking cows (*Neues Deutschland*, 17 May 1996). The cartoon appeared at the height of a renewed BSE battle with the EU and the start of the French state visit.

It is arguable that, on the whole, German cartoons lack the irreverence and satirical bite that are integral to the British tradition. Yet, Blaumeiser's double image caricature with the caption 'England muss sparen' is certainly an exception.⁶⁷⁷ The Queen is dressed in full raiment when viewed face on, while the back view reveals her dress has been cut away as an economy measure, leaving the royal back and buttocks completely exposed.

The traditional German caricatural theme of British avarice is linked post-war with the country's economic plight and ironically contrasted with the bejewelled appearance of the Queen on her visits to Germany. In the wake of her first state visit in 1965 a benign formal portrait hangs next to an empty bank safe, waiting to be filled with deutschmarks in reciprocation (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). This regal appearance again goes hand in hand with Britain's thirst for German liquidity in Pielert's comment on her second state visit (*CWTR*, pp. 102-3). Here her broad, toothy smile, her squinting eyes and right hand held across her chest suggest a good measure of majestic charm. By her third state visit in 1992 the BAOR currency offset is a thing of the past, although Britain's financial weakness continues. Despite her crown, her £-shaped frame is easily dwarfed, and her smile replaced by a demure, almost wary look (*CWTR*, pp. 110-11).

⁶⁷⁷ Reprod. in H. Muster, *Who's Who in Satire and Humour*, 3 vols (Basel: Wiese, 1989-90), II (1989), 27.

She is also depicted as a worker for reconciliation and closer ties between the two nations, particularly at times when relations between them are strained. Her highly successful first state visit to the Federal Republic, exactly twenty years after the end of the Second World War, signalled a new period of understanding and cooperation between the two states. It was a long time in the planning and was not without its opponents, including from within the EEC. A colourful *Simplicissimus* cover from the time of the public announcement of the trip portrays the young Royal Family at their 'domestic' tasks (Meyer-Brockmann, 20 June 1964). As Prince Philip cleans a crown, he asks his wife, dressed in Union Jack slippers and cheerfully embroidering another on a frame, why it will be a year before she goes to visit the Germans. She replies that it is so they feel honoured by a sufficiently long build-up – and de Gaulle stays annoyed longer.⁶⁷⁸ She is again the smiling, crowned repairer of damaged British-German relations in 1992 (*CWTR*, pp. 112-13). On that third state visit and wearing a huge hat and plaintive look, she is depicted carrying an olive branch en route to Dresden, past the statue of 'Bomber' Harris, the Brandenburg Gate and the V2 rocket research centre at Peenemünde (Ryss, 'Friedensmission', *Mannheimer Morgen*, 16 October 1992).

Caricatures of the Queen also present her as cold and unfeeling, even resentful of those who challenge her place in the nation's affections. A *Berliner Morgenpost* cartoon has President von Weizsäcker kissing hands with a dark-haired, dark-robed Elizabeth II at the beginning of his state visit (Zel, 1 July 1988). In an allusion to 'Snow White and the Seven Dwarves' he tells her that, whilst she is the prettiest person present, there is still 'Lady' Di, which is acknowledged by the monarch with a glassy stare and frigid smile. In another cartoon, following the death of the Princess of Wales, she is shown with a pinched mouth and tightly closed eyes seated above the clouds, atop the stairs of protocol (Pepsch, 'Öffentliche Anteilnahme gefordert', *Tagesspiegel*, 5 September 1997). In the background we see the Tower of Big Ben and the Union Flag at half mast.

British cartoons of the Queen have also often been reprinted in German newspapers. Latterly there has been a rich field from which to draw. One example is a *Daily Mail* piece by Mac (reproduced in *Welt*, 18 August 1986) in which the Queen is shown calmly but sadistically taking revenge on Mrs Thatcher for upstaging her; she squeezes in a handshake the hand the Prime Minister had just had an operation on. Mrs Thatcher explodes out of her high heels in pain.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁸ Philip: 'Warum fahrt ihr denn erst in einem Jahr zu den Germans?' Elizabeth: 'Damit sie sich angemessen lange geehrt fühlen – und de Gaulle sich länger ärgert.'

⁶⁷⁹ The spoken caption reads 'Alles vergeben und vergessen, Frau Premierminister, und ich hoffe, Sie haben Ihre Finger-Operation gut überstanden!' The claim by satirists that Mrs Thatcher was seeing herself more as the monarch than the prime minister was later reinforced by the appropriation of *pluralis majestatis* when she announced at the birth of her first grandchild in March 1989: 'We have become a grandmother!'

Whatever the nature of the relationship between the Queen and Mrs Thatcher, satirists have made great play of a perceived clash of personality or conflict of roles between the two women, one of whom is head of state and the other head of government. Elizabeth II is drawn facing Mrs Thatcher in a gentler treatment by Bas from roughly the same time as Mac's (*FAZ*, 1 August 1986). The two women's noses, well-rounded busts, full figures, long dresses and obligatory handbags are virtually a mirror image of one another. The Queen is differentiated, however, by her crown, hairdo, toothy smile and the black handbag that contrasts with the identical model in white held by 'Mrs T'.

4.3.2.2 Margaret Thatcher

Britain's first elected female head of government and the first ever non-royal woman to lead the British was a political phenomenon: a female leader of the Conservative Party, who successfully contested three elections to become the country's longest serving twentieth century premier (1979-90). A gifted Oxford graduate, Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925) is typical of the generation whose formative years were spent in the tense climate of the thirties and during the Second World War. A firm believer in national character, she remains wary of Germany, seeing the country as 'by its very nature a destabilizing rather than a stabilizing force in Europe'.⁶⁸⁰

For German cartoonists Thatcher was perfectly caricaturable. Nik Ebert explains the ease with which Thatcher could be identified in German cartoons:

Diese Frau hat das Land regiert, und von daher wird's schon einfach. Es war erstens eine Frau, zweitens hatte sie eine Frisur, und diese Äußerlichkeiten waren leicht zu transponieren. Es war schon vom Typ her recht unverwechselbar. (Interview, 28 October 1997)

In fact, her handbag became a substitute for the stereotypical umbrella, and along with her nose and hair was one of the chief identifiers of the lady.

Thatcher's caricatural persona underwent change over time. The first caricatures of Mrs Thatcher refer to her mettle and determination while also emphasizing her womanliness and/or her 'housewife and mother' image (which she herself had been keen to cultivate). Thus, Auth's 'Maggie' appears youthful and attractive in wielding her sword to rescue John Bull (*CWTR*, pp. 40-41). By the early eighties the image already takes on many of the attributes which were used to characterize her for the rest of the decade: the sweeping

⁶⁸⁰ M. Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 791. It is an outlook that George Urban – one of those invited to the Chequers seminar on Germany – has described as being 'not all that different from the Alf Garnett version of history'. G. Urban, *Diplomacy and Disillusion at the Court of Margaret Thatcher* (London: Tauris, 1996), p. 103; see also pp. 118-59 for a fascinating record of the Chequers seminar and Urban's view of Charles Powell's subsequent memorandum.

coiffure, the pointed nose, a matronly figure and a belligerent, aggressive stance. In all, her features are rendered with greater angularity, and she takes on a meaner, almost masculine appearance.⁶⁸¹ Haitzinger's dominant leader wears trousers and a tie and has no handbag (*CWTR*, pp. 42-43). Only her hairstyle makes her immediately identifiable as a woman.⁶⁸²

The change in the German perception of Mrs Thatcher becomes more marked with the Falklands War and her subsequent wrangles with the European Community over EC funding. Mussil portrays her as an enraged sea-monster protecting the waters around the Falkland Islands (*CWTR*, pp. 46-47). Although four years on from the war, the cartoon reflects the German response to what was seen as an anachronistic handling of the conflict. There is a tinge of admiration to be found, too. Arriens's cover for *Spiegel* (26 March 1984) featured a handsome portrait-caricature of Mrs Thatcher carrying the caption 'Thatcher gegen Europa'. Her huge lifelike head is on the body of a lion sitting on the Island of Great Britain, her coiffure flowing into the mane and an aura of the Union Jack radiating from behind her. She wears red lipstick and stylish pearl earrings, and her face is turned upwards with a superior, defiant look.

A cartoon by Frank Cerny from 1983 contrasts Thatcher's elegant appearance with her reputation for ruthlessness (*CWTR*, pp. 44-45). Her black dress with its shaded puff sleeves lends her a somewhat sinister air and sets her apart from her opaque bespectacled, colourless Commons colleagues. Her dark figure again focuses the eye in Haitzinger's bullring allusion from 1989 (*CWTR*, pp. 48-49). Here she replaces the bull as a raging British horned cow, an image that now has an added layer of meaning in light of the confrontation between Britain and its continental partners over BSE in the ensuing decade.

Thatcher's relationship with Helmut Kohl was as much a source of interest to cartoonists as to other political pundits. Cartoons from the mid- to late eighties portray them drawing closer, as Maggie succumbed to Helmut's charms. Lang pictures the two of them rolling balls of wool together like an old married couple at the beginning of 1989 ('Euro-Garn', *SZ*, 22 February). A year later this scenario has radically changed. Mrs Thatcher now views him with deep suspicion, angered by his attempt to confuse her with an obviously incongruent disguise (*CWTR*, pp. 50-51). To his displeasure, she sees his desire to reunify Germany in terms of the unforgotten evils of the past, a distorted vision she claims to share with the nation, as Wolter

⁶⁸¹ By all accounts such changes delighted Thatcher and her supporters. Critical depictions of her as bossy or as a man, standing to pee in urinals for example, or even as a kind of Hitlerian figure proved counterproductive because they were seen as complimentary. A. Rusbridger, 'Funny Peculiar', *Guardian*, 23 July 1988, p. 19.

⁶⁸² This is not, however, to ignore other less obvious features such as her lips, the height of her heels and the curve of her right bosom, which may speak to the eye at an unconscious level just as immediately.

has it (*CWTR*, pp. 52-53). Kohl's ambition only reawakens the ghosts of her youth, however friendly their latter-day manifestation may have become (see *CWTR*, pp. 32-33).

Thatcher's position on Germany affects her attitude towards Europe, hardening her anti-integrationist resolve. This is reflected by cartoonists such as Behrendt, who portrays her in the guise of Britannia armed now against the encroaching power of Brussels (*CWTR*, pp. 76-77). Pielert draws her as a lone flag-waving, anachronistic combatant ready to resist the inevitable linking of her island to mainland Europe through the achievements of modern technology (*CWTR*, pp. 76-77). Pielert's cartoon prefigures the end of the era that Luff captures in depicting the premier as an embittered British dinosaur dwarfed by modern giants of European construction (*CWTR*, pp. 56-57).

From the image of youthful dynamism in the late seventies, Thatcher had caricaturally aged to become a careworn, furrow-browed figure by the early nineties. Even in Sartin's spoof on the House of Commons she has more of a matron-like appearance, with age lines on her neck and the side of her mouth, than that of a head prefect (*CWTR*, pp. 134-35). Mester portrays her similarly as a stooped medical specialist with a sunken face, pronounced chin and cheeks, withdrawing to leave the patient in the care of a younger pair of hands (*CWTR*, pp. 202-3). Yet she continues to hover offstage once John Major has succeeded her, reappearing very occasionally in cartoons. For example, she is a stout 'Maggy', the Wild West saloon owner, in Mohr's allegory of the challenge to Major's leadership of the Tory party in 1995 (*FAZ*, 4 July, p. 3). He is a weary sheriff calling her to give him another double when his challenger (Euro-sceptic John Redwood) confronts him at the bar, six-shooters at the ready. She appears disappointed at her protégé's inability to manage her legacy.

4.3.3 Allegorical animal figures

Darracott claims there is no nuance in symbolizing a country by an animal (p. 13). Yet ample evidence shows that cartoonists do use allegorical animals in different guises and states to communicate different things about the target country at different times.

Two animals have been primarily identified in contemporary German cartoons with Britain/England: the lion, and to a lesser extent the bulldog. More recently, with the BSE crisis of the nineties, the 'mad cow' became so heavily associated with the country and its attitude to Europe that it might be said to have become an 'anti-symbol' of Britain. It is too soon to say whether it will endure as such. This will be discussed in the context of the German perception of Britain and the EU in 4.4.2.

4.3.3.1 The lion

An ancient symbol associated with courage, fortitude, righteous power and sovereignty, the lion came to represent the highest chivalric virtues and became a favoured heraldic device amongst the British ruling élite. The lion was probably originally chosen as a royal badge by the Norman king Henry I (b. 1068; 1100-35). Henry's Plantagenet great-grandson, the crusading adventurer king Richard I Coeur de Lion (b. 1157; 1189-99) first used three lions together to form the royal coat called 'England'. This was borne alone until 1340, when Edward III first quartered it with the fleurs-de-lis of France as part of his claim to the French throne (then removed when George III renounced this claim in 1801 and the Royal Arms were re-marshalled). The lion has been the dexter supporter of the arms of the United Kingdom since 1603, along with the unicorn sinister derived from James I's royal Scots arms.⁶⁸³

Often depicted also as the companion to Britannia, like her the lion has embodied militant patriotism, appearing in satirical prints since the first half of the eighteenth century. In recent decades it has been used in more profane contexts, such as for the merchandising of British eggs (1957-68) or as World Cup Willie, the mascot for the British football team in 1966, which was used in advertising British goods on the heels of victory.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸³ In Medieval heraldry the royal lion was, in fact, called a leopard for its position passant guardant. Its use as a royal symbol was by no means confined to England. In Scotland the lion was first chosen for the royal arms by Alexander II (b. 1198; 1214-49) or possibly by his even longer reigned father William I the Lion (b. 1143; 1165-1214). T. Innes of Learney, *Scots Heraldry* (London: Johnston & Bacon, 1978), pp. 102-104. Information for this paragraph taken from T. Woodcock and J. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: OUP, 2001), pp. 95, 187-89, 203; Atherton, pp. 101-102; *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. by J. Brooke-Little (London: Warne, 1983), pp. 4, 65, 205-7, 215.

⁶⁸⁴ Information for this paragraph taken from Atherton, p. 102; R. Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1985), pp. 12, 22.

In his autobiography Low recalls a pre-war discussion with fellow cartoonists Bernard Partridge and Raven Hill about the qualities of established symbols such as the British lion. Low concluded that, apart from aesthetic considerations, ‘there seemed no justification for continuing to libel the British people by likening it to this unworthy creature, notoriously a loud roarer but a cruel and cowardly beast, only bold when facing something weaker than itself.’⁶⁸⁵ Yet, these very qualities only serve to make the lion more rather than less attractive to cartoonists.

Knieper’s survey of political cartoonists showed that the lion, at twenty-five per cent, is the most important encoding symbol of England for German cartoonists (p. 198). In fact, it is more frequently favoured by them than by other European and US-American cartoonists, ranking ahead of the ‘British’ gentleman, the Union Jack and John Bull. Haitzinger claims that he uses the British lion along with John Bull to represent Great Britain. In so doing he implies a differentiation between the British lion and others that are used as national symbols, such as the Bavarian and Dutch lions. Skott, however, sees a problem of symbol localization with the lion, for the very reason that it can also represent Bavaria. This is frequently overcome by German cartoonists attaching a Union Jack to the beast often as a kind of tattoo.

The British lion is shown atop the royal safe as part of the royal coat of arms (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). In one of his illustrations for *England heiter betrachtet: Ein fröhlicher Reiseführer* Sartin presents a spoof of these arms with the lion dormant on his back, arms folded and head resting on the shield.⁶⁸⁶ His fellow supporter the unicorn slumbers sinister on the grassy mound. Above the shield a steaming teapot surmounted by a cosy replaces the Royal Crest or Crown, whilst in place of the usual Tudor rose, thistle and shamrock above each side of the motto scroll, a single generic flower blooms in the grass below the lion.⁶⁸⁷ The cartoon appears as the image immediately after the final entry ‘Zugluft’ in the alphabetically arranged travel guide and as such draws the work to a contented conclusion.

The identification of the lion with a British leader and/or with Britain and its fortunes exemplifies a caricatural technique with a long tradition. The former has been the singular

⁶⁸⁵ *Low’s Autobiography* (London: Joseph, 1956), p. 211. Low hoped in vain that they would encourage his quest for new national symbols to replace the tired old ones.

⁶⁸⁶ In Daum and Sartin, p. 96. In the Radler cartoon, the coat of arms is only slightly altered.

⁶⁸⁷ What the cosy replaces is context dependent. Different versions of the Royal Arms are used for different purposes. Government departments use the Shield of Arms with the Royal Crown alone above. Court Circulars have an expanded version of Shield, Supporters, Crown and possibly the Crest, whereas the Queen herself displays the full achievement, i.e. Shield, Supporters, Helm and Crown with Crest, and, of course, the Garter. Explanation supplied by Henry Paston-Bedingfeld, York Herald, Royal College of Arms, by e-mail, 9 October 2000.

distinction of Margaret Thatcher, into whom the British lion has been transformed.⁶⁸⁸ The first step on this route is taken by Ironimus in a cartoon following Thatcher's election in 1979, in which the lion is admiring its 'makeover' in the mirror: mane and tail are in curlers, four paws are packed into high heels, and a Union Jack necktie hangs from under its mane ('New Look', *SZ*, 7 May).⁶⁸⁹ Mrs Thatcher's only challenger in this respect came once in the form of the future Princess of Wales. Hicks combined photography and drawing for a innovative 1981 cartoon in which the British lion is holding a photograph of 'Lady Di' at an angle and brushing its mane in imitation of her hairstyle. Its eyes have also been made up like hers. The choice of the patriotic 'Britannia rules the waves' as caption is a witty play on words.

Where the lion has been identified with the country's fortunes it has frequently been patched up or pared down. A 1958 cartoon has Prime Minister Macmillan as Baron von Münchhausen in an allusion to the story about the unquenchable thirst of his Lithuanian steed sliced in half by a falling portcullis (Hartung, *Fortschritt*, 7 August).⁶⁹⁰ In this case he is mounted on the crowned lion drinking at a trough, into which money is being pumped by cigar-puffing Finance Minister Erhard. Erhard appears fed-up with labouring to maintain British imperialist pretension, for this money then flows out of the lion into a drain marked with the signs 'Iraq' and 'Cyprus', both countries in which there was British military involvement at the time.⁶⁹¹ A further layer of meaning is introduced in the iconographic link

⁶⁸⁸ See the *Spiegel* cover described in the previous section, which depicts her at the height of her power as the proud lion (26 March 1984). While there is obvious gender confusion in anthropomorphizing a woman as a male animal, what counts here is that Mrs Thatcher is identified with the 'King of Beasts' and the nation in allegorical form; not because of the office she holds, but because **she** is Prime Minister. It is an association which does not happen with the Queen, who is not seen to have such qualities.

⁶⁸⁹ Entitled 'New Look', it is reprod. in Ironimus, *Die Siebziger Jahre* (Vienna: Molden, 1979), p. 180.

⁶⁹⁰ This was the Oczakov town gate, through which he had been driving the Turks. The baron's tall tales were first told in English by the polymath antiquarian Rudolf Erich Raspe (1737-94) who had escaped to relative safety in England after defrauding the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Discredited and ejected from the Royal Society he went into exile in Cornwall, publishing the spoof travelogue in 1785 under the Anglicized name 'Munchausen'. It was subsequently translated into German by G. A. Bürger. It was a literary hoax which topped the eighteenth century best-seller list in Britain and Germany. Raspe's aim was both to ridicule those who had frustrated his career and to gain popularity in England for satirizing things German. See J. Carswell's 'Introduction' to R. Raspe, *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. ix-xxxii (pp. xxi-ii); also H.-D. Gelfert, *Max und Monty* (Munich: Beck, 1998), pp. 39-42.

⁶⁹¹ Cyprus was then a troubled crown colony, where the British were seeking to reconcile warring Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities while also combating anti-government terrorism. Then, as now, it played host to a sizeable British military presence. In the former British protectorate of Iraq a bloody military putsch had just removed the pro-British monarchy and dissolved a recently formed federation with Jordan, whilst mobs had sacked the British embassy. With British commercial and military interests in the area threatened by instability, the government had dispatched troops to Jordan to help maintain that country's security, in response to an appeal from a worried King Hussein.

between the device which cut Münchhausen's steed in twain and its use as the symbol of the British parliament, the scene of division between the Labour opposition and the ruling Conservatives of the day. On a similar theme is a cartoon by Heyne from 1976 ('Stippvisite auf der Insel', *Frankfurter Abendpost*, 11 October). At Dover an affluently attired Chancellor Schmidt is stepping off his boat, laden with huge sacks of 'Deutschemark', to be met by the British lion standing beneath a banner proclaiming 'Welcome Mister Schmidt!' and expectantly holding out an upturned bowler hat. Schmidt has a huge egg-shaped body upon which is written '100000000 Deutschemark' and wears a badge declaring 'I like Great Britain'.⁶⁹² He is twice the size of the plaintive-looking lion who, whilst dapperly dressed in a cutaway jacket, bow tie, John Bull-style Union Jack waistcoat and co-respondent shoes, has patches on his trouser knees. An unusual addition for a German cartoon is the bowler-hatted Chad peeking over the White Cliffs to view the scene, Heyne's witty way of simultaneously adding 'Englishness' on three counts to his composition.⁶⁹³

More commonly the British lion appears battered or under attack in its role as a kind of government 'fall guy'. In Bas's 1974 comment on the Irish question, the terrified animal hunched on the Union Jack circus box is a victim of both (*CWTR*, pp. 140-41). Here as elsewhere it is the lion's tail that usually bears the brunt of such abuse, and is variously chopped off, set on fire, or trodden on. At the end of the Falkland Islands conflict, Haitzinger drew a heavily bandaged, laurel-crowned lion with a black-eye and a Band-Aid on his cheek, sitting in a wheelchair and holding high the prize of victory, a clean white bone labelled 'Falkland' ('Hurra, wir haben's wieder!', *tz*, 16 June 1982). He is surrounded by the ravages of war: beached battleships, crashed aircraft and in the background row upon row of crosses. Standing behind him appearing to push his chair is Mrs Thatcher, making the 'V' for victory sign with a broad grin. Unlike the lion she is unscathed.

However, there are true moments of triumph for the British lion, too. Heidemann's lion smugly ignores the sign pointing to the EEC cashier and walks straight on towards the viewer (*CWTR*, pp. 200-201). His 'GB' badge identifies him, whilst the kilt he wears signals the

⁶⁹² The Anglophile Helmut Schmidt (b. 1918) was a frequent visitor to Britain as Chancellor, making an unprecedented thirteen official visits to Britain during his eight years in office (1974-82). He was admired particularly for his excellent command of English. The British cartoonist Michael Cummings recalled him giving a speech at a British Trades Union Conference and claimed his was the best English spoken there. Interview with the artist, 19 June 1997. See also *Auswärtiges Amt*, p. 1128.

⁶⁹³ Usually depicted as bald-headed, the caricatural device 'Chad' was created in 1938 by the British cartoonist 'Chat' (George Chatterton) as a comment on or protest against a shortage or shortcoming. Chad usually appears over a wall inquiring 'Wot, no [word inserted to suit the situation]?' and was especially popular among the Allied forces during the Second World War, providing humorous relief in difficult circumstances. *The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons*, ed. by M. Horn, 2nd edn (Broomall, PA: Chelsea House, 1999), p. 187.

tough line on EEC contributions taken by the Thatcher government soon after coming to power.

4.3.3.2 The bulldog

The bulldog (or sometimes the larger, equally muscular mastiff) has also served as a symbol of patriotic militancy, historically replacing the lion in this role on occasions in cartoons. Its renown as a 'true breed' dates from Roman times, when British dogs first found fame for their fighting ability in sport and war.⁶⁹⁴ Both the bulldog and mastiff were first developed for use in bullbaiting. They are characteristically powerful animals although gentle by temperament, with the bulldog's reputation for viciousness a hangover from its use in dogfighting. With the outlawing of the sport in 1835 the bulldog almost disappeared as a breed, but was saved by fanciers who bred out its ferocity. A cross breed – the bull mastiff – was developed in the nineteenth century as a police and guard dog. These distinctive breeds are typically not differentiated in caricature, so the term 'bulldog' refers here to any approximate representation.⁶⁹⁵

The bulldog has been far less significant than the lion as an emblem in German cartoons since 1945. When it has been employed, it has usually stood for the British ('popular') press, because of its vicious attacks on Germany. For example, Kolfhaus depicts the animal snarling at Adenauer's approach in a cartoon marking the Chancellor's visit to Britain in 1959 (19 November). Almost forty years later, another Chancellor's legs and undershorts are revealed by a pack of ferocious bulldogs marked 'Presse' shredding Kohl's suit when he receives the Freedom of the City of London (Haitzinger, *Tagesspiegel*, 19 February 1998, p. 10). The Queen's thirsty bulldog in Pielert's 1978 cartoon suggests a very different function (*CWTR*, pp 102-103). What matters here are the relative sizes, as beside the German St Bernard he represents the weak, needy pound being aided by the strong, beneficent deutschmark.

Low disdained the use of the bulldog as a symbol of England describing it as 'a snuffling, dribbling creature, the most uncomely of the entire canine species, the most remarkable feature of which is its unmanageable jaw'.⁶⁹⁶ A modern successor image may have been found in the British football hooligan or 'lager lout', who has appeared recently as a caricatural type both in Britain and in Germany. His maverick and spirited behaviour link him with the bulldog, the essence of English popular independence. Since the 1980s the hooligan has

⁶⁹⁴ Atherton, p. 103.

⁶⁹⁵ In British wartime propaganda and continuing popular imagination Winston Churchill is caricatured as a bulldog, not only for his appearance and manner but also because he was seen to personify the 'bulldog spirit' of steadfastness, courage, tenacity and trustworthiness.

⁶⁹⁶ Low, 'New Characters for Cartoonists', [*Nation & Athenaeum*], pp. 82-85 (p. 85); a similar version of this statement can be found in his *Autobiography*, p. 211.

become established as an image of chauvinist aggression and has characterized constructions of nationalist sentiment, even occasionally standing for the state in this respect.⁶⁹⁷

4.3.4 Monuments and natural features

Several British landmarks are used by German cartoonists to help set the scene, identify place and topic and convey their ideas about Britain. Easily recognizable and distinctive, they generally serve as backdrops to the main subject of the composition.

It is probably the dome of St Paul's Cathedral that appears in silhouette on the London skyline behind the rubble of post-war British-German relations (*CWTR*, pp. 84-85), despite the absence of specific features like the finial cross and west towers. However St Paul's, and Westminster Abbey for that matter, have not often been used as caricatural identifiers, although they are well known, perhaps because their significant architectural forms – renaissance dome, Gothic cathedral – are not unique. The prime ministerial residence at No. 10, Downing Street, is also visually too ambiguous a location without a street sign to pinpoint it. A more common and less generic identifier is the late Victorian confection Tower Bridge, which forms the perfect support for Major's Maastricht tightrope act (*CWTR*, pp. 78-79).

Often the name alone suffices to set the scene. It is the cachet of the name rather than the image which carries the clout when Prime Minister Wilson offers Chancellor Kiesinger a place at Madame Tussaud's as a way of getting his support for Britain's membership of the EEC (Wolf, *Stern*, 20 October 1967). Schoenfeld provides a more recent example with his *Hamburger Abendblatt* cartoon entitled 'Die Nebenbuhlerin' (15 May 1996). At a street corner below the sign 'Downing Street' a fishnet stockinged but slightly sagging bikini-clad Miss Major sends her billet-doux fluttering down before President Chirac as he walks past arm-in-arm with a more modest Frau Kohl. The English on the note and the Union Jack on the band of Major's hat further identify the caricature. The cartoon is a recent example of a regularly occurring post-1945 allusion: the fluctuating French-British-German relationship(s) represented as a love triangle/tangle of national leaders. Invariably the leader or leaders assuming the opposite gender are those who are seeking to steer or alter the group dynamic. Thus, in this example Chirac is courting a willing but demure Kohl, whilst Major tries to unbalance this pairing by distracting the Frenchman's attention.

The single most significant geographical identifier of Great Britain in cartoons are the White Cliffs of Dover. A cartoon at the height of the BSE crisis shows a machine gun strategically positioned next to the Union Jack flying from a pole atop the cliffs (Hachfeld,

⁶⁹⁷ cf. Aulich, p. 92. Aulich cites a 1990 Trog cartoon in which Thatcher is a football hooligan in a Union Jack T-shirt stomping over Jacques Delors.

‘Im Westen nichts Neues’, *Neues Deutschland*, 12 June 1996). The barrel of the gun points out over the Channel towards a European flag on the farther shore, its magazine of cows ready to be fed into the gun for firing. The image and caption reinforce Ebert’s opinion about the cliffs’ metaphorical significance: ‘Die Klippen von Dover sind symbolisch für die britische Haltung gegenüber Europa, für die Inselmentalität.’

4.3.4.1 ‘Big Ben’

By far the most widely deployed landmark used by itself and often out of the context of its surroundings is the Westminster Clocktower, known popularly as ‘Big Ben’. It is perhaps the most multi-media-recognizable symbol of London (and by synecdoche, of Britain), an international icon variously of time, parliamentary democracy, Englishness and liberty. Big Ben correctly is the name of the central and largest bell in the belfry, the great hour bell, recast in 1858 for the eastern tower of the newly rebuilt Palace of Westminster, which contains the Houses of Parliament. It was probably named after the corpulent Welsh-born MP Sir Benjamin Hall, who was First Commissioner of Works at the time of its recasting and whose name appears inscribed on the bell.⁶⁹⁸

Big Ben is arguably the world’s most famous clock and the quintessential British landmark, an integral and seemingly unchanging part of the London cityscape. This takes on an extraordinary dimension in Traxler’s cartoon, where the clock – uniquely visible from ground level near Oxford Street – is the only thing to be left inviolate by marauding German shoppers (*CWTR*, pp. 198-99). It even appears in the background with a flag flying from its finial when Chancellor Kohl is granted the Freedom of the City of London (Haitzinger, *Tagesspiegel*, 19 February 1998).⁶⁹⁹

The Thames, Westminster Bridge and the Palace of Westminster are slowly being overshadowed by the black financial storm uncorked by the Baring’s Bank trader Nick Leeson (Tomëi, ‘Der Zauberlehrling’, *FAZ*, 4 March 1995). Big Ben appears on the far right of the drawing reduced and obscured by the cloud. In another example – Major’s braving the storm that is destroying his ‘majority’ umbrella – the presence in the background of Big Ben

⁶⁹⁸ One explanation of the origin of the name has it that, during a Commons discussion on the most appropriate name for the bell, Sir Benjamin was making a typically long-winded contribution when interrupted by an impatient member who cried ‘Just call it Big Ben!’. The interjection met with such (good-)humoured approval in the House that the name stuck and has been used ever since. However, the absence of a record of the event in Hansard suggests the story is apocryphal. Recounted by the parliamentary guide during the author’s ascent of the tower, June 2000. See also J. Darwin, *The Triumphs of Big Ben* (London: Hale, 1986), p. 15.

⁶⁹⁹ The cartoon is erroneous in so far as no flag flies from the top of the tower, and the Houses of Parliament are in the City of Westminster, whilst the Freedom is conferred at the Guildhall within the square mile of the City of London.

and part of the Palace of Westminster reinforce the message that the Prime Minister's real battle is in the House (Mester, 'Major im Regen', 1992).

Big Ben and the Palace find their caricatural counterparts in other political centres. In Böhle's cartoon on East-West tit-for-tat deportations towards the end of the Cold War, a stereotypical stiff upper-lipped British diplomat has been literally booted out of the Kremlin in an arc. Mid-Channel he courteously doffs his bowler to the Russian spy launched in the opposite direction by a high-heeled, skirted leg from Westminster ('Neue diplomatische Austauschtechnik', 1985). Both the Westminster and Kremlin clocks show this 'exchange' is happening at precisely the same time.

'Big Ben' first became established in German cartoons at the time Germans en masse were beginning to discover the attractions of the capital in the early seventies. The growth and distribution of post-war West German prosperity and the concomitant improvement of the exchange rate between sterling and the deutschmark made organized tourism in Britain both affordable and widely fashionable for the German public. As with so many additions to the cartoonist's 'armoury' it is likely that Big Ben found its way into German cartoons through a popular association fostered by educational and promotional material, school and travel books and the media focusing on Britain in reportage and advertising.

The clocktower's caricatural fame is by no means restricted to Germany, as Big Ben's biographer John Darwin points out, 'The clock has always been a godsend to cartoonists and is incorporated in one guise or another in cartoons throughout the world in every week of the year.' (p. 124)

4.3.5 Emblems

Two caricatural devices with emblematic qualities – the top hat and the Royal coat of arms – have already been considered in the course of this treatment of major symbols in German cartoons of the British since 1945. Here, however, I turn my attention to the most significant and frequently used emblem of the period, the British national ensign.

4.3.5.1 The Union Jack

In Knieper's survey of the devices used by German cartoonists to identify Britain, the Union Jack (or Union Flag) was found to be employed fourteen per cent of the time, thus sharing equal third place with the figure of John Bull (p. 198). It is hard to accept this account, for the Union Jack must be the most commonly occurring motif in German cartoons of the British. It is, in fact, ubiquitous.

The flag unites the crosses of Saints George and Patrick with the Saltire of St Andrew and has been flying in this form since the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in

1801.⁷⁰⁰ No other image so quickly conveys the Britishness of a product or an image, although nowadays the flag is less often depicted flying from a flagpole. Over the last twenty years it has been the most frequently used symbol of Great Britain in all fields.⁷⁰¹

Apart from as a flag on a flagstaff (*CWTR*, pp. 76-77) there are obvious sitings of the Union Jack in German cartoons: on headgear (*CWTR*, pp. 42-43, 68-69, 72-73), clothing (*CWTR*, pp. 40-41, 78-79), jewellery (*CWTR*, pp. 52-53), tattoos (*CWTR*, pp. 48-49, 56-57), handbags and suitcases (*CWTR*, pp. 50-51, 164-65) and items such as the Royal Safe and the British Lion's circus pedestal (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99, 140-41). There are more ingeniously placed Jacks, such as those found on the Queen's slippers and in her embroidery (*Simplicissimus*, 20 June 1964), on the sea monster Thatcher's bikini-bra (*CWTR*, pp. 46-47), as one of the sections in the Queen's crown (*CWTR*, pp. 110-11), as elbow patches on John Major's suit as he rampages gorilla-like on the EU banquet table (Pepsch, 'Mit Schirm, Charme und Melone', *FR*, 27 June 1994) or as the aura radiating behind Mrs Thatcher in her transformation into the British lion (Arriens, *Spiegel*, 26 March 1984).

This banner of nationhood appears not infrequently with a negative connotation. When the flag is on the outline of Britain sinking into the sea it is associated with the country's decline and is emblematic of national complacency and insular pride (*Stern*, 15 February 1979, cover art). It is the label on the body-sized tin can that Mrs Thatcher wears as body armour against the charms of Chancellor Kohl (Tomicek, *Westfalenpost*, 29 November 1985). Unbeknown to her, he holds a giant can-opener behind his back. Bas's Union Jack piercing through the seat of the EU chair has a surrealist quality, an odd image of hardness, concealment and violence (*CWTR*, pp. 226-27). In a more brutal context the Union Jack provides the impetus for ugly nationalism when nailed across the eyes of hooligans attacking an empty Kohl-sized lederhosen (Rademacher, *Die Zeit*, 28 June 1996, p. 45).

The use of the Union Jack to help identify John Bull and representations of Great Britain has increased considerably since the Second World War, even by greatly gifted cartoonists such as Haitzinger. The Union Jack is now chosen in preference to the more blatant 'GB' as a label. However, there was a time when it was not necessary to employ either device in this way. It would appear that contemporary German cartoonists do not have much confidence in the public's ability to recognize figures at a glance, without flags or country codes. Despite his optimism, Pielert would prefer his work not to be a hostage to fortune: 'Ich meine heute, man kann es voraussetzen, aber es gibt immer Doofe.' (28 October 1997) For Ebert, it

⁷⁰⁰ Previously the national flag combined the Cross of St George and the Saltire of St Andrew and was known as the 'Union Flag of St George and St Andrew' or 'Great Union'. It had been flown since 1606, with the addition of an Irish harp in the centre during Cromwell's Commonwealth. How the new flag acquired the name of 'Jack' is a matter of speculation. See <<http://www.royal.gov.uk/output/page398.asp>> [accessed 20 November 2003].

⁷⁰¹ Opie, p. 22.

remains a question of the individual cartoonist's artistic talent and the need to help the reader get the drift fast:

Die Erkennung von ausländischen Persönlichkeiten ist schwierig ohne Flaggen etc. Einige Kollegen können so gut karikieren. Es ist eine handwerkliche Sache. Sonst verlange ich von den Lesern zu viel. Der Transfer von Politik in Geografie ist einfach schwer, gerade wenn man ein Bild auf einmal verstehen sollte. Der Karikaturist muß dem Leser schon eine Hilfe geben, daß es sich um England handelt. (28 October 1997)

4.3.6 Symbolic phrases

Hicks's witty lyric caption 'Britannia rules the waves' (1981) quotes the famous song celebrating Britain's sea power and political liberty. More common, however, though by no means as frequent, have been quotations of the national anthem and the advertising label 'Made in England'.

4.3.6.1 'God save the Queen!'/ 'God save our gracious Queen'

The British royal and national anthem, with its first line 'God save our gracious Queen', is one of the oldest of its genre. In September 1745 the Catholic 'Young Pretender' to the throne Prince Charles Edward Stuart ('Bonnie Prince Charlie') defeated George II's army at Prestonpans near Edinburgh. When the news reached London, the bands at the Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres performed the song in a gesture of patriotic solidarity with the King at the end of their plays. It was a great success and was repeated nightly, later spreading to other theatres. The music and lyrics were published without attribution in the October issue of *Gentleman's Magazine* in reporting on the innovation.⁷⁰² German composers also helped popularize the anthem: Handel included it in his *Occasional Oratorio* a year after its publication, and Beethoven quoted it in three of his compositions including the *Battle Symphony* (*Wellingtons Sieg*). By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was being referred to as the 'National Anthem'.⁷⁰³ The exclamation 'God save the Queen/King!' is also

⁷⁰² Entitled 'A Song for 2 Voices. As sung at both Playhouses', it began 'God Save Great George our King', xv, p. 552. *The Gentleman's Magazine* was founded in 1731 as a monthly digest of the best news, essays and information from many daily and weekly newspapers. It was one of the first journals to call itself a 'magazine' and became an influential publication (Samuel Johnson was a close friend of the founder and a regular contributor). It ceased publication in 1914. Griffiths, p. 262.

⁷⁰³ The tune was also used for 'Heil Dir im Siegerkranz!', first published in 1793 to celebrate Friedrich Wilhelm II's victorious return from the Coalition War against the French. It was probably intended as an antidote to the 'Marseillaise'. The official Prussian state anthem from 1815, the text was altered to 'Heil Kaiser Dir!' with German Unification and sung as an unofficial imperial anthem. H. Hansen, *Heil Dir im Siegerkranz* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1978), pp. 5, 10-12.

heard on portentous occasions such as a monarch's accession and coronation and is historically a way of signalling loyalty to the British Crown.⁷⁰⁴

These two lines are caricaturally connected with prime-ministerial or royal visits to Germany or visits by dignitaries to Britain and have a pro-British connotation. It is the way Adenauer announces his arrival at Castle UK with the 'Rheingold' (*CWTR*, pp. 158-59). The Queen had invited President Heuss to visit Britain the same year, an event which was a major boost to the Federal Republic's international standing under Adenauer. The phrase is framed and hanging on the wall as a mark of pro-British sympathy when Wilson meets Brandt and Kiesinger to discuss Britain's entry into the Common Market (*CWTR*, pp. 74-75). While the dark figure of de Gaulle looms over the trio on the sofa, the picture remains in the light, suggesting that the sentiment it reflects could not be overshadowed. The midget schoolboy Michel has chalked the line on the board in tribute to the Queen during her second state visit (Wolf, *NOZ*, [23] May 1978). When he meets the Queen she graciously gives him the A-grade of 'sehr gut' in English for his achievement.

4.3.6.2 'Made in England'

With the widening industrial revolution allowing other countries to make inroads into British markets, the phrase was used in British advertising from the late 1880s to play upon the nationalist, patriotic consciences of would-be British or colonial consumers. The legal requirement from 1887 to state the country of origin of a product was designed to frustrate German manufacturers imitating British goods and brands and was conceived by their British counterparts as a way of stigmatizing German-made goods. It was a strategy which miserably backfired, as the 'Made in Germany' label soon became synonymous with quality and is still used today as a marketing instrument, whilst satirically 'Made in England' labelled Britain's industrial and political decline in the second half of the twentieth century.⁷⁰⁵

It is at the front of the empty royal safe in Radler's comment on British demands for further financial support from the Germans, the suggestion here being that empty state coffers are a British speciality (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). The label is also under the 'Sozi Schaufenster' showing the indigence of Wilson's socialist household ('Anschauungs-unterricht für den deutschen Michl [*sic*] über sozialistische Alleinherrschaft', *Deutsche Nationalzeitung*, 20 June 1969). Typically, the intent of the cartoon is not so much a comment on Britain as it is a domestic statement. It is a partisan warning in an arch-conservative publication against the

⁷⁰⁴ For example, Raspe concluded his original version of Baron Munchausen's tales with this sentiment. More recently, it was how General Moore finished his short signal to London upon the surrender in June 1982 of the Argentine forces in the Falkland Islands.

⁷⁰⁵ D. Head, "Made in Germany": The British Perspective As Revealed by Advertising', in *As Others See Us*, ed. by H. Husemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 99-105 (p. 99); Opie, p. 14.

possibility of British-style socialism in Germany, given that federal elections were due that autumn and the electoral appeal of the Social Democratic Party under Willy Brandt was increasing.⁷⁰⁶

4.3.7 Sporting symbolism: football

During the twentieth century Germany's fiercest rival in the fields of sport and battle was England. It would be tempting to claim that sporting symbolism is as significant in German cartoons of the British as military symbolism is in British cartoons of the Germans including, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter, in the context of sport. Whilst this is not the case, the metaphor of football – or soccer as it is known in countries where football is differently understood – appears in German cartoons, usually in the context of a match being played or scheduled to be played between the two sides.

The most popular sport in the world, football was an English public-school invention, exported by British colonists, sailors and traders. It was introduced into Germany in the 1870s through the German North Sea ports. The game spread from there to other parts of the country, although not without institutional resistance based on both a gymnastics-based physical culture and imperial rivalry. The early translation of the rules and jargon of the game into German (in Hamburg in 1876) helped, however, to popularize the game by freeing it from the taint of 'Engländerei'. At the same time its organization by ambitious early devotees as part of bourgeois club-life imitated the style of German student fraternities in nationalist nomenclature and ritual, a fact which added to its attractiveness amongst the newly emergent classes.⁷⁰⁷

Since the twentieth century the sport has been pursued with equal popular passion in both Britain and Germany. The two countries have enjoyed a century of competition against each other, most notably in World and European Cup championships since the 1950s. Perhaps no match is more memorable than the English victory over Germany at the World Cup Final of 1966. This event signified a popular expression of the state of British-German relations, as

⁷⁰⁶ In the event, Brandt would become the first Social Democrat Chancellor in the history of the Federal Republic (and the first in Germany since Hermann Müller resigned in 1930) when the SPD went into coalition with the FDP to form a government.

⁷⁰⁷ This paragraph based on: K. Radnedge, *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of European Soccer* (London: Carlton/Hodder & Stoughton, 1997), p. 11; R. Horak, 'Football League vs. Nationalmannschaft', in *Alive and Kicking*, ed. by J. Dragowski, D. Knauf and I. Watson (Hamburg: Argument, 1995), pp. 18-30 (pp. 22-23); Incidentally, one of the first formal foreign tours by an English football team was by an Oxford University XI to Germany in 1876.

Dragowski and others point out: 'For lots of fans on both sides, Wembley 1966 was simply a re-make of the Somme and El Alamein'.⁷⁰⁸

The debate over BAOR stationing costs is depicted as a tussle between the two Foreign Ministers as rival football players: Selwyn Lloyd is heading the ball into the goals that are being successfully defended with a raised fist by Heinrich von Brentano (Oskar, 'Deutschland : England', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 5 December 1957). The ball is labelled 'Stationieru[ngs-]Kosten' and the two politicians wear label jerseys. A line in parentheses beneath the image tells the reader that this game is being played out not in Wembley stadium but in Downing Street. The cartoon appeared on the eve of a World Cup championship year, with West Germany the reigning world champion, having won the title for the first time at Berne's Wankdorf Stadium in 1954.

Cerny reflects the direct political significance a game of football can have with a cartoon, in which a fat neo-Nazi skinhead is deflating a football marked 'Deutschland-England' before a packed stadium ('Ein Trauerspiel', *WAZ*, 7 April 1994). A Germany-England Friendly International had been inadvertently scheduled for 20 April, Hitler's birthday, but cancelled because of the threat of violence by ultra-right wing groups from both countries, who were understood to be planning a remake of Wembley 1966 **off** the pitch.⁷⁰⁹ The context is no less political when Horsch presents the English view of the gateway to continental Europe as a goal fully blocked by the massive figure of keeper Kohl ('Das Tor zum Kontinent – aus englischer Sicht...', *Die Zeit*, 14 June 1996). The wordplay in the cartoon's title reflects this analogy, for the German word 'Tor' means both gate(way) and goal. The cartoon illustrated an article by the British chairman designate of the multinational corporation Unilever about the imperative of Britain remaining in the EU and appeared not only during the BSE crisis but also the Euro 96 championship, held for the first time in England.⁷¹⁰

Matches between England and Germany are taken very seriously. When the British 'popular' press hyped the Euro 96 match between England and Germany they did so in provocative and bellicose terms. Schoenfeld caricatured this 'British point of view' as a World War One tank assault re-enacted on-field ('Das Spiel England-Deutschland aus britischer Sicht', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 June 1996). There is a significant allusion to the football match played between German and British troops in 'No Man's Land' at Christmas

⁷⁰⁸ J. Dragowski, D. Knauf and I. Watson, 'Anstatt eines Editorials: Für und gegen Lothar Matthäus', in *Alive and Kicking*, pp. 5-16 (p. 6).

⁷⁰⁹ Dragowski and others, p. 8.

⁷¹⁰ England supporters hoped their team would repeat their 1966 first and only World Cup win at the 1996 championship. However, England was narrowly beaten in the semi-final by Germany on penalties in extra time. Germany went on to win the title. As described in the previous chapter, the championship provided the opportunity for some unprecedented 'Kraut-bashing' by the British 'popular' press, in particular the *Sun*.

1914. This paradigm of sporting goodwill in the midst of deadly conflict is contextually and thematically inverted in the cartoon where warfare is being waged in a supposedly peaceable arena. A more contemporary satirical allusion was provided by Hürlimann during the Euro 2000 championships, held jointly in Belgium and the Netherlands ('Heute England – Deutschland', *SZ*, 17/18 June 2000, p. 57). He drew the players standing on the pitch, scarecrow-like with their arms raised, as the referee frisks each in turn with a metal detector. One linesman remarks to the other in Bavarian patois that he thinks the referee has received a death threat. The truth is that there is usually more confrontation off the field than on it, and hooliganism and post-match violence have become part of the reputation of English football fans.

Football has become a metaphor of all that is good and bad in British-German relations. Johnson believes that matches between the two countries carry meaning that goes far beyond the merely sporting:

Every time England plays Germany at football, the two nations re-examine their complex relationship: a regular cycle beginning with mutual admiration, suddenly transformed into fear and loathing, subsiding into ignorance and indifference. This can be a depressing exercise. We compete in every sphere, we mock each other's peculiarities, from the linguistic to the lavatorial. We even have physical caricatures of one another which are, in fact, remarkably similar in emphasising girth. It seems that we are doomed forever to struggle for the survival of the fattest. [...] As long as we feel that our national independence is threatened by Europe, however, we shall continue to treat the football pitch as a battlefield. Germany will respond in kind. And the nations of Shakespeare and Goethe will go on glorifying Beckham and Beckenbauer.⁷¹¹

4.3.8 Conclusion

German cartoonists display a preference for standard and established symbolic representations of Britain, rather than individuals. They have a penchant for national allegorical figures like the Lion, Marianne, Michel, though less so for John Bull and Britannia. A final category in Knieper's 'Encoding of England' table of symbols used by 'cartoonists mainly working in Germany' is entitled 'Other' ('Sonstiges') and ranks equal second with 'British Gentleman' as a symbol most frequently employed. Thus cartoonists make use of a wide range of symbols other than the Lion, Gentleman, John Bull, Union Jack or a 'Member of the Royal Family' or, at least, believe they do. Knieper lists those under 'Sonstiges' as including the following: 'königliche Garde, britisches Pfund, Big Ben, Diva, Margret [*sic*] Thatcher, Fußball Hooligan, Uncle Sam [*sic!*], und Bulldogge' (p. 198).

While leaders have increasingly been substituted for national symbols in recent times, we have also witnessed the conflation of leaders with symbols. The association of Mrs Thatcher

⁷¹¹ D. Johnson, 'Our Friends the Germans', *Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 2000, p. 22.

with, respectively, Britannia and the lion is one example. Darracott traces the decline in national symbols and their replacement by national leaders to the First World War when the Kaiser became the primary focus in Allied cartoons as a symbol of militarism and evil.⁷¹²

Germany's tradition of caricaturing the British may appear to have lost some of the raw verve and unfettered spirit it enjoyed at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is seen as a result of its abuse under National Socialism. However, as the preceding sections demonstrate, the German tradition has evolved away from images of militarism, racism and xenophobia, whilst continuing to tap a rich seam of culturally specific symbolism. Stereotypes of the British/English/Scottish have fed into this, themselves developing and shifting focus as part of a dynamic process of selection, adaptation and diversification.

4.4 Principal themes

The aim of this section is to identify topics of importance to German cartoonists in commenting on Britain and British-German relations and to detail the ways in which these topics have been dealt with. Significant features in this treatment are highlighted, rather than providing an exhaustive coverage of each topic. Importance has been given according to two criteria: the density of material produced over a limited period of topicality by more than one artist and/or the quantity of cartoons published on a given theme or topic over an extended period of time.

4.4.1 Great Britain: the occupying and protecting power

German cartoons since the Second World War have implicitly chronicled Britain's changing role in global and European politics. In the post-war period the United Kingdom was one of the four occupying powers in Germany along with France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The contented, carefree life of the British troops in divided Berlin is contrasted with the austerity endured by the locals in a *Kreische* cartoon which depicts the latter pulling sacks of potatoes on carts past lines of huge parked cars (*Insulaner*, 15 October 1948, cover). When the occupation formally ended in the Federal Republic in 1952, the role of the Western Allies changed to that of protecting powers, and their armed forces continued to be stationed on German soil, supported by the Adenauer government and its successors through a currency offset.

Sturtzkopf's cartoon 'Michel und seine Tetrarchen' reflects this situation and the resentment felt at the Allies' enjoyment of the economic fruits of West German reconstruction (*Simplicissimus*, 8 January 1955). He drew an allegory of the Epiphanytide tradition of neighbourhood carolling by children: The four uniformed 'Sternsinger'-Allies are wearing

⁷¹² Darracott, p. 13.

crowns and tucking into a large bowl of dumplings put out for them by a disaffected Michel and his wife, whose small daughter reaches out in vain for a share. This cartoon heralds the change in the economic fortunes of Britain and West Germany. Münchhausen-Macmillan's halved lion, drinking the fruits of Erhard's labour and losing them in support for Britain's overseas interests, expresses a more anti-British sentiment (Hartung, 'Münchhausen 1958', *Fortschritt*, 7 August 1958). Hartung's cartoon also raises a question over the German taxpayers' support of British troops stationed in Germany. These payments seemed to Germans unpleasantly like tribute to a foreigner who, not so long before, had been a victorious enemy in occupation.

As with British cartoons of this period, the controversial topic of stationing costs and the concomitant currency offset featured strongly in German cartoons and was indicative of Germany's growing economic and financial clout and Britain's decline as a major power. This was the football at the heart of the tussle between Lloyd and von Brentano in 1957 ('Deutschland : England', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 5 December) and ten years later remained one of the items of washing Wilson and Brown hang on the Kiesinger-Brandt Line (*CWTR*, pp. 72-73). It is the Rheingold Sheriff Adenauer brings to the Queen on the back of his new Finance Minister Etzel (*CWTR*, pp. 158-59) and the reward eagerly awaited by the British for the first Royal visit to West Germany (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). The contrast of German affluence and British economic distress is perhaps best demonstrated in Ironimus's shabby Wilson holding out a huge hat for BAOR donations to a cigar-puffing, dapper Erhard (*CWTR*, pp. 164-65).

Yet Britain's reduced circumstances did not at first impair the country's standing as a world player, nor did West Germany's economic success provide it with an entrée into the elite superpower circle. Britain remained a political giant, albeit shrinking economically, whilst West Germany was becoming an economic giant trapped in the body of a political dwarf. A Wolf cartoon from the mid-sixties presents this graphically. Wilson is sitting with the other three nuclear powers in large, comfortable armchairs, when tiny Michel approaches them plaintively with his stool to ask for membership of the 'Atomklub' (*NOZ*, [1964]).⁷¹³

4.4.2 Joining the European club

Throughout the fifties the British were decidedly lukewarm about the idea of joining the European economic and political institutions, as successive Conservative governments were primarily concerned with shoring up the country's role as a world power. But Britain's continued economic malaise and the gradual shrinking of its former imperial export markets

⁷¹³ At the time West Germany supported the idea of a multilateral nuclear defence force, of which it would be part. Not until Brandt was elected in 1969 did the Federal Republic sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

made the European option distinctly more attractive. Two applications for membership of the EEC were lodged by the Macmillan government in 1961 and then by the Labour Wilson government in 1967. Both failed due to the intransigence of President de Gaulle, concerned about what he saw as a conflict of interests arising from Britain's relations with the Commonwealth and the United States, coupled with his desire to secure France's pre-eminence within the EEC.

Britain's moves towards membership of the European Communities were seen positively in German cartoons, reflecting the fact that German public opinion always wanted Britain in Europe. Mussil's 1960 cartoon demonstrates this fact as John Bull happily sails Great Britain towards the Continent ('Ei, ei – wer kommt denn da?', *FR*, 3 June). Michel, waiting on the further shore, rubs his hands with glee. Next to him Marianne appears friendly although she is pensively holding a finger to her mouth. A considerable change in the position of the British government towards the EEC had occurred with a tentative offer to join Euratom and the Coal and Steel Communities. Hicks takes up the same theme in 'Bei Windstärke 10 aus Ost-Nordost', the title referring to the heightened Cold War tensions that had led to the failure of Macmillan's East-West summit that month (*Welt*, 28 May 1960). Inverting the 'Dropping the Pilot' metaphor, Hicks draws the rotund figure of John Bull in choppy seas, climbing up a ladder onto the 'SS Europa Kontinent' from his powerboat 'Splendid Isolation'. The liner towers above the waves, giving the impression of safety and stability, whilst Bull leaves his small boat bouncing dangerously in the waves. On deck a crowd of well-rugged-up, cheering, smiling faces waits to welcome him on board.

The second application for membership is recorded by Wolf in his strip cartoon for *Stern*, in which Wilson offers Kiesinger an audience with the Queen and a good place in Madame Tussaud's 'Kabinett' in return for helping him into the EEC (20 October 1967, p. 194). Wilson seems confident of success in his attempts to win over Brandt and Kiesinger (*CWTR*, pp. 72-73), but these British-German talks are overshadowed by the scolding sun figure of de Gaulle (*CWTR*, pp. 74-75). The senescent French president's new policy of a 'Europe des patries' watered down high hopes for a united Europe and was a key factor in keeping Britain out of Europe in the sixties. The French position was that 'Britain should join the Common Market only if she were willing to accept an absolutely equal role within Europe'.⁷¹⁴

By the early seventies the climate had become more favourable, although the British had done little to influence change. All six member countries now wanted Britain to join the Common Market, although for different reasons. The Germans were keen because they believed British entry would give new impulse to the European idea, whilst the French hoped

⁷¹⁴ cf. Mommsen, pp. 26-27.

the British would help them keep Germany in check.⁷¹⁵ Pielert depicts Heath as ‘King Edward’ in a boat drawn by pound sterling-shaped swan, in an allusion to the Rhine saga immortalized by Wagner in ‘Lohengrin’ (‘King Edward’s Rheinfahrt’, *Handelsblatt*, 22 March 1971). As he approaches his princess in the tower Willy Brandt, Marianne lassoes the swan with the intention of having ‘King Edward’ for herself.

Britain had formally acceded to the EEC a year before Wilson, at the head of a largely Euro-sceptic Labour party, took over Heath’s mantle in February 1974. The incoming premier had promised that the government’s decision to enter would be put to a referendum and the terms of entry renegotiated. This was held the following summer and demonstrated overwhelming public support for Britain’s EEC membership. The anxious, diminutive figure of Wilson is being carried along between French President d’Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt in a cartoon by Behrendt (‘Europa unterwegs!’, 1975).⁷¹⁶ Whilst Schmidt points ahead with serious intent and d’Estaing strides forward with him, a European flag in his free hand, Wilson has a look of singular discomfort for he has lost his footing.

4.4.3 The Royal Family

British cartoons of the Royal Family – particularly those from the popular have – often been reprinted in German newspapers, especially in titles belonging to the Springer-Verlag. German cartoonists have also produced a wealth of material, for the British Royal Family has provided an almost constant source of interest and amusement to post-monarchical Germans.

The Royal Family and, by association, the court and governing class represent an anachronistic, quaint system of ceremonies, titles and privileges, as well as being a symbol of British social values and national identity. It is the traditionally stiff, hierarchical formality that Loriot contrasts with a laid-back, intimate atmosphere introduced by one of his typical *Knollennasen* figures in dialogue with the monarch (*CWTR*, pp. 100-101). The Royal Family is also often employed to express Britain’s international relations. It – and particularly the Queen – has been identified in foreign minds with a British product of the greatest marketability, with royal visits and hospitality used to highlight, improve or confirm a relationship with another power.

⁷¹⁵ De Gaulle had resigned as president in 1969 and died the following year. He had nevertheless regarded Britain’s membership as inevitable. Upon meeting the newly elected Leader of the Opposition Edward Heath in 1965, de Gaulle predicted that Britain would be led into the European Community under Heath’s future premiership. *The Course of My Life* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), p. 240; cf. Heath’s earlier *Travels: People and Places in My Life* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1977), p. 5, in which a somewhat different version is recounted.

⁷¹⁶ Reprod. in Behrendt, *Helden und andere Leute: Heroes and Other People* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1975), p. 76.

Whilst hosted by a popular young monarch, Theodor Heuss's State Visit to the United Kingdom in 1958 was a difficult exercise in bilateral relations, given the depth of resentment still felt by many in Britain towards Germans and Germany.⁷¹⁷ It was recognized by E. M. Lang in placing 'Papa Heuss', shovel in hand, amidst London rubble and beside the unexploded bomb of distrust (*CWTR*, pp. 84-85). Public consternation in Britain came, therefore, as no surprise when the invitation to the Queen to reciprocate was accepted soon afterwards, although it took a number of years before concrete plans were finally drawn up.⁷¹⁸ This mood is picked up by Siegl in his tri-frame cartoon 'God save the Queen' (*Simplicissimus*, 7 September 1963). Two virtually identical, seemingly mild-mannered English gentlemen are discussing events of the day over pipes and whisky. The Great Train Robbery is referred to as a 'sympathetic sporting enterprise', the Profumo case as 'at worst an affair', whilst the Queen's proposed visit is vehemently condemned by one of them as an 'unparalleled damned scandal' with glasses and pipes sent flying as his fist comes crashing down on the table. In 'God save our gracious Queen', a cover cartoon for *Simplicissimus* a year later, the young Royal Family are depicted in a relaxed domestic tableau, playing, embroidering a flag and cleaning a crown, whilst discussing the long lead-time for the German visit as one would a visit to difficult distant relatives (Meyer-Brockmann, 20 June 1964). Following the visit in 1965 another cartoon appeared, in which the now completed, successful event is seen as a British bargaining chip in the currency offset negotiations with the Germans (*CWTR*, pp. 98-99). Here and on subsequent occasions the financial need and economic plight of the British are linked with their sovereign's State Visits to Germany (see *CWTR*, pp. 102-103; pp. 114-15). Alternatively, she is credited with an important mediating role between Britain and Germany in times of crisis, such as in the troubled 1990s (*CWTR*, pp. 112-13).

The relationship of the Prince and Princess of Wales provided German cartoonists with excellent caricatural copy from the very start. The opportunity for domestic criticism was not lost here either. In an allusion to Wilhelm Busch, Pielert shows a tearful Germania engrossed in watching Charles and Diana's wedding on television, blissfully unaware that her deutschmarks are being fished through the chimney from the hearth behind her by Helmut

⁷¹⁷ See A. Glees, 'The British-German State Visits of 1958 and 1965: from Occupation to Normalization', in *Britain and Germany in Europe 1949-90*, ed. by J. Noakes, P. Wende and J. Wright (Oxford: OUP, 2002), pp. 279-305.

⁷¹⁸ In the event the visit provided a welcome boost to the bilateral relationship. F. Roberts, *Dealing with Dictators* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), pp. 241-45. A champion of post-war British-German relations, Roberts (1907-98) was British Ambassador in Bonn from 1963 to 1968 and was responsible for organizing the Queen's tour. See A. Birke, 'Sir Frank Roberts: Diplomat und Architekt britischer Deutschlandpolitik', in *Rivalität und Partnerschaft*, ed. by G. Ritter and P. Wende (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), pp. 296-312 (pp. 309-12).

Schmidt and Dietrich Genscher ('Unterdessen auf dem Dache, ist man tätig bei der Sache', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 29 July 1981). Only Germania's small dog is aware of the heist. The Royal Wedding is framed by Haitzinger with civil strife, racial conflict and violence to draw a contrast between the fairy-tale atmosphere of the event and harsh social realities of metropolitan life (*CWTR*, pp. 104-5).

The couple's popular visit to Germany in November 1987 provided cartoonists with a royal field day. Hanitzsch shows a grinning, kilted Charles 'bow-wowing' on his hands and knees upon arrival, for he is tethered by a spiked collar to a huge metal chain held by his wife ('Herzlich willkommen!', *Quick*, 4 November 1987).⁷¹⁹ They are walking along a line of dignitaries that include Helmut Kohl and Franz Josef Strauss, who are also kilted and waving Union flags. Strauss still maintains the vestiges of his Bavarian identity – beer stein, Tyrolean hat and jacket – while the Chancellor holds a crib sheet on which is a phonetically rendered greeting in English: 'Wälkam juhr Reuel Heinesses', a reference to his reputed poor command of the language.

The problems within the House of Windsor are satirized by Ryss in a double frame cartoon for *Mannheimer Morgen* that shows a sweetly smiling family group in front of the camera ('Hinter den Kulissen von Windsor', 27 November 1992). The view from behind in the second frame shows them interacting with one another in a variety of ways that include fondling and throttling, with axes and saws lying on the ground and corgis tearing the Queen's train to shreds. Haitzinger offers a comparison between these conflicts and rivalries and Shakespeare's tragedies, with the Bard being encouraged to admit that he has met his match (*CWTR*, pp. 106-7). When revelations about the Wales's marriage were published in 1994, a leading German news magazine adopted an Australian cartoon from syndication that caricatured the Prince of Wales as the hapless victim of a fairy tale gone seriously wrong (*CWTR*, pp. 224-25). What is interesting to note here is the international currency in desirable cartoons, mirroring that of press photographs; only four days separated the publication of Zanetti's cartoon in a Sydney daily newspaper and its appearance on German newsstands in the pages of *Spiegel*. The response to this event was treated differently by Pielert, who chose to highlight the growing public dissatisfaction in Britain with the behaviour of the younger generation of Royals (*WAZ*, 25 October 1994). He depicts an indignant John Bull sawing off a leg of the throne upon which the Queen is seated – crown-topped shoes serving to identify her – to stop Charles sitting upon it.

⁷¹⁹ *Quick* was the largest-selling illustrated in Germany in the post-war period, belonging to the same class of popular current affairs magazines as *Stern* and, to a lesser extent, *Bunte*. It eventually lost out to competition and the broad appeal of television. Its sister publication *TV Quick* (est. in 1986; launched in 1991 in the UK) continues in Britain as a television-focused weekly aimed at a younger readership. cf. H. Meyn, *Massenmedien in Deutschland*, new edn (Constance: UVK Medien, 1999), p. 128.

The Royal Family have often been contextualized within popular culture and entertainment. The Queen's second State Visit in 1978 was followed closely by the eleventh World Cup finals, both catching the popular imagination (Hicks, 'Eine Majestät kam...eine Majestät kommt', [23] May). Hicks's cartoon shows a smiling Queen gliding by in crown and ermine, followed closely by another figure in royal raiment with a football as its head and a football surmounting its crown. Rows of cheering faces are to be seen in the background. German cartoonists have often depicted interaction between British Royals and commoners as mediated by television rather than in face-to-face encounters, such as Royal walkabouts. This reflects the Royal Family's geographical distance from a widely dispersed German population, even when visiting Germany. Wolf's cartoon of the impact of the second State Visit has three neatly dressed German hausfraus seated in front of a television regretting the fact that they can only ever find pleasure in foreign queens (*NOZ*, May 1978). The reader of this image assumes that they are or have been watching television footage of the royal tour. Alternatively the Royals have been perceived as providing the bread and butter for sensationalist journalism. The divorce of the Prince and Princess of Wales provided Haitzinger with an opportunity to satirize the rapacity of the media in covering personal and particularly royal misfortunes (*Bunte*, 30 May 1996). He depicts a huge evil-eyed vulture, with a newspaper marked 'press' under one wing and a TV camera under the other, perched atop the wall of a gladiatorial circus and goading the Prince and Princess to enter. In the centre of the ring a poisonous black pool labelled 'Schlamm Royal' has been provided, with a bucket, ladle and syringe ready for each combatant.

The flow of German cartoons about the British Royal Family diminished following the Princess of Wales' tragic death in August 1997. It seems German cartoonists preferred for a time to close the chapter on what had hitherto been a lively source of comedy.

4.4.4 Britain in conflict

Not surprisingly, German cartoonists have focused on Britain at times when the country has been engaged in conflict intranationally and internationally. The two primary events in this category are the decades of sectarian strife in Ulster and the brief but significant war with Argentina in 1982 over the occupation of Falkland Islands. There was not this focus on Britain, however, during the Gulf War of 1991, when the country was portrayed simply as one part of the larger allied bloc. The fact that Germany was at best cast as a passive player in this domestically controversial conflict made for a largely self-referential perspective in German cartoons of the Gulf War (see *CWTR*, pp. 128-29).

4.4.4.1 Northern Ireland

German interest in the situation in Northern Ireland seems to derive from what was perceived as an extraordinary long-term sectarian conflict in a place so close to home. It is likely that Germany's own long history of Protestant-Catholic socio-political division – less keenly felt today, yet still part of collective memory – gives it a particular sensitivity towards a similar situation continuing to be lived on a daily basis in another part of Europe. When the Northern Irish parliament's powers were withdrawn and transferred to Westminster in 1972, Prime Minister Heath was caricatured with a huge nose and toothy, fang-like smile proffering an outstretched straitjacket in the manner of a bullfighter.⁷²⁰ Facing him an enraged IRA demon sits guarding a bomb. The stationing of British troops from 1969 onwards and Heath's hardline approach did little, however, to alleviate tensions in the Province.

Behrendt includes a machine-gun-toting Northern Irish thug with a head wound as one of several patients awaiting 'Dr' Wilson's ministrations upon Labour's return to office in early 1974 (*FAZ*, 8 March). However, the new government could find no easy cure for the strife either, and the IRA bombing campaign moved across the Irish Sea. An already bruised British Lion is further terrorized in a *BAS* cartoon when a rotund female marked 'Ireland' is shown having set alight the fur at the end of its tail (*CWTR*, pp. 140-41). As an extremity the end of the lion's tail represents the geographical position of the Province vis-à-vis the United Kingdom, yet the implied threat here is to the well-being of the whole beast shivering terrified upon its Union Jack stand. One of the most powerful caricatural statements about the conflict was delivered by Schoenfeld in an award-winning cartoon produced at the height of the violence in the late seventies (*CWTR*, pp. 142-43). The Dürer-like figure of Jesus being led to execution is central to the drama of this image, in which the partisan loyalty of the balaclava-hooded assailants is deliberately ambiguous.

'Mordirland' is a dark play on the German name for Northern Ireland (Nordirland) chosen by Ebert for a cartoon published on All Saints' Day 1993 (*RP*, 1 November). Two armed flying demons – representing the opposing organizations: the IRA and Ulster Freedom Fighters – dance together over the graves of their victims by the light of a Hallowe'en full moon. They are incongruously joined in their celebration of death and contempt for life. The symbolism of demons and devils used by German cartoonists reflects the widespread and popular feeling in Germany that the methods these paramilitary groups employ are evil. The year had been marked by violence – particularly the 'town buster' bombings of Warrington in March and London's Bishopsgate in April – with the preceding month of October recording the highest one-month toll of deaths since 1976. In the face of this, the British government

⁷²⁰ 'Zwangsjackenpolitik', reprod. in Ironimus, *Die siebziger Jahre: Zeitgeschehen in der Karikatur 1970-1979* (Vienna: Molden, 1979), [n.p.].

joined in talks with the Sinn Fein to produce in mid-December the Downing Street Declaration for the cessation of violence, preparing the way for a paramilitary ceasefire the following year. However, the first anniversary of the ceasefire at the end of August 1995 saw the peace process again in jeopardy. Direct talks between the British government and nationalists – the first for twenty-three years – reached deadlock over the issue of arms decommissioning, and Sinn Fein warned of a resumption of violence. Hanel interprets this for his German readership in ‘Baustelle Nordirland’ (*Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 11 September 1995). The brick-by-brick construction of a giant, fat bird of peace has been halted and a sign announces that the site is temporarily closed. A ladder, bricks and building equipment all remain in place, but there is no workman to be seen.

A political figure soon appeared to revitalize the peace process: President Clinton. In the wake of his successful tour of Britain and Ireland, a high-profile commission on the removal of paramilitary arms would be established under the chairmanship of former US Senator George Mitchell.⁷²¹

4.4.4.2 The Falklands War

The Falklands War was a short conflict which, in German minds, evoked the history book images of a British Empire upheld by British military might. The British government’s military response to the Argentinian invasion of islands few Germans knew existed was considered rash, unreasonable and anachronistic. It found little public favour or sympathy in West Germany whilst capturing media headlines and popular emotions; a fact reflected in its cartoons.

One attitude predominated in German cartoons at the outset of the conflict, as the level of British anger about the Argentine invasion of the islands on 2 April 1982 became apparent. The almost universal call was for the belligerents to come to their senses and exercise reason – ‘Vernunft’ – rather than act rashly. This archetypal Enlightenment catchword expressed the mindset of most Germans after 1945 with their abhorrence of war and deep-seated desire for the preservation of peace. It was the response of a nation still on the front-line of the Cold War, strongly disposed towards pacifism and fearful of any escalation of superpower tension, to champion the rule of international law, negotiation and compromise. This attitude is embodied in an emotion-laden cartoon published as the British Task Force set sail for the South Atlantic (Schöpfer, ‘Landungsversuch?’, *Westfälische Nachrichten*, 18 May 1982). ‘Vernunft’ is the label on a brave lad in storm gear desperately trying to paddle a makeshift raft across a rough sea to the Falklands ahead of a British warship. The warship can be seen in

⁷²¹ Background information for this section has been drawn from the relevant editions of *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, ed. by H. Hodson (Harlow: Longman).

the distance steaming towards its goal, the Union Jack prominent on its masthead. By contrast, the boy's craft shows the white flag of surrender, whilst over the stylized Falklands flies the Argentine standard, below which a battered penguin in a woolly cap and scarf waves at his approach. It is, in fact, an image to which children could easily relate: the boy wants to save the penguin from further harm. Besides the land-based penguin, there is a similarly attired bird with an olive twig in its beak accompanying the boy, and another being towed behind in a tub, whilst open-mouthed fish peer out of the sea at them. The imagery is unambiguous, if not sentimental, and the message clear.

German cartoonists did not take sides in the war. Both belligerents, represented by Margaret Thatcher on the one hand and General Galtieri on the other, were cast in the same negative light. It is mostly the politicians and generals who are the focus of the cartoonists' critical attention. One interesting exception to this is a cartoon featuring two tweedy English gentlemen complete with pipes, long moustaches and expressions of hauteur. They are indignant about a climate in which 'even ancient family property is no longer safe from attack by bandits' (Wolter, *Augsburger Allgemeine*, 14 April 1982). In the background hangs an ancestral portrait, a stereotype buccaneer complete with 'Jolly Roger' and dated 1833, the year when the British took possession of the islands from the Argentinians.⁷²² The piece highlights this irony and thus seeks to tap into the old stereotype of British imperialist arrogance and hypocrisy.

If there is sympathy shown for any group, it is for the local wildlife. Haitzinger's reaction to the recapture of South Georgia three weeks into the hostilities is one of the few witty cartoons of the war (*CWTR*, pp. 120-21). A largely uninhabited island, some thousand kilometres east of the main group, it was home mainly to penguins and seals, who in Haitzinger's cartoon are surrendering in terror before the guns of British soldiers, who do not know whether they are friend or foe.

The final British triumph, after the recapture of the main island group, is described by Haitzinger as a Pyrrhic victory ('Hurra, wir haben's wieder!', 16 June 1982). Mrs Thatcher is pushing a badly wounded lion in a wheelchair through a battlefield of fallen aircraft and wrecked ships. Thatcher beams broadly and gives a Churchillian 'V for Victory' sign, whilst the laurel-crowned lion, bandaged and much the worse for wear, holds aloft the symbolic spoils: a clean bone, labelled 'Falklands'. On the horizon behind them is a wide field of

⁷²² In fact, it was the captain of a sloop-of-war, HMS *Clio*, who under instructions from London sailed into the small disordered Argentine settlement on East Falkland in 1833 and simply proclaimed British sovereignty. The Argentinians were dispossessed, reportedly without a shot being fired. Extract from the original report reprinted in the *Annual Register 1982*, pp. 488-89. Also M. Parsons, *The Falklands War* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp. 9-10. The latter, an excellent pocket history, provides an extensive timeline, maps, background information and an annotated bibliography.

crosses, marking the graves of the dead. In a Schöpfer cartoon, the small size of Mrs Thatcher's victory is emphasised ('Das Siegesfoto', *Westfälische Nachrichten*, June 1982). She is posing before the camera in Britannia-like armour and horned helmet: a ridiculous-looking Colossus in the middle of the South Atlantic Ocean. In her left hand she holds a broom, in the other a frayed Union standard. Her raised left boot rests on a small pile of rocks identified as the Falklands, upon which huddle a couple of sheep and a penguin.

The German cartoonists' satirical disdain for the posturing of Mrs Thatcher vis-à-vis the islands is also expressed four years later in a cartoon drawn by Mussil, in which she is a remonstrating sea monster drawn up from the deep by the presence of an Argentinian fishing in her territorial waters (*CWTR*, pp. 46-47). In the background are the Falklands, depicted as a deserted, treeless, inhospitable-looking collection of rocky peaks in the middle of the ocean; an image that remains unchanged in German minds.⁷²³ German incredulity at the colonial war waged in defence of so unattractive a relic of the Empire was not, however, unique. As Middlebrook points out in his history of the conflict:

That two great nations should have fought a war and lost their young men in the 1980s for the right to fly their flag over this land was incomprehensible to most of the rest of the world.⁷²⁴

4.4.5 Thatcher's approach to Europe and her Euro-sceptic legacy

Mrs Thatcher's demand for a decrease in the level of Britain's EEC contribution as well as a partial refund of monies already contributed became for German cartoonists the first defining feature of her relationship with the European Community. Her opposition to increases in Community expenditure and her stubborn demands for repayment elicit a largely cynical reaction from German cartoonists, fuelled in 1982 by Britain's military solution to the crisis in the South Atlantic. When Britain vetoed an eleven per cent rise in farm prices under the Common Agricultural Policy, Thatcher is shown in a Pielert cartoon as a ragged Scots piper playing the 'Falkland Doodle' with all drones firing ('Oben hui, unten pfui', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 19 May 1982), whilst a day after the Council of Ministers agreed to the level

⁷²³ Whilst the Falkland Islands are indeed largely treeless by virtue of the near constant wind, they enjoy a temperate, maritime climate without extremes and more sunshine and less rain than London. The group is made up of some 200 islands, with a land area of around 12,200 km²/4700 sq. miles (i.e. larger than Cyprus) and stunning scenery reminiscent of the Western Isles of Scotland. cf. R. Hunt, *My Falkland Days* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1992), pp. 6, 12-13, 24-25. Hunt was Governor of the colony at the time of the conflict, and his memoirs record this period and his affection for the Falklands and its people.

⁷²⁴ M. Middlebrook, *The Falklands War, 1982* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 16.

of budget relief for the United Kingdom, Mrs Thatcher is shown refuelling a British warplane from a huge sack of EEC monies (Haitzinger, *Nordwest-Zeitung*, 26 May 1982).⁷²⁵

Two years later Behrendt portrayed Thatcher as Britannia on a small island surmounted by a banner proclaiming ‘Rule Britannia in Splendid Isolation’ and supported by a mean-looking John Bull and a roaring lion (*FAZ*, 30 March 1984).⁷²⁶ His cartoon was in response to her refusal to pay Britain’s prescribed financial contribution to the EEC and the resultant worsening of the mood within the organization. Six years later, the image would be repeated by the same artist in Thatcher’s Britannic ‘No!’ to further European integration (*CWTR*, pp. 54-55). Mrs Thatcher’s insistence on maintaining Britain’s national sovereignty in the face of the Maastricht Treaty eventually contributed to her downfall as Prime Minister (*CWTR*, pp. 56-57). To the very last, Maggie is seen as fighting in the front line against Brussels’s attempts to screw into Britain’s insularity (*CWTR*, pp. 76-77).

Thatcher’s successor as Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party, John Major, was thought by German cartoonists to share her position on European integration, albeit with less edge and more charm. In one example, Major is portrayed as a smiling, dapper English gentleman, who courteously raises his bowler to EC officials, leaving them with a flowery, less aggressive ‘No’ drawn on a wall (Wolter, *NOZ*, 29 September 1992). Yet he is also shown asserting his own opinion on EU affairs, pissing on other heads of government as a defiant Manneken-Pis (*CWTR*, pp. 222-23) or stone-facedly blocking the door to the EU presidency with a stop traffic sign to prevent a midget Jean-Luc Dehaene from entering (Caro, *RP*, 27 June 1994). The continuing split over Europe both within the Tory party and parliament at large did not escape the cartoonists’ attention. Major is depicted balancing on a tightrope over ratification of the Maastricht Treaty (*CWTR*, pp. 78-79), whilst the force of British Euro-scepticism later inspired Bas to portray an angular Union Jack piercing the base of the EU chair (*CWTR*, pp. 226-227).

Haitzinger suggests that a good part of the reason for British antipathy towards Europe is a stereotype-fed fear of the Germans as crazed Nazis and bellicose Huns, who scoff sauerkraut whilst advancing the power of the deutschmark (*CWTR*, pp. 92-93). A similar hypothesis appears in a cartoon by Wolter – representative of the first generation of post-war German cartoonists – where it is presented in less hyperbolic terms as part of Thatcher’s own perception; the subtext being that her view of the Germans is shared by the British people (*CWTR*, pp. 52-53). The explanation given here for the tenacity of British antipathy towards Europe rests in the long-established German stereotype of British parsimony.

⁷²⁵ Reprod. in H. Haitzinger, *Haitzinger-Karikaturen: Politische Karikaturen von HH* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1982), [n.p.].

⁷²⁶ Reprod. in Husemann (1987), II, 36.

4.4.6 European Monetary Union

One of the hottest topics in British-European relations in the last decade of the twentieth century was the move towards a single European currency. It featured prominently in German cartoons during this period; in the majority of cases German (official) enthusiasm – personified until 1998 by Helmut Kohl – for the project is contrasted with the far less enthusiastic attitude of the British government, which at best is lukewarm about the idea or decidedly opposed to it.

On this as with so many areas of Britain's relationship with Europe, Mrs Thatcher made good copy. Her opposition to the idea of currency union was illustrated by cartoonists such as Wolf, who in 1989 depicted Thatcher indecorously applying her own heel to brake the EEC bus being driven by Herr Kohl along the road to currency union (*NOZ*). Her fellow passenger President Mitterrand appears almost as a dummy beside the driver. The contrast continued with her successor, albeit in less strident terms. Hachfeld draws a large Helmut Kohl pointing to a coin before him on the table and loudly proclaiming 'ECU!' (1991).⁷²⁷ His neighbour – a much smaller John Major with a Union Jack tie – shudders at the Chancellor's blast, which he takes for a sneeze and so responds with 'Gesundheit!'. Major in his short-sightedness – he doesn't appear to have seen the coin – has misinterpreted Kohl's solemn exclamation as the action of a sick man. On the other hand, Major may be unintentionally wishing the project well when he thinks he is appropriately responding to his neighbour.

The decision in 1993 to site the European Central Bank headquarters in the German financial capital brought forth a dramatic if slightly incongruous Busse cartoon, in which Chancellor Kohl has succeeded in beating Prime Minister Major to the summit of the monetary mountain (*CWTR*, pp. 212-13). Both men are dressed as though for a day at the office. Major precariously holds onto Kohl's shoe, his eyes still fixed on the prize the German holds high; if Kohl should lose his grip or his shoe come loose, Major's perpendicular position against the rock-face will lead to a fatal fall down the mountainside. The choice of Frankfurt am Main represented a significant loss for London, which had hoped to win for itself this institutional focus of the European drive towards a single currency. The British Prime Minister is a dim and distant figure, when two years later, Kohl and Mitterrand are pilot and co-pilot of a plane called Europa, drawn by Walter Hanel.⁷²⁸ Its nose is labelled 'Währungsunion'; vultures representing disruptive strikes rest on the plane's half-covered wings, whilst other European nationalities run to climb onto its tail. The plane is in motion, encountering rocks as it taxis forward along the ground, yet its propeller shows no evidence

⁷²⁷ Reprod. in *Europa in der deutschen Karikatur*, ed. by K. Riha and P. Seel, MuK 104 (Siegen: Universität-GH Siegen FB3, 1996), [n.p.].

⁷²⁸ 1995, reprod. in Hanel, *Standort Deutschland: 100 Karikaturen*, ed. by G. Burkamp (Bielefeld: Kerber, 1997), [n.p.].

of movement. Major can be seen on the horizon half-turned away, still with an eye on the shenanigans. Two spectators stand before the scene, one of whom voices his doubt that the contraption will be flying by the year 2000. The cartoon voices a scepticism about the project, which was only just becoming part of the German public's discourse on Europe.

May 1997 saw a change in the government of the United Kingdom, but very little change in the British position on the single currency. German cartoonists highlighted what was popularly perceived as one marked difference in the British government's approach to European issues: the use of prime ministerial charm. Murschetz depicts Euro leaders as paratroopers bailing out of a plane at a high altitude and carrying a 'Euro' banner ('Wait and see', *Die Zeit*, 31 October). They are led by a fat figure, whose face is obscured but who would be clearly recognized by German readers as their Chancellor. Identifiable by his wide grin and the letters GB on his parachute, the British premier prefers to stay behind in the plane and sip his tea, in an allusion to the British 'wait and see' policy of the cartoon's title.

A cartoon which appeared in the early spring of 1998 shows Kohl and his fellow heads of government – dressed in pullovers bearing the EU 'Circle of Stars' – carrying into the EU throne room a smiling Tony Blair upon a Euro shield (Ammer, *FAZ*, 30 March, p. 9).⁷²⁹ Liveried EU trumpeters announce the arrival of the President. Britain held the presidency of the Council of Ministers through the first six months of 1998, yet effectively excluded itself from the major deliberations of the period on account of its 'wait and see' policy. In the cartoon Blair is dressed in Union Jack cape and holds a pound sterling shield defiantly in one hand. As the party passes under the door arch (with, at its apex, a ring of just eleven stars) the bearers attempt in vain to bring their chieftain to earth by lowering one side of the Euro shield. By contrast, the piece illustrated an article reporting the Königswinter Conference being held in Edinburgh, at which German and British parliamentarians in fact expressed a surprising convergence of opinions and views regarding the EU. This the author saw as evidence of 'new German "realism"'.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁹ This is an allusion to the ancient ('barbarian') custom of carrying a chieftain on his shield, as evidenced by Vitalstatistix (known in German as Majestix), red-caped chief of the indomitable village of Gauls created by René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo in the comic series *Asterix*. He is borne on his shield by truculent shield-bearers, who often set down their hot-tempered chief as fancy takes them. In the story Vitalstatistix's shield belonged to the famed Avernian chieftain Vercingetorix until his defeat by Julius Caesar at Alesia, which signalled the final subjugation of Gaul and its complete incorporation into the Roman Empire. The shield thus represents the spirit of liberty and independence, which Asterix's village maintains with the aid of a magic potion. How Vitalstatistix acquired the shield is told in *Asterix and the Chieftain's Shield* (German: *Asterix und der Avernerschield*), the eleventh book in the series.

⁷³⁰ K.-D. Frankenberger, 'Langeweile droht in Europa nicht'.

4.4.7 The BSE crisis

Bovine spongiform encephalopathy was identified in the mid-1980s as a new disease in British cattle. By 1993 it had reached its peak, and the incidence began to decline. The first confirmed cases of new variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease (vCJD) were being reported in human beings two years later.

The German press and its cartoonists initially responded to the question of domestic import bans on British beef in a largely light-hearted manner. A German butcher is shown returning to his shop with a screwdriver in his hand (Haitzinger, 'Verbraucherschutz', 8 February 1995). He has just attached a new sign outside his shop announcing that British beef cattle, like dogs, must remain outside. A good part of the humour and appeal of this image derives from the sympathetic nature of the instruction to dog-owners commonly found outside German stores, which depicts the cameo outline of a small dog and the text 'Wir müssen draussenbleiben'. The additional sign employs the same profile technique but shows a horned cow onto which a Union Jack has been superimposed. Placed beneath the existing injunction it simply reads 'Wir auch!'. The reality is that German consumers virtually stopped buying beef altogether, whatever its provenance.

Around this time Marie Marcks produced a vertically aligned verse cartoon drawing on the tradition of Wilhelm Busch. At the top of the piece a British cow is being fed into a food-chain mill. This churns out small pieces that cumulatively re-form in the shape of a cow, which are happily consumed by a German nuclear family in soup, sweets and sausage. At the bottom of the image are the products of this folly: father, son and mother have been demonically transformed and now have horns, tails and hooves and wear looks of outrage and despair:

Rickeracke geht die Mühle,
Rickeracke mit Geknacke
Hier kann man sie
Noch erblicken
Fein geschroten und in Stücken
Doch alsbald verzehren sie
Heiner, Swen und Annemie.

When the British Health Secretary officially announced in March 1996 that there was a link between BSE and vCJD, the German public's fears were confirmed and the impact was dramatic. Mohr illustrated the announcement in the *FAZ* with a vast cow shadow looming over the diminutive figure of a sweating John Bull, who is caught in the small patch of light between the tips of the horns (23 March 1996, p. 3). In the course of the year the 'mad cow' became established as an anti-emblem of Britain in the German press. It was a perverse twist in the graphic tradition of 'The Roast Beef of England', a metaphor for the country's

agricultural affluence as well as its political, religious and commercial freedoms, famously celebrated by the father of English caricature William Hogarth in *The Gate of Calais, Or the Roast Beef of Old England* (1748-49).⁷³¹ It also indicated the state of British-German relations in a year beset with disputes and distrust. Traynor described it that autumn in the *Guardian*:

From the single European currency and exchange rate mechanisms to Wembley penalty shoot-outs, from bovine spongiform encephalopathy to derelict North Sea oil platforms, the Germans and the British have been getting on each other's nerves all year.⁷³²

According to Childs, there was a mood of mutual antagonism in 1996 reminiscent of the early 1900s. The starting point for the troubles lay in the tumultuous events of 1989-90, the fears and hopes raised by German unification, and the resulting clash between Margaret Thatcher, then Prime Minister, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.⁷³³

1996 brought forth a mass of German cartoons dealing with the disease. A macabre image was produced by Hanel in an allusion to the classical partnership of Europa and the Bull (*FAZ*, 30 March).⁷³⁴ Against a black background he depicts the Grim Reaper on a BSE cow coming across shallow, gently rippling water towards a makeshiftly shored-up EU fortress. The Grim Reaper wears a John Bull-style hat decorated with a Union Jack, and the water is clearly a reference to the English Channel. The tide is coming in, and the EU door is propped open. Worried faces can be seen peering through the cracks in the windows as the spectral pair approach. Another Hanel cartoon from the same year is, however, less foreboding in its imagery ('Gruppenbild mit Rindvieh', *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, 22 June).⁷³⁵ Black-suited

⁷³¹ The focus of the composition is a huge sirloin of beef being carried by a thin kitchen porter into the town from the docks and touched admiringly by a fat friar. It is detailed and direct in its use of stereotypes, chiefly of the French. Hogarth painted the scene in 1748, then quickly engraved and published it as *O The Roast Beef of Old England, &c* early the following year. The print sold with enormous success in a climate of widespread popular Francophobia and nationalist fervour. The title refers to a patriotic song from Henry Fielding's production *Don Quixote in England*. The image has been described as a proud assertion of red-blooded Britishness and a warning cry of 'Beef and Liberty!'. J. Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), pp. 464-67 (p. 467); T. Clayton, *The English Print: 1688-1802* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 92, 96 (for a reproduction of the print); W. Gaunt, *The World of William Hogarth* (London: Cape, 1978), p. 91; See also M. Hallett, *Hogarth* (London: Phaidon, 2000), pp. 236-39 (for reproductions of the painting); B. Rogers, *Beef and Liberty* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), pp. 97-103 (for an analysis of the imagery); F. Stephens, ed., *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, 4 vols (London: British Museum, 1870-83), III (1877), pt 1 (1734-50), 758-62; R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, rev. edn, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) I, 202-204; II, 192 (the print). The painting can be seen in the Tate Britain, London.

⁷³² 'Germans Chew over an Old Beef', 27 September 1996, p. 13.

⁷³³ D. Childs, 'Das Deutschlandbild der Engländer', NDR 3 [transmission date unknown].

⁷³⁴ Reprod. in Hanel (1997), [n.p.].

⁷³⁵ Reprod. a year later in Hanel, [n.p.], with the acronym BSE branded on the cow's hind leg to make the context clear.

politicians, grouped together for a photograph at the EU summit held in Florence in June, are upstaged by an enormous cow stealing their limelight. The council had agreed a package of aid to British beef producers and a step-by-step lifting of the beef exports ban, which brought to an end the British policy of non-cooperation in EU business begun a month before.

A light-hearted response to the British farmers' opposition to the ban on beef exports was provided by Adam Singleton in a cartoon originally published in the *Spectator* and subsequently reproduced in *Spiegel* (1 April 1996, p. 161). A tweedy English farmer, trying to appear innocent, is leading a cow through EU customs, disguised as an outsize Dalmatian. The cow wears a huge dog collar, to which is attached the name tag 'Spot'. The French-looking customs officials confer with each other – one holds a newspaper with the headline 'Customs Let Dog Through' – against the backdrop of an official poster detailing the 'EU Beef Ban'. Yet the cartoon illustrated a serious *Spiegel* article entitled 'Machtlos gegen Kriminelle', describing consumers' distrust of assertions made by the meat industry. Cartoons such as this demonstrate the appeal of British cartoons to a sophisticated German readership.

German cartoonists generally poured scorn on the wilfulness and complicity of British politicians and bureaucrats. When the British government intractably blockaded EU decision making, Ebert drew a besuited British ox with a raised umbrella and furious gaze holding at bay an EU worker to prevent him from removing a manure mountain of overdue resolutions ('Ochs vor'm Berg', 11 June 1996). A year later, three ineffectual police officers form a temporarily blind, deaf and dumb 'BSE Export Control Force' in a critique by Skott of Britain's lack of commitment to BSE control (Skott, '-Wanted?-', *Welt*, 17 July 1997). Understandably perhaps, German cartoonists voiced concern about the spread of the disease into Europe (and by implication the German market) rather than the plight of British beef farmers, who are portrayed, however whimsically as conniving with their politicians.

Two intriguing cartoons from the height of the BSE crisis in mid-1996 satirize the British response to events by employing the sort of martial imagery commonly used by British cartoonists. In the first, a machine gun – positioned atop the White Cliffs and primed with cow bullets – is trained across the Channel at the EU mainland (Hachfeld, *Neues Deutschland*, 12 June). The Union Jack flies full-mast before it on the cliff-edge, whilst on the distant European shore, the European flag can be seen. However, one of the cows being fed into the gun is facing the opposite direction to the rest, suggesting that the assault may in part backfire. The cartoon carries the text 'Im Westen nichts Neues', the German title of Erich Maria Remarque's pacifist novel set on the Western Front in the First World War. It also refers to the perception of unchanging British opposition to Europe, for 'there is nothing new on the western front'. In the second, Schoenfeld depicts the Euro 96 match between Britain and Germany 'from a British perspective' as an on-field tank attack by the British against the

entrenched Germans ('Das Spiel England-Deutschland aus britischer Sicht', *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 26 June). Ironically inverted is thus the famous First World War narrative of the Christmas-tide game of football played in No Man's Land, a paradigm of peaceful competition supplanting deadly conflict. Around the stadium gallery a banner addressing the British proclaims that BSE is a fabrication by Kohl to weaken England's footballers. Below it a second banner, reminiscent of British meat producers' campaign slogans, repeatedly enjoins them to eat British beef. However, it is not clear which side has been responsible for their display. If it is to be understood as a German ruse, then the intention is to dupe the British into eating potentially fatal British beef. However, if these are British banners, they expose a German conspiracy. The renewed eating of British beef would enable the British to regain the strength they need to beat the Hun. For the cartoon's German readership this would illustrate how deluded the British are. Whatever the case, we are to understand this as a British perception of psychological warfare.

4.4.8 Thematic round-up

The themes that have engaged German cartoonists are distinguished by their long or short-term topicality, which can be assumed to correlate closely to the interest of the cartoonists' target audiences. A number of topics, such as the role of the Royal Family or the conflict in the Falklands, have a distinctly British character, and cartoonists have highlighted the tension between tradition and change, and the challenges to the concept of empire and an established yet seemingly anachronistic social order. Nonetheless, Britain's economic and financial relations with its European neighbour were the dominating theme in German cartoons of Britain from 1945 to 2000. It forms by far the largest thematically defined body of material in the sample. This was initially expressed within the context of the British occupation of Germany, then its continued presence there as a NATO partner, later broadening to include the European Communities through their various stages of development.

If there is a thread that runs through the material under examination, it is an interest in and concern with Britain's economic and financial position vis-à-vis Germany. The reason for this lies in Germany's historical competitiveness with the United Kingdom and its need to identify itself in a position of advantage or disadvantage within this dynamic of rivalry. Through most of the period under review German cartoonists consistently satirized Germany's role as a provider of funds – to bankroll the British military presence and/or help shore up an ailing British economy. In this process they have focused on the state of Britain. Until the nineties, this was cast in a negative light: the increasing weakness of the pound, the crippling power of the trade unions and the failures of manufacturing industry, and interracial and internecine conflict. Thereafter, as the long-term economic cost of reunification became apparent, this perspective changed, so that in the late 1990s with the advent of 'New Labour' a positive

image of Britain emerged in which British political and economic culture was enviable and worthy of imitation.

4.5 Concluding observations

Writing in 1962 Leonhardt identified two different German images of Britain:

Das eine, das vorbildliche, das wunschtbildhafte, in dem die Freiheit eine große Rolle spielt und die Demokratie, die 'fairness' und der 'gentleman'. Und das andere, das die Engländer als arrogante Außenseiter zeichnet, denen Europa gerade gut genug ist, im Gleichgewicht der Kräfte gehalten zu werden; das Land des Nebels und des Spleens, der Geschäftemacherei und der Heuchelei.⁷³⁶

Many of these 'admire-despise' attributes were reflected in German cartoons of the British after 1945. What did they serve to express? A primary caricatural commentator of this period was Fritz Wolf. He believed that Germans suffer from an inferiority complex in their relationship with the British. This may, however, only pertain to those generations of Germans with a direct experience of the Second World War and the post-war period, as it is harder to see this applying to the generations since the 1960s, who have grown up in a more egalitarian and prosperous age.

Mommsen sees the German attitude towards Britain in the decades after the war based more on admiration and a desire for closer bonds of friendship:

Since 1945 a great, and without doubt lasting change has taken place in the political mentality of the Germans. After 1945 they sincerely opted for the social and political order of the West, and, as the historical conditions which had given rise to a feeling of rivalry were altogether gone, the old high esteem for all things British came to the fore again. It is a remarkable fact that German public opinion always held that the policy of European unification was bound to fail if Great Britain would not join in. It is revealing, and indeed symbolic, that Adenauer's only political defeat in matters of foreign policy was when he appeared to accede unreservedly to de Gaulle's policy of keeping Great Britain out of Europe by concluding a special German-French treaty in 1963. (pp. 25-26)

In what way have German cartoonists' images of the British and Britain been influenced by their own contacts and experiences? Of the German cartoonists I interviewed only one had had any sustained personal experience of Britain and the British: Fritz Wolf. This is largely explained by the fact that he had spent most of his life in a garrison city and from an early stage had contact with the British community there. He had many anecdotes about the military occupation and the officers he met and befriended, as well as his trips to England. He learnt about the dry, cool 'English way' of interacting, and recalls: 'Es war eine schöne Zeit!'. He had had his work published in Britain, particularly in the weekly current affairs magazine

⁷³⁶ Leonhardt, p. 65.

Time & Tide at the end of the fifties, and was proud that one of his *Welt* cartoons had been reproduced in *The Times*. He once met Vicky and admired his work as well as that of Carl Giles. He maintained he had never had any bad experiences with the English and described himself as anglophile.

Pielert has only visited Britain once in 1970 for a cartoonists' congress, when he was always fearful of driving on the wrong side of the road. Otherwise his contact has been with British military personnel in his neighbourhood, although that has not been close: 'Viele [sind] im Dorf. Wir sind hier sehr zurückhaltend; Es gibt sich kaum.' Other European countries such as Spain, Greece and France he has visited frequently. He is not averse to playfully employing stereotypes in conversation. Speaking of the direct relationship he once enjoyed between a flow of ideas and a consumption of coffee, he added that nowadays it is only a trickle and he drinks tea like the English.

Haitzinger reported he had been to Britain and had had good experiences. He has friends in London. But, he hastened to add, this had no influence at all upon his caricaturing of Britain and the British. He saw the British as being like the Eskimos, the Austrians and the Chinese: 'mal nett, mal weniger nett'. Plaßmann described his contact with things British as 'quantitatively extremely modest': he had never been to Britain or really got to know any Briton. Skott has likewise never been to Britain, but his experience of the British has been good but varied, particularly with British holidaymakers during his time in Greece. He pointed out that the varied nature lay in the fact that the British calculate in pints rather than litres. Yet when it comes to caricaturing the British, these experiences played no part.

Very few German cartoons travel beyond their German-language publications and so do not enjoy the international exposure of their British counterparts.⁷³⁷ There are a few exceptions, like Fritz Behrendt, who works multilingually from his base in the Netherlands. Might there be reason to believe that the profile of German cartooning will change with a new generation of artists in a redefined, unified Germany at the heart of European integration? Ebert certainly sees changes in the way younger German cartoonists are working, but wonders whether these are for the better. The entertainment factor has increasingly come to the fore, while the intellectual, philosophical quality of work is diminishing:

Das Philosophische und der Übersetzungscharakter in Symbolik in der Vergangenheit verschwinden zugunsten einer etwas elaborierten Bildsprache und Geschichten, die sich an modernen Erscheinungsformen wie Comics und Cartoons orientieren, die früher entweder unbekannt oder verpönt waren. Zum Beispiel Sprechblasen, die in deutschen politischen Karikaturen der fünfziger und sechziger undenkbar waren.[...] Heute [gibt es] mehr Mut, Politiker vom Sockel zu holen, da sie in der Karikatur nicht mehr den prominenten Stellenwert auch als Porträt besitzen. [...] In der Vergangenheit

⁷³⁷ cf. Lammel, p. 244.

gab es mehr Respekt für die Väter der Demokratie. Adenauer als Repräsentant einer neuen Zeit und als Landesvater symbolisierte den Sieg der Demokratie über den Kackhaufen, deshalb als Eminenz etwas sakrosankter als die Politiker heute.

5 DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Summary

In the previous two chapters, discussion has focused on the provenance and use of two sets of national imagery in political and social cartooning in the context of events occurring within a defined time-frame. These stereotypes and symbols frequently come with long pedigrees and represent the ‘baggage’ of past experience; but in many cases they have been redeployed with wit and originality, testifying to the artistic skill of those who have called them forth.

One of the aims of this study has been to determine whether the images used from 1945 to 2000 in both Britain and Germany have differed from those employed before this period and whether they have changed in any way in the course of it. This study has shown that, whilst some disappeared in the watershed of the Second World War, others survived to describe anew the nation to which they refer. Some were born out of that conflict or re-invented by it, as has been the case with the British armoury of German stereotypes. A third group has had its genesis and undergone change within the period under study. Yet even this group does not exist without attachment, reference and allusion to the pre-1945 era.

5.0.1 A unique place in the pantheon

It has been argued that the more bellicose and militaristic British stereotypes of the Germans have come to the fore during periods of strain in British-German relations, when British interests have been threatened and British self-identity (as a sovereign and economically secure nation, for example) has been challenged. An explanation for this is provided by Bunting in her mid-1990s analysis of the British experience of German occupation:

The Second World War has arguably been the dominant influence on the British national identity of the twentieth century, and the second half of that century has been played out in its shadow. Dunkirk, the Battle of Britain and D-Day have been elevated into national myths – not in the sense of being untruths, but because they have come to represent the highest expressions of the resilience and determination against all odds of the British people. The images, the rhetoric and the legends of the war have been recycled, and Britain continues to employ them to interpret the world.⁷³⁸

There is resonance here with Lippmann’s description of stereotypes as a ‘fortress of our tradition’, from which we make sense of the world and identify ourselves in it.⁷³⁹ Such

⁷³⁸ M. Bunting, *The Model Occupation: The Channel Islands under German Rule 1940-1945* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), p. 315; cited in H. Husemann, ‘We Will Fight Them on the Beaches’, in *Stereotypes in Contemporary Anglo-German Relations*, ed. by R. Emig (Basingstoke: Macmillan and Anglo-German Foundation, 2000), pp. 58-78

⁷³⁹ *Public Opinion* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922; repr. Macmillan, 1965), p. 96; see 1.3.1.1.

imagery has also been used in any context in which the British have been in competition with the Germans – whether on or off the football field – and where the country's interests have not been at stake in quite the same way as during the Second World War. These are often contexts in which national pride, national institutions and traditions have played a significant role, such as during Euro 96 or the takeover of quintessentially British firms such as Thomas Cook or Rover. Through their application to the 'other' – here the Germans – such images shore up aspects of self-respect and self-worth (strength and power rather than weakness and impotence; honour rather than discredit) as well as underlying, often subconscious and primitive fears of being outwitted, caught off-guard, or beaten. Characteristically, this is often wrapped up in humour or presented in jocular, non-serious terms, both means suited perfectly to cartoons. In the year following German unification, Laurie Graham described the pathology of the British position vis-à-vis the German 'other':

Germany occupies a unique place in the British pantheon of bogeymen. A large section of our population had their lives changed for ever by the Second World War [...]. The reunification of Germany has had all our old doubts and fears breaking through the veneer of Europeanism. However preoccupied Germany appears to be with its own problems and the wider European ones, its role as one of our national black jokes seems set to run and run.⁷⁴⁰

It was certainly clear to the end of the Thatcher years that Germany was understood by many in power on the basis of their experience of it in the middle decades of the century.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴⁰ *The British Abroad: A Survival Guide* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1991), p. 49.

⁷⁴¹ Thatcher's own 'instinctive anti-Germanism' has been expressed by Hugo Young in the following terms: 'What Hitler's war fired in an adolescent breast in Grantham did not disappear. The images fixed by Hitlerism extended into a picture of Germany as an expansionary power, out to dominate by peaceful means the Europe it had almost destroyed by war. Whoever was leader of Germany at any given moment, these feelings were seldom far away. Laced into them were threads of envy at the speed and depth of Germany's post-war recovery, which she thought was somehow unfair.' *This Blessed Plot* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 358, citing Watson's reference to an exchange between Charles Powell and Horst Teltschik (Kohl's foreign policy adviser). A. Watson, 'Thatcher and Kohl – Old Rivalries Revisited', in *Eminent Europeans*, ed. by M. Bond and others (London: Greycoat, 1996), pp. 264-84 (pp. 265-66). Teltschik diplomatically records the conversation in his memoirs: 'Powell, mein Counterpart in Downing Street Nr. 10, erläutert mir ergänzend in einem dreistündigen Gespräch Thatchers Einstellung zu Deutschland. Sie gehöre einer anderen Generation an als er und sei noch von der Zeit geprägt, als es zwischen Großbritannien und Deutschland einen *cultural gap* gegeben habe. Sie fühle sich unbehaglich (uneasy) bei dem Gedanken an ein großes und starkes Deutschland.' *329 Tage: Innenansichten der Einigung* (Berlin: Siedler, 1991), p. 134. It is a view that cannot be considered untypical of many of her generation. She herself has written: 'I do not believe in collective guilt [...]. But I do believe in national character, which is moulded by a range of complex factors: the fact that national caricatures are often absurd and inaccurate does not detract from that. [...] Since the unification of Germany under Bismarck [...] Germany has veered unpredictably between aggression and self-doubt. [...] Germany is [...] by its very nature a destabilizing rather than a stabilizing force in Europe.' *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 791.

Can it be assumed then, with the passing of the years and of this last generation of people with personal experience of the Second World War, that the popular perception of Germany in Britain will change? It seems unlikely, according to A. A. Gill, a writer from a post-war generation whose polemic masks a more sobering statement about the nature of collective memory and the sense of community it fosters:

We all hate the Germans – come on, it’s all right, admit it, we’re all agreed, we hate them. [...] As political correctness irons out the parenthesis of prejudice, there will always be a special, sour dispensation for Bismarck’s baby; hating the Hun is perhaps the only thing that emulsifies the rest of us.

[...] What can they do to stop us seeing them as Europe’s psychopaths? [...] They can run but they can’t hide, and we can’t stop remembering. There is nothing they can do other than live with the stain and the guilt, because so many millions can’t.⁷⁴²

For Gill, this is part of a long European tradition of despising your neighbours as best you can:

The point is we live in a community that is built on layers and layers of assumption, stereotype and prejudice, all baked in historical experience, anecdote, grudge, competition and jealousy together. It’s true because we believe it to be true; it’s a true opinion, not a fact. We’ve been getting up each other’s noses and wives for 2,500 years.⁷⁴³

This being said, a change of leaders and the new generation they represented in both countries was seen at least by German commentators to make a decisive break with the antipathies of the past. Indeed, the long-time London correspondent of *Zeit* perceived the new Labour government to be active in promoting a German-friendly approach, even within its own ranks:

Nicht länger schüren Minister und Abgeordnete einer regierenden Partei anti-deutsche Ressentiments. Im Gegenteil – Tony Blair und seine Minister haben sich darum bemüht, den Schwelbrand der Deutschenfeindlichkeit auszutreten, den konservativen Politiker – oft im Zusammenspiel mit der Presse – unterhielten, um die Furcht vor europäischer Integration zu steigern. Immerhin hat Blair mit Gisela Stuart sogar eine Deutschstämmige (mit deutschem Akzent) als Ministerin berufen.⁷⁴⁴

5.0.2 ‘An imbalance of affection’

Overall, the British caricatural treatment of the Germans often appears harsh even cruel by comparison with the German caricatural treatment of the British. British cartoonists (like other parts of the media) have demonstrated insensitivity and an ignorance of present realities

⁷⁴² ‘HUNFORGIVEN’, *Sunday Times Magazine*, 18 July 1999, pp. 20-24 (pp. 21, 24).

⁷⁴³ ‘Beastly to the Germans – Yes, and They Need It’, *Sunday Times*, 25 July 1999, p. 5.4.

⁷⁴⁴ J. Krönig, ‘Krauts: Das Image der Deutschen in Großbritannien verschlechtert sich: Die Regierungen mögen einander, die Völker leider nicht’, *Zeit*, 30 September 1999, p. 49.

and made frequent reference to a past, of which many would prefer not to be so constantly reminded. Undoubtedly, it has been felt so by Germans, for such things also play into a German self-doubt and sensitivity about how they are perceived by others, which borders on obsession.⁷⁴⁵ The one unavoidably irritates and yet fuels the other. For as much as the British cling to reminiscing about the Second World War (in which, after all, they were defenders, liberators, and victors) so too do the Germans try to put the period behind them and prefer to be defined in terms of what they have achieved democratically and economically since. It is not surprising, therefore, that the use of contentious imagery is restricted to the British side. German caricatural stereotypes of the British over the period under study have been generally benign, comic or quaint, although portrayals have been negative at times when German public opinion has been against Britain, such as during the Falklands War or the BSE crisis, or when British anti-German feeling was apparent.

There is little evidence of fear or disdain to be found in German cartoons of the British over this period. On the contrary, it can be argued that underlying many German cartoons lurks an admiration, indeed an envy of certain aspects of British national and cultural identity, such as the Royal Family, Big Ben and bobbies, the penchant for eccentricity and independent thinking. However, these have been subject to context and fluctuation, particularly in the case of the Royal Family in the latter years of the twentieth century. By the same token, it is arguable that underlying many British cartoons of the Germans (perhaps especially those that feature them as prancing, unreformed warmongers) is envy, too, albeit of different aspects of perceived national identity, such as German efficiency, affluence, and technological achievement. Such sentiments may exist at another level behind and beneath those of humour, satire, or simple critique, in an image as multilayered as the cartoon.

The evidence of this study confirms a point made from a British perspective in the mid-1990s about the primary significance each country has had for the other:

The broad sweep of cultural relations between our two countries reflects an imbalance of affection. There has been distinctly more Anglophilia on their side than Germanophilia on ours. [...] At the same time, both countries sway between envying

⁷⁴⁵ The frequency of reports on this topic in German newspapers and magazines as well as other reportage is clear evidence that, at the very least, it is a source of great interest to Germans. European attitudes towards Germany are taken very seriously. The recent survey and advertising campaign initiated by the Goethe-Institut and German Embassy in London aimed at making German and Germany more attractive to the British is just the latest in long line of attempts to improve the German 'brand' in Britain, as well as in France. See C. Murphy, 'Making Germany Sexy', BBC News Online, 8 July 2003 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3055264.stm>> [accessed 10 October 2003]; for a critique of the British campaign see T. Kielinger, 'Cool Germany', *Welt Magazin*, 8 July 2003, pp. 1-3, <<http://www.welt.de/data/2003/07/08130260.html>> [accessed 20 October 2003].

the other and feeling superior to it — often both at the same time. [...] The habit of comparing productivity, manners and fashion is deeply ingrained — a sign that two cultures, with their shared linguistic roots, have always been intent on understanding, if not always liking, each other.⁷⁴⁶

The imbalance has swung the other way in the past and is surely dependent on a complex range of factors, like the economic fortunes of each country at any given time. For example, a survey undertaken by *Stern* of 3,645 people over the age of sixteen in both countries in 1979 showed that there was a higher percentage of British liked the Germans (54%) than vice versa (36%).⁷⁴⁷

5.0.3 In perspective

It is also necessary to relativize the British image of Germany and the German concern about it within a wider European context. Durrani cites an inquiry ten years after the *Stern* survey which indicated ‘a higher level of antipathy towards Germany in Italy, France and the Netherlands than in Britain. Denmark has long defined its identity with reference to its opposition to Germany.’⁷⁴⁸ Thus, not surprisingly, the German concern with its image abroad equally applies to France and other European partners and neighbours, as well as the United States. Likewise, the British do not make use of xenophobic stereotypes solely of the Germans, but of a whole range of national and cultural out-groups, many of them represented within British society itself, such as Pakistanis, Arabs, and the Irish. Amongst their European partners, however, the Germans and the French do appear to loom large, given their economic and political importance. It stands to reason that these two nations have a special status in the British imagination, just as the British and the French have occupied a similar position in the psychological *Weltanschauung* of the Germans. Krönig argues that the Germans’ special place is evident in ‘krautbashing’, which expresses a mix of emotions including respect, envy, and fear:

Nun stimmt es, dass die Briten, allen voran, ihr größter Stamm, die Engländer, von jeher recht deftig mit anderen Nationen umspringen. Ob Frogs, Dagos, oder Whops — also Franzosen, Spanier oder Schwarze —, sie alle kriegen ihr Fett weg. Aber wir Krauts nehmen in der Dämonologie unbestreitbar eine Sonderstellung ein. „Krautbashing“ sei allgegenwärtig [...]. Vieles schwingt mit: ein Hauch von widerwilligem Respekt, ein bisschen Neid und sicher auch Furcht. (p. 49)

⁷⁴⁶ McElvoy, ‘We’re Always Beastly to the Germans’, *Daily Telegraph*, 26 June 1996, p. 22.

⁷⁴⁷ v. Manikowsky, ‘Der häßliche Deutsche ist tot’, *Stern-Sonderteil*, 15 February 1979, [n.p.]; table reprod. in Moyle, ‘Den Krieg gewonnen — aber den Frieden verloren?’, in Moyle and others, *Deutschland und seine Nachbarn*, pp. 7-33 (pp. 26-27).

⁷⁴⁸ O. Durrani, ‘Beach Towels or Chocolate Boxes?’, *THES*, 10 November 2000, p. 40.

How significant a role does fear play in the British perception of Germany? An article in *Spiegel* in the mid-sixties asserted that, whilst there were considerable fluctuations in the British attitude towards the Germans, the British remained historically wary of the Germans because of their perceived evasiveness and unwillingness to commit themselves: ‘In den Urteilen der Jahrhunderte über die Deutschen wechseln Wohlwollen und Gehässigkeit, doch ein fast ständig wiederkehrendes Urteil ist die Beobachtung, dass der Deutsche auf nichts festgelegt werden kann, weil er sich selbst auf nichts festlegt, dass er – wie schon Madame de Staël beobachtete – nach Möglichkeit jeder Entscheidung ausweicht.’⁷⁴⁹ The German cartoonist Nik Ebert sees fear as an important factor in the British equation: ‘Deutschland ist noch mit Mißtrauen zu betrachten, stellt noch eine Bedrohung für Großbritannien.’ This was in contrast to Germany, which had no fear of its European neighbours, only a desire to be loved.

Emig has explained the stereotypes prevalent in British-German relations in terms of an identity mirror: ‘We love each other when the Other accepts, admires, or – even better – emulates the virtues that we associate with ourselves. Often these virtues have very little current credibility. [...] Ideals and anti-ideals therefore play a major part in stereotypes.’⁷⁵⁰ He suggests that, rather than seeing these stereotypes as ‘Manichean constructions of black and white’,

it might be more helpful to see them in the [*sic*] terms of the doublings that characterize so many of Shakespeare’s plays [...], himself a case of an Anglo-German double agent [...] hailed in Germany as the quintessential German author! In Shakespeare’s comedies, twins abound, misrecognitions drive forward the plots and produce discord and even outright aggression, until the situation is commonly resolved in the often dubious happy ending of a love match.

Emig believes that this model may be instructive for Anglo-German relations as well as the stereotypes that characterize them. Both the British and the Germans perceive themselves as not so much monolithic and homogenous, but as troubled in their identities, which are at the very least made up of positive and negative self-images, if not even more strongly fragmented.⁷⁵¹

5.0.4 Don’t mention the war?

Without doubt a good deal of the problem lies in the British preoccupation with the wars of the twentieth century, in particular the Second World War. This is prevalent at all levels, not

⁷⁴⁹ ‘Deutsche: Eine Staupe vor Gott’, 30 (22 July 1964), pp. 36-49 (pp. 48-49).

⁷⁵⁰ R. Emig, ‘Introduction: Contemporary Anglo-German Relations’, in Emig, pp. 1-12 (pp. 6-8).

⁷⁵¹ Emig, p. 7.

just amongst the less well-educated readers of popular newspapers (or ‘red-banner tabloids’ as they are now alternatively known). Professor of modern history Ian Beckett urges that ‘a moratorium on the Nazis is well overdue’. There is a need to remove the narrowness in the history curriculum in schools and consequently universities. ‘The obsession with the Nazis’ in history teaching ‘as well as a media obsession with the subject’ has meant that students ‘know the Nazis probably better than they know any period of British history’. More alarmingly, he asserts that ‘history departments have been aware for some time of the increasing synonymy between Hitler and history’.⁷⁵² The media and cultural commentator Thomas Sutcliffe suggests the long-term psychological effect of an obsession with the conflict Hitler instigated:

Our interest in the Second World War shows no real signs of ageing itself. On television, in cinemas and in the bookshops, it has a potency which simply can’t be explained anymore by its powerful hold on personal memory. It won’t be very long before the question ‘what did you do in the war?’ dies a natural death, but the question ‘what is the war doing in us?’ will become ever more pertinent.⁷⁵³

Sutcliffe sees the concept of potency (as opposed to impotence) as key in understanding the continuing grip that the war has, for through such adversity self-definition could be found. He describes as a particularly British phenomenon ‘the steady drip-feed of the “Our Finest Hour” myth trickling out as a continual sense of moral certainty’:

The Second World War looms so large at the moment for all kinds of reasons – because the anniversaries have fallen due, because new material is suddenly available, because television audiences continue to respond – but also because so many of us continue to fight it in our imaginations. It’s unlikely that anything short of a larger conflict will persuade us to stop.⁷⁵⁴

The reason for this bellicose obsession may thus be found in the search for positive self-identity, security, as well as satisfying entertainment, rather than anti-German sentiment:

It may well be that the endless presentation of the conflict as a heroic triumph (though justified) obscures the extent to which it was also a bitter catastrophe. But perhaps we don’t need these psycho-social explanations: on the most immediate level, the war is an infallibly gripping story – it would be surprising if we weren’t hooked by such incredible and appalling events. Anyone who thinks they have had a bellyful of war stories had better think again. Don’t mention the war? Don’t ever forget it, more like.⁷⁵⁵

This is reinforced by a survey undertaken in the mid-nineties amongst the younger generation in Britain. When asked what they associated with the word ‘Germany’, seventy-

⁷⁵² ‘Why I Believe a Moratorium on Hitler Is Overdue’, *THES*, 15 December 2000, p. 16.

⁷⁵³ ‘The Second World War Still Isn’t Over’, *Independent*, 3 April 2001, Tuesday review, p. 12.

⁷⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁵ R. Winder, ‘Landscape of Despair: *Berlin: The Downfall 1945*, Antony Beevor’, *New Statesman*, 15 April 2002, pp. 49-50 (p. 49).

eight per cent thought of 'war', whilst half of them immediately thought of Hitler. Perhaps despite this, the majority agreed that Germany was one of the poorest and most boring countries in Europe and only a small minority felt they wished to visit it. Whilst reporting these results, a *FAZ* commentator asserted that at the heart of it lay not so much the war but the question of Europe, which would continue to burden the relationship between Great Britain and Germany and seduce the British popular press into producing occasional unfriendly headlines; this despite high levels of investment by German companies in Britain, and British companies in Germany, educational, professional and cultural exchanges and cooperation at all levels, and the grass-roots work of personalities like Jürgen Klinsmann.⁷⁵⁶

5.0.5 Signs of change

It has been argued that cartoons reflect public opinion and perceptions perhaps more than they attempt to change or challenge them. On both counts, cartoons can be seen to mirror their receivers'/readership's image of the 'other', by providing either a measured or a distorted (or exaggerated) likeness. They interpret mood and react to changes in these opinions and perceptions. In conceiving the *Coping with the Relations* project – that is, the exhibition, the seminars that accompanied it, and the catalogue – one of the organizers' intentions was to raise awareness of the use of certain stereotypes and imagery in cartoons that were considered unfair or detrimental to good British-German relations. The hope was that this might impact in some way upon the approach of practitioners and the expectations of those for whom they both work and draw. Whilst the latter is more difficult to determine, the evidence suggests that there has been a move away from the use of certain contentious stereotypes and imagery (such as the spiked helmet, monocle, the swastika and SS-runes) in the work of some British cartoonists in the last decade.⁷⁵⁷

Any such development would be aided by a long-term improvement in British-German relations. This may well be the result of simple economics, particularly the success of the British economy vis-à-vis Germany:

Economic circumstances have often fuelled political attitudes, and the time may have come to look for an upturn in perspectives on Germany. [...] Increasing confidence, industrial muscle and a strong currency could eventually succeed where countless Goethe Institut [*sic*] initiatives and Daad [*sic*] bursaries were slow to generate visible results, now that Otmar Issing has named Germany the 'sick man of Europe'. [...]

⁷⁵⁶ H.-C.Rößler, 'Eine Allianz voller Ressentiments', *FAZ*, 8 November 1996, p. 16. Specific details about the survey were not given. Another survey commissioned by the Goethe-Institut in Britain that year found that sixty-eight per cent of British schoolchildren listed Adolf Hitler as a famous German, over twenty points ahead of the next most common choice: Jürgen Klinsmann. G. Sammon, 'Coping with Stereotypes: British school-students' Image of Germany and the Germans' (Bonn, 1996).

⁷⁵⁷ I am thinking here particularly of the work of Bell, Caldwell, Mac, and Gaskill.

There are grounds for hope that the next chapter in Anglo-German relations will be written in more sympathetic terms than the last.⁷⁵⁸

At the end of the twentieth century commentators on the relationship were optimistic in seeing signs of change. Writing in *Zeit*, Kundnani believed that a new, even positive phase might be dawning in British-German relations, which was reflected in the British press. One of its causes lay in the changed economic circumstances of the two countries; another in the closer working relationship between their leaders and a convergence of their European policies, and a third in the German preparedness to play a new military role in securing the peace of Europe:

Ein Grund für diese Entwicklung ist, dass sich die wirtschaftliche Lage beider Länder verändert: Großbritannien geht es wieder besser, Deutschland ganz offensichtlich schlechter. [...] Der zweite Grund für die Verbesserung: Die deutsch-britischen Beziehungen werden durch das gute Verhältnis zwischen Tony Blair und Gerhard Schröder intensiviert. Vor allem [...] scheint klar, dass sich die Bundesrepublik für eine Richtung entschieden hat, die den wirtschafts- und europapolitischen Vorstellungen in Großbritannien weitaus näher kommt als den Ideen Frankreichs. Dieser neue Weg schmeichelt den Briten und nimmt langsam die Angst, an den Rand Europas gedrängt zu werden. Bis vor kurzem wurde Deutschland dafür noch verantwortlich gemacht. Genauso wichtig für das neue Deutschlandbild der britischen Presse ist vielleicht die neue militärische Rolle Deutschlands. Die Bilder aus dem Balkan [...] tragen dazu bei, das alte Bild vom deutschen Kriegsgegner in Wehrmachtsuniformen zu revidieren, das lange Zeit so großen Einfluss auf die britische Einstellung genommen hat.⁷⁵⁹

Krönig questions whether such signs of change are encouraged and supported by a modern commercialized media in which information and education about other nations and cultures are subordinated to a need for entertainment that increasingly places the sensational and unusual above all else:

Die Welt des Multikanalfernsehens wird von Optimisten als Chance beschrieben: Es eröffneten sich ungeahnte Möglichkeiten für Information und Bildung; der freie Fluß von Informationen werde helfen, Vorurteile abzubauen und Verständnis für andere Kulturen und Völker zu wecken. Doch die Kommerzialisierung der Medien scheint das Gegenteil zu bewirken. Überall ist Infotainment auf dem Vormarsch. Stärker denn je wird das Besondere, das Sensationelle, das Außergewöhnliche gesucht, bebildert und beschrieben. Der Platz für differenzierte Analysen wird knapper.

He sees the German media image of the British as undergoing a change in which a growing distaste for and anger about British attitudes is not afraid to be voiced:

⁷⁵⁸ Durrani, p. 40. Prof. Issing (b. 1936) has been the guiding intellectual force behind the European Central Bank and the bank's Chief Economist since its foundation in 1998. He was formerly Chief Economist of the Bundesbank.

⁷⁵⁹ 'Britannien als Vorbild', 22 July 1999, p. 9.

In den deutschen Medien hat sich etwas geändert. Unsere Klischees über Großbritannien waren einst eher harmlos - das leicht wunderliche Inselvolk mit seinen exzentrischen Vorlieben. 'Die spinnen, die Briten' oder 'Bettelbriten' - Überschriften in *Süddeutscher Zeitung* und *Bild* - verraten nicht nur wachsenden Ärger über permanentes 'Krautbashing'; der 'hässliche Angelsachse', verklemmt, unsozial und kalt, ist dabei, den feinen Gentleman abzulösen.

Moreover, Krönig believes the current improvement in relations could easily be reversed by changes in the political and economic climate. In his opinion, the two countries are by no means out of the woods and the path will be tricky as long as Britain remains unsure about Europe:

In Zeiten politischer und ökonomischer Verunsicherung neigen Völker dazu, chauvinistisch zu reagieren. Geringe Anlässe genügen, die alten Ressentiments zum Vorschein kommen zu lassen. Kein Volk ist frei davon, auch die Briten nicht, deren ungelöstes europäisches Problem mit ihrer Haltung zu Deutschland geknüpft ist. Im Konflikt um 'Euro oder Pfund', der bald beginnt, wird sich dies erneut erweisen. Wer friedliches Miteinander in Europa will, sollte gewarnt sein.⁷⁶⁰

5.1 Outlook I: German and British stereotypes

Leerssen has stated that 'authors tend to be ironically equivocal as to whether the national characteristics they invoke are to be taken seriously or as a jocular reference to trite commonplace. [...] If such stereotypes are used half-mockingly, they are by the same token also used half-seriously, and that they at least acknowledge and reinforce the currency of the prejudice they claim to transcend.'⁷⁶¹ The same can be equally applied to the power of the caricatural image. Cartoonists on both sides have preferred not to see their work as contributing to the maintenance of undesirable stereotypes of the 'other'. Is the truth not evident, however, in the work itself? Have cartoonists on each side increasingly abandoned tired and clichéd aspects of national stereotypes? In general it can be said this has happened to a greater extent in Germany than in Britain.

Ebert believes that stereotypes are difficult to jettison because they are often expected as part of the entertainment: '[Es wird] versucht auf Stereotypen zu verzichten, aber es ist eine Generationsfrage. Sie gehören für viele zum Entertainment.'⁷⁶² Abstaining from using them also poses a challenge to the artist's ingenuity: 'Wenn ich diese Nummernschilder abschraube, muß ich was anderes machen. Ich muß mich dann viel stärker mit dem Inhalt befassen.' Ebert sees this as possible if the artist uses common cultural referents other than

⁷⁶⁰ Krönig, p. 49.

⁷⁶¹ J. Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of National Character', *Poetics Today*, 21 (2000), 267-92, p. 275.

⁷⁶² Interview, 28 October 1997. All further remarks by Ebert relate to this source.

symbols, such as myths and legends, to focus on the meaning of a cartoon rather than its constituent parts:

Wenn ich die Vorurteile weglasse, die an Symbole gekoppelt sind, erzähle ich eine inhaltlich orientierte Geschichte, z.B. eine Fabel oder Metapher, Legenden, Sagen, die diesem eigenen Kulturkreis und meinen Lesern bekannt sind. Ob jetzt das trojanische Pferd das Schild 'GB', 'F' oder sonst was drauf hat, ist egal. Entscheidend ist der Inhalt; was passiert da. Nicht die Nationalität als solche bereits ist Inhalt, sondern wie diese Nation, politisch durch eine Institution verkörpert, sich im Moment darstellt.

Pielert accepts the fact that misleading or incorrect generalizations are there on both sides but cannot see an easy way around them:

Wenn man zum Beispiel Europa, John Bull, Marianne, einen Italiener mit Strohhut oder so was zeichnet, das weiß man. Es ist im Grunde so vieles falsch, wenn wir immer einen Spanier mit einem Torero machen; Das ist nur Andalusien. Genauso wenn die Briten oder Amis den Deutschen mit Sepplhut, Hofbräuhaus und Bierglas machen. Das ist ja nur eine Sache aus München. Aber was sollen Sie denn machen, ne?⁷⁶³

This then is the key to the dilemma stereotyping seems to present: if we recognize and accept their necessity, they can be used to guide us forward to a place where their existence no longer bothers us. Emig sums up the import and the challenge of stereotyping in his introductory essay on contemporary British-German relations:

While stereotypes thus teach us little about the Other, they teach us a great deal about ourselves, our dreams, ideals, but also about our anxieties and fears. They remind us of our history, in the sense of outlining established patterns of relating to cultural difference. In the last instance, they perhaps instruct us about the workings of cultures in general. They function as structures of demarcation, but also assimilation. They assert a problematic selfhood through imagining a different Other— who is both strangely attractive (creating the narcissistic desire of emulation) as well as threatening and objectionable (bringing out tendencies of abjection or straightforward bedevilment). With these insights in mind, the study of stereotypes will not so much help to conquer and overcome them as enable us to learn to live with them, more keenly aware of their ambivalences. Perhaps, as with a crude tourist phrase book, we might be able to use them for a basic interaction with cultural difference, while their phrase book nature (embarrassing, inappropriate and out of date) must forever remind us that stereotypes also challenge us to move beyond them. (pp. 8-9)

In the absence of a seismic, permanent shift in the British mentality and popular perception of Germany, Germans may simply have to accept that, after fifty-odd years of trying hard to win their trust and confidence, the British are what they are for complex, and perhaps inexplicable or romantic reasons, live with it, and get on regardless with the task of building a peaceful common European future. The same holds true for the British approach to the Germans.

⁷⁶³ Interview, 28 October 1997.

Resolving to celebrate differences, rather than seeing them as a stumbling block to closer cooperation, will allow their coming together to be a source of creative energy:

Unterschiede zeigen nicht nur den Reichtum der Kulturen, sondern sind auch Quelle des Neuen. Wo Unterschiede sich begegnen, können schöpferische Energien entstehen. *Vive la différence!* ist keine leere Phrase, schon gar nicht wenn von Großbritannien und Deutschland die Rede ist.⁷⁶⁴

5.2 Outlook II: Cartooning in Britain and Germany

Just as differences exist in the British and German approach to stereotyping one another over fifty-five years, their caricaturing of one another has also rested on different foundations. In his history of German and British humour Dieter Gelfert describes how German cartoons differ from British cartoons because each have a different socio-political history, with differing attitudes towards authority and societal values.⁷⁶⁵ The standard form of political cartoons in German newspapers is a moralizing frontal attack, in which the cartoonist takes the position of a judge. This is something that is generally absent from their British counterparts. Whilst they may be ridiculing an individual, they are also ridiculing the whole system:

Obwohl auch sie ihren Gegenstand der Lächerlichkeit preisgeben und damit ex negativo ein positives Ziel verfolgen, hat man bei ihnen kaum jemals den Eindruck, daß sie moralisieren. Im Gegenteil, es scheint viel eher so, als stünden sie neben dem Angeklagten und verspotteten nicht nur ihn, sondern zugleich das hohe Gericht. (p. 108)

Gelfert sees more a hint of self-opinionatedness than self-irony in German cartoons. Where there is humour, it tends to work from the top down, to ease in-group tensions; and there is an absence of the deadpan humour which expresses itself in British cartoons as understatement. On the other hand, an increasing amount of odd-ball drollery is evident, often packed with black humour, for which the work of British cartoonists such as Ronald Searle has been a guiding light. (pp. 68, 71, 118)

A practitioner in Germany through most of this period, Walter Hanel believes cartooning there is fundamentally always stuck in crisis, because the German tendency to define and

⁷⁶⁴ R. Dahrendorf, 'Es lebe der Unterschied!', in *Partnerschaft und Rivalität*, ed. by G. Ritter and P. Wende (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), pp. 363-70 (p. 363). Lord Dahrendorf (b. 1929) is in a good position to judge, having been born in Hamburg and lived in Britain since 1974. He has pursued a successful career as a distinguished sociologist and politician in both countries, and has had the unique distinction of being a member of the Bundestag, the German government (under Willy Brandt), the European Commission, and the House of Lords. See his memoirs *Über Grenzen: Lebenserinnerungen* (Munich: Beck, 2002), esp. pp. 186-89.

⁷⁶⁵ *Max und Monty: Kleine Geschichte des deutschen und englischen Humors* (Munich: Beck, 1998), pp. 68-71.

deconstruct hampers an easy appreciation of satire and humour. The Prussian past and the experience of dictatorship have not helped. Yet he sees signs of hope in the new generation:

Wir können uns zwar brillant über die Mentalität eines Wankel-Motors unterhalten, aber zur Satire haben wir ein zwiespältiges Verhältnis, oder besser: gar kein Verhältnis. Allenfalls in der Jugend sehe ich da gewisse Hoffnungsschimmer. *Woran liegt das?* Die Deutschen wollen immer definieren, streben hinab zu den Gründen. Solche Gründlichkeit steht dem Verständnis von Satire im Weg. Man kann weder die Karikatur noch den Humor ergründen oder gar aus Gründen lernen. Dann kommen dazu die preußische Vergangenheit und die Hitler-Diktatur. So schnell ändern sich die Menschen nicht.⁷⁶⁶

Bernd Skott sees stylistic differences. In particular, British cartoonists are much more brutal and ruthless than their German counterparts: ‘Die Jungs gehen voll rein, nehmen überhaupt keine Rücksicht!’ They also operate at several levels of the detailed and the obvious. He sees this as part of the English tradition of cartooning; a tradition which was lost in Germany after the Second World War, when there was no one to succeed the talented and artistically demanding cartoonists of journals like *Simplicissimus*.⁷⁶⁷ Another new generation cartoonist, Thomas Plassmann, identifies a lack of sharpness in German cartoons as due to two related factors of mentality and market: ‘Die oft bemerkte mangelnde Schärfe der deutschen Karikatur ist ein Phänomen, dessen Ursachen wohl eher in uns deutschen selbst liegen und in der vorausseilenden Furcht der Redakteure, zwei Abonnenten zu verlieren.’⁷⁶⁸ Perhaps not surprisingly, one cartoonist who does not believe German cartoons lack a caustic edge is Horst Haitzinger, himself one of the satirically sharpest.⁷⁶⁹

Ebert notes two attributes of British cartoons that are largely absent in German material: nonsense and nastiness.⁷⁷⁰ In their place, there is a sort of grumpy dialecticism, in which entertainment value is given a low priority:

In Deutschland gibt es eine Verbiestertheit. Der Karikaturist fühlt sich verpflichtet, eine Message ‘rüberbringen zu müssen. Aber der Unterhaltungswert liegt manchmal weit unten. [...] Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg versuchte die deutsche Karikatur eine Eigenständigkeit zu entwickeln aus einer Kargheit heraus. Ich vermute, man wollte

⁷⁶⁶ ‘Walter Hanel im Gespräch’, in *Commedia dell’Arte*, ed. by H. Guratzsch (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1988), pp. 9-10 (p. 10) based on an interview with the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*.

⁷⁶⁷ In a taped interview with the author in Düsseldorf, 13 June 1997. Further comments by Skott derive from this source.

⁷⁶⁸ In a written response of 26 November 1997 to the author.

⁷⁶⁹ His written response of 20 December 1997 to my statement that, compared to British cartoons, German cartoons are sometimes less critical and less piquant, especially in depictions of other countries was: ‘Ich kann Ihr Urteil nicht teilen.’

⁷⁷⁰ The latter has even been described as essential to the uniqueness of British humour: ‘Laughter may be universal but only the British find self-mockery and cruelty side-splittingly funny.’ C. Norton, ‘Cruel Britannia’s Unique Humour Is under Threat from America’, *Independent*, 28 August 2000, p. 11.

damals deutlich zeigen, dass das Künstlerische sehr stark im Vordergrund und das Erwerben eines Anspruches im Mittelpunkt standen, um was qualitativ Gutes, Hochwertiges, Abstraktes (und damit was Neues) zu schaffen.

These differences equate to the overall tradition, role and style of the press in each country. A round-table discussion in 1994 between British and German journalists about their work identified a number of key differences:

Language and journalistic traditions were [...] significant to the correspondents' task. English tended to be sharper — both in tone and content; German more prolix. The English text, therefore, seemed more aggressive. Additionally, there was a tradition in British [journalism] of criticism of all political parties, including the one the newspaper normally supported. [No] German newspapers — not even those on the left — would countenance this. And German newspaper readers would be shocked if national clichés were applied in the way they were in Britain. [...] Above all British newspapers had to entertain, with not even the broadsheets having the learned tradition of the German papers. It was natural for British newspapers to talk to 'the man in the street' [...]. In Germany, journalism is seen as a profession, while in Britain it is still viewed as a trade.⁷⁷¹

This being said, German cartoonists do not feel that they have the status of professionals or are regarded as such. Skott regrets the fact that there is no proper guild organization in Germany which could represent their interests and promote the craft. They look enviously at their colleagues in Britain, where they see cartoonists taken seriously and accorded professional respect and protection. Their work is also perceived to have a greater impact. Fritz Wolf remembered Vicky once telling him that when the first Wilson government was formed, its members were introduced to the British cartoonists so that they would know how to caricature them. He also recalled dining with Vicky in a restaurant, when Harold Wilson came over to their table to congratulate him on a cartoon: 'Das wäre in Deutschland undenkbar!'

The analysis of cartoon imagery presented here has taken place within its media context. Whilst cartoons occupy only one small corner of the whole media package, they nonetheless contribute to the message which that package transmits. As such their historical importance and social role in both Britain and Germany should not be understated. As Seymour-Ure has said, 'a history of media could easily slip into being a history of society as a whole. This in itself reflects the centrality of the media in our lives.'⁷⁷² It is reasonable to expect that the role of the cartoon as a commentator on society and international relations will continue in both countries for some time to come.

⁷⁷¹ W. Baynes, "As We See Each Other": Summary of the Press Correspondents Seminar', in *As Others See Us*, ed. by H. Husemann (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1994), pp. 149-51 (p. 151).

⁷⁷² *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 271.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

One area of further research would be to investigate how audiences' decoding of a cartoon is affected by its surrounding context. A cartoon may embody an ideology that is consistent with or at odds with its host publication, yet we do not know what sense readers make of this. It is possible that meaning in cartoons is not fixed but rather affected somewhat by surrounding context, and this could be empirically investigated. Comparing the decodings of audiences who read a cartoon within the wider context of its publication with those who read it in isolation would inform this process. Amongst other things it might reveal what impact and effect the surrounding reportage on the same theme has on the interpretation and appreciation of a cartoon in its published context. Does one help to reinforce the message of the other in the receiver's mind or call it into question, and what dynamic is created between the two?⁷⁷³

Another area of possible research would be to compare the image of the 'other' presented by different editions of newspapers, such as in regional editions of *Bild*, or by the Scottish, (Northern) Irish and London-based national press. It would be informative to see whether items of news regarding the 'other' are handled differently or even reported widely, and if the reportage shows consistency across geographical (and cultural) boundaries. Evidence of difference or omission would suggest that other parts of the country have different expectations or experience of the 'other' of which newspapers are aware. It may suggest that certain topics are seen as significant in one context but irrelevant, uninteresting or of lesser consequence in another. This certainly seemed to have been the case with the 'Urlauber-Krieg' articles in *Bild* in the late eighties (which contributed to the development of the towels-on-sunbeds neo-stereotype), which were not published in all editions of the newspaper in Germany.

The paucity of images of Britain and the British available from the former German Democratic Republic had resulted in their exclusion from this study from the outset. This is an area that should be researched further, in the hope that cartoons published in East German newspapers, magazines and books are now more easily accessible and that a sufficiently large sample of material could be gathered to make an analysis possible. It is to be expected that other or additional stereotypes of the British (as, say, effete or degenerate co-capitalists with West Germans and Americans) were current in the GDR and that these were reflected in its ideologically charged cartoons. Comparisons could thus be drawn with the findings of this study vis-à-vis the West German image of the British and Britain and contribute to the overall understanding of the development of the German (caricatural) image of Britain and the British in the twentieth century. Of significance, too, would be the charting of what happened to this image after 1989. Certain revision and alteration would be anticipated, but did any synthesis

⁷⁷³ cf. G. Dines, 'Towards a Sociology of Cartoons' (Salford University, 1990), p. 434.

occur between stereotypes used in East and West Germany; and to what extent do old East German stereotypes and clichés continue to live on in the new East German reporting and caricaturing of Britain?

Likewise, research on the image of Germany and the Germans in cartoons published in the United States would make for a fruitful comparative survey. There must certainly be a wealth of material which could shed light on the perception and depiction of Germany since the Second World War in another allied, English-speaking country. It would be particularly interesting to test the theses presented here regarding, say, the use in British cartoons of outdated, militaristic symbolism to describe and portray Germans against the evidence of American cartoons over the same period. If there is a link between the use of such symbolism and an underlying fear, envy and distrust of the Germans and their economic intentions in Europe, one would not expect to find it necessarily reflected in American cartoons, created in and for an enormously confident and economically powerful and successful society. If similar imagery were to be found as having had currency in the USA, it would pose significant questions about what role it served in the American context and perhaps whether the attribution of causes in the British context were entirely apposite.

Postscript

As this dissertation was being prepared for submission a story broke in the press which seemed to support some of conclusions put forward here about the British attitude towards the Germans after over fifty years of peace and alliance.

Although the incident belongs to a new century, beyond the remit of this investigation, it all too comfortably fits along the continuum of British-German relations since the Second World War. It concerns the British press and those who control it; the maintenance (indeed rude health) of German stereotypes of the worst and most offensive kind, even in the upper echelons of power; and the uses to which such stereotypes are put and the sort of context in which they can be brought into play. It is a sobering scenario of what must be either accepted or overcome if the Germans and the British are to coexist as neighbours within a common European house and to work together as partners in a single European market.

On the positive side it should not be overlooked that the *Daily Telegraph* executives walked out of the meeting in disgust. The event was reported with astonishment, if not a certain incredulity, and with little or no sympathy for the chief protagonist, Richard Desmond, a media magnate born in Edgware, North London, in 1951. Desmond had a career as a musician, advertising executive, and magazine publisher, before becoming a newspaper proprietor.

'Express owner 'in Nazi outburst'

Express newspapers owner Richard Desmond branded all Germans as 'Nazis' in an outburst against *Daily Telegraph* executives, it has been claimed.

Mr Desmond started singing 'Deutschland uber alles' [*sic*] as he mocked a German group's bid for the *Telegraph*. One of the *Telegraph* bosses has told the BBC: 'It was beyond parody'. The paper's executives were apparently so disgusted they walked out of Thursday's meeting of the board of jointly-owned West Ferry print company.

A spokesman for Mr Desmond, responding to the story on the *Guardian* website, said only: 'I have just read a very entertaining interpretation of what was a very productive one-and-a-half hour meeting.'

Telegraph bosses say Mr Desmond made comments about the prospective *Telegraph* buyers, German newspaper group Axel Springer.

Daily Telegraph chief executive Jeremy Deedes headed a delegation at the meeting. He told BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme: 'We got abused pretty severely. We were greeted in

German by Mr Desmond and his fellow directors, which I ignored, and shook hands. He then said "How did we fancy being taken over by a lot of 'effing Nazis?'"

Asked if Mr Desmond had called him 'a miserable little piece of excrement', he said: 'I think people can fill in the asterisks, it was a bit stronger than that. I don't think that there was a swear word in the language that wasn't used at some stage.'

Mr Deedes said it became clear within minutes that the meeting would not be productive. He said: 'It was when we got up to leave that Mr Desmond said, words to the effect of, "come on chaps" and they then all began to sing 'Deutschland uber alles' [*sic*]. One or two of them were giving 'sieg heil' salutes and he was placing the two fingers of one hand in the style of a Hitler moustache as we left.

'My fear is that people are going to read this and think it was all quite amusing. "It was actually extremely unpleasant. This wasn't just banter.'

The tirade came despite the fact that the Frankfurt-based Commerzbank backed Mr Desmond's takeover of the Express titles.

BBC Business editor Jeff Randall said one of Mr Desmond's camp told him: 'I don't know what all the fuss is about, it sounds like your average meeting with Richard Desmond.' Mr Randall said: 'He's a maverick, he's eccentric, there's none like him. For most people he's just medicine that's too strong to take.' He suggested Mr Desmond was bitter about having to pull out of the race for the *Telegraph*.

Mr Randall said it seemed he was sending a warning to other prospective buyers that they would have to handle such behaviour because of the joint stake in the print works.

Mr Desmond pulled out of the race for the Telegraph stable last month amid talk that the asking price has gone beyond £600m - his estimated bid for the was £550m.

BBC News, UK edition

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr//1/hi/uk_politics/3651421.stm> [accessed 23 April 2004]

Appendix

Biographical list of artists whose cartoons are discussed in the text

In addition to those listed at the end of each entry, the major sources used for this compilation have been (in order of importance):

- Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)
- Mark Bryant and Simon Heneage, comps., *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists: 1730-1980* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994)
- Alan Horne, *The Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Book Illustrators* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994)
- Maurice Horn, *The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1999)
- Hans Peter Muster, *Who's Who in Satire and Humour*, 3 vols (Basel: Wiese, 1989-90)
- Walter Amstutz, *Who's Who in Graphic Art*, 2 vols (I: Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg, 1962; II: Dübendorf: De Clivo, 1982)
- Kurt Flemig, *Karikaturisten-Lexikon* (Munich: Saur, 1993)

Allen, Graham (b. 1940). Cartoonist, comic artist and book illustrator, who has worked for major book producers and publishers such as the International Publishing Corporation (IPC, since the mid-1960s) and Express Newspapers. His work has included regular features for comics (*COR!!*; *Lion*), strips, illustrations for a myriad of nature books for children, and humorous drawing (such as *English As She Is Fraught* with Jonathan Thomas, 1976). His illustrative cartoons – mainly for Peter Hitchen's column - appeared in the *Daily Express* during the 1990s.

Biography: Alan Clark, *Dictionary of British Comic Artists, Writers and Editors* (London: British Library, 1998), p. 2.

Ammer, Wolfgang (b. 1953). Born in Steyr, Upper Austria, Ammer studied art in Melbourne and Vienna. He became a political cartoonist and illustrator in 1981, settling in Vienna and joining the staff of the *Wiener Zeitung*. His work has featured in other titles including *Spiegel*, *Libération*, *Izvestia*, *International Herald Tribune*, *The European*, and *The Times*. He has been the Austrian correspondent for American cartoonist Joe Szabo's online international cartoon magazine *WittyWorld* since 1991.

Biography: 'Wolfgang Ammer' in *WittyWorld: International Who is Who in Cartooning* <<http://www.wittyworld.com/bios/bioammer.html>> [accessed 23 April 2003]

Arriens, [Sandra/Sabine(?)], drew covers for *Spiegel* in 1984. No further information found.

Austin, David (b. 1935). An industrial chemist and schoolteacher before becoming a full-time cartoonist in 1976, he has produced a daily pocket cartoon for the *Guardian* since 1990 and a strip ('Hom. Sap.') in *Private Eye* since 1970. He has also drawn for the *Spectator*, *New Scientist*, *Today*, *Mail on Sunday* and *Daily Telegraph*.

Auth, William A. (Tony) (b. 1942). American Pulitzer prize-winner (1976) who was chief medical illustrator at Rancho-Los Amigos Hospital, California (1965-71) before becoming political cartoonist for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. His work is syndicated worldwide via the Washington Post Writers Group and has appeared in various German newspapers including *Münchener Merkur*, *Die Welt*, and *Welt am Sonntag*.

BAS. (Basilios Mitropoulos) (b. 1936). An Athens-based physician and political cartoonist whose work appears in numerous publications worldwide. These include the weekly Greek news magazine *Tachydromos* (from 1966), the national daily *Eleftheros Tipos*, and the *FAZ*, to which he has contributed since 1971.

Biography: <<http://www.cartoonweb.com/spotlight/bas.asp>> [accessed 15 November 2003]

Bateman, H. M. (Henry Mayo) (1887-1970). Born on a homestead in rural New South Wales he grew up and was educated in London. He turned his hand to comic drawings from 1903, contributing to many titles including *Punch*, *Life*, and *The Tatler* for which he began in 1912 his celebrated series of social satires 'The Man Who...'. His work appeared in *Lustige Blätter*, *Uhu* and *Koralle* in the twenties and thirties, and *Bunte* and *Zeit-Magazin* in the eighties. He became one of the best-paid and most popular artists of his period, helping to renew English cartooning, but gave up cartooning altogether in the late 1930s to concentrate on painting. Obsessed about income tax and depressed by England, he spent his final years on the Maltese island of Gozo.

Autobiography: *H. M. Bateman by Himself* (London: Collins, 1937)

Biography: Anthony Anderson, *The Man Who Was H. M. Bateman* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1982); Hans Traxler, 'H. M. Bateman: Ein komischer, englischer Zeichner', in *H. M. Bateman: Liebe auf den ersten Blick* (Zurich: Haffmans, 1984)

Behrendt, Fritz (b. 1925). Emigrating from Germany for political reasons, he settled with his family in Amsterdam in 1937. His first published drawing appeared in *Het Volk* the following year. During the occupation, he was drafted into the German army, but rejected because of a 'non-Aryan blemish'. As a member of the resistance he was incarcerated twice by the SS. He worked in Yugoslavia in the post-war period with the Dutch and international youth brigades, helping to rebuild the country's infrastructure, for which he was decorated with the Order of Socialist Labour. Awarded a scholarship by the Yugoslavian youth organization, he studied

graphics at the Zagreb Academy. In 1949 he was invited by the FDJ (East German Communist youth organization) to East Berlin, where he worked as an illustrator on the organization's publication *Junge Welt* and on the FDJ's central committee. After six months he was accused of Titoism by the 'Stasi', arrested and imprisoned in solitary confinement. This resolved him to become a political cartoonist. After his release in 1950 his first cartoon was published in *Kerempuk*, the Yugoslavian *Eulenspiegel*. He returned to Amsterdam the same year, where he produced cartoons for the *Algemeen Handelsblad* (1953-68) and subsequently for *Het Parool*. His work has been reproduced internationally, and he has also drawn for the *New York Times*, *Nebelspalter* (as staff cartoonist), *Weltwoche* (Zurich), *Welt*, *FAZ*, and *Spiegel*. He has worked for Amnesty International, amongst other charitable bodies, and been decorated by several countries, including Germany and the Netherlands, where he was made a Knight of the Order of Oranje-Nassau in 1976.

Bell, Steve (b. 1951). A trained teacher, born in Walthamstowe (North London) Bell went freelance in 1977, working for a number of comics and small titles before producing the political strip 'Maggie's Farm' for *Time Out* (later *City Limits*) from 1979. In 1980 he joined the *Guardian*, introducing the strip 'If...' in 1981. He succeeded Les Gibbard as the paper's political cartoonist in 1994. His work has also appeared in the *New Statesman* and *Private Eye*, while animation shorts have been shown on Channel 4 and BBC TV.

Autobiography: *Bell's Eye: Twenty Years of Drawing Blood* (London: Methuen, 1999)

Bensch, Peter (b. 1938). Based in Vienna, he draws for several titles including *Handelsblatt* (producing the 'Bösiflage' series since 1985), *Kieler Nachrichten* and *Aachener Volkszeitung*.

Berner, Rotraut Susanne (b. 1948). Born in Stuttgart, Berner studied graphic design in Munich. From 1975-77 she worked in advertising, before becoming a freelance artist. She has illustrated numerous children's books and received awards for her work, including the Celestino Piatti Prize (1983), 'Deutscher Jugendliteraturpreis' (1984, 1996, 1998), and has thrice been nominated for the Hans Christian Andersen Award (2000, 2002, 2004). She works as a freelance graphic designer, children's book illustrator and author from her home in Heidelberg.

Autobiography: <http://www.ph-heidelberg.de/org/lz/temp/rs_interview_94.pdf>

[accessed 18 December 2004]

Biography: <<http://www.library.northwestern.edu/exhibits/hca/illustrator.html#berner>>

[accessed 18 December 2004]

Blaumeiser, Josef (b. 1924). Born and raised on the Rhine in Ludwigshafen, he drew from an early age, encouraged by the animal painter Otto Dill, a friend of the family. When he was

eighteen he was conscripted into the army and ended up a prisoner of war in Russia until 1949. He returned to study graphic design in Munich, founding his own advertising agency in 1956. His career as a satirical cartoonist began in 1975, with publication of his first book of cartoons. His work has since appeared in the *SZ*, *tz*, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Spiegel*, *Stern* and *Die Zeit*, as well as several Munich titles.

Böhle, Klaus (1925-2003). Born in Wuppertal, he studied drawing, painting and art history, after war service and release from POW captivity. From 1983 to 1999 he was staff cartoonist for *Die Welt* (in succession to Hicks [q.v.]), *Esprit* and *Welt am Sonntag*. He also had his work published in *Neue Illustrierte*, *Hörzu*, *Spiegel* and *Neue Revue*. Besides political cartoons Böhle created the comic series *Uschi*. He also worked extensively in advertising, as well as in the theatre as a commentator and costume and stage designer.

Biography: <<http://www.welt.de/data/2003/05/28/103611.html>> [accessed 21 January 2004]

Brandt, Gustav (1861-1919). Political cartoonist and caricaturist for *Kladderadatsch*.

Breeze, Hector (b. 1928). Born on the outskirts of London, he was first employed in a government drawing office, studying art at evening school and selling his first cartoon to *Melody Maker* in 1957. Since then he has worked in advertising and drawn for *Private Eye*, *Punch*, *ES*, *Guardian*, and has been the pocket cartoonist for the *Daily Express* since 1982.

Brookes, Peter (b. 1943). A sometime lecturer in illustration at the Royal College of Art (1979-90), his first published cartoon was for the cover of *New Society* in 1968. He succeeded Lurie [q.v.] as political cartoonist and illustrator for *The Times* in 1982 and was cover artist with Garland [q.v.] for the *Spectator* (1986-98). As well as contributing to a range of publications including the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New Statesman*, *New Society* and *The Week*, he has produced illustrations for the Folio Society, book covers for Penguin Books, and a postage stamp for the Royal Mail (1999).

Busch, Wilhelm (1832-1908). Humorist from Lower Saxony, who was born near Hanover and died in a village at the foot of the Harz Mountains. He first studied mechanical engineering in Hanover, then in 1851 went to Düsseldorf to study painting at the Academy of Art. Further studies followed in Antwerp (interrupted by typhoid) and then Munich, where he was discovered by the publisher Kaspar Braun. In 1858 he began contributing to *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchener Bilderbogen* (until 1870). It was his picture stories which made him famous, beginning with *Max und Moritz* (1865) and including *Die Fromme Helene* (1872) and *Plisch und Plum* (1883). In addition, he produced some thousand oil paintings and around two thousand drawings of nature scenes, works which herald modern twentieth-century art.

Autobiography: 'Was mich betrifft', *Frankfurter Zeitung* (1 October & 2 December 1886); 'Von mir über mich' (Munich: Bassermann, 1893), also at <<http://www.wilhelm-busch-seiten.de/werke/autobio.html>> [accessed 30 October 2003].

Biography: various incl. Theodor Heuss, 'Wilhelm Busch', in *Große Deutsche: Deutsche Biographie*, (Berlin: 1956), V, pp. 361-63; Gustav Sichelschmidt, *Wilhelm Busch: Der Humorist der entzauberten Welt* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1992)

Busse, Horst (b. 1924). Cartoonist, illustrator and advertising artist, whose political and humorous cartoons have appeared in the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* and *Revue*, amongst others.

Caldwell, Bill (b. 1946). The son of opera singer and musical director, William McComish, he changed his surname to his mother's maiden name at age of twelve. After a childhood spent in Scotland, he began his professional life in 1967 at Hambro's Bank, but left after a year to study graphics. He then worked in advertising, and in 1971 went freelance as a cartoonist upon selling his first cartoon to the *Daily Sketch*. Work for the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun* followed. For seven years he produced nine weekly strips that were successfully syndicated to ninety provincial and overseas papers. On the strength of one of his pocket cartoons he was hired by Express Newspapers in 1978 for their newly launched title the *Daily Star*. A year later he moved from a single column to five columns on the editorial page as the paper's first political cartoonist, remaining in this position until the end of 1998. His last cartoon appeared in the paper in March 2003. He was also editorial cartoonist on the Scottish *Sunday Mail* from 1990 until 2003. He returned to the *Sun* as an editorial cartoonist in April 2003, working from Cornwall.

Autobiography: <http://www.billcaldwell.com/about_bill.htm> [accessed 16 May 2003]

Calman, Mel (1931-94). Born in the East End of London, the son of a timber merchant from Odessa, he studied illustration at St Martin's School of Art then trained as an art teacher. He became a cartoonist on the *Daily Express* in 1957, moving to the BBC in 1962 to work on 'Tonight', as well as caricaturing for the *Observer*, *Sunday Telegraph*, *Sunday Times* and others. From 1979 he drew front-page pocket cartoons for *The Times*, as well as writing and illustrating a column for the same title. He also designed dust jackets, worked in commercial art and wrote radio plays for the BBC. In 1970 he established 'The Cartoon Gallery' in Bloomsbury near the British Museum, which continued there until his premature death.

Autobiography: *What Else Do You Do? Some Sketches from a Cartoonist's Life* (London: Methuen, 1986)

Biography: 'Calman: Soft pencil, soft heart', *Guardian*, 10 February 1994, obituary

Caro (Romulus Candea) (b. 1922). Born in Romania, and educated at the ‘Akademie der bildenden Künste’ in Vienna, he has worked as a political cartoonist for newspapers in Austria and Germany (principally *Neue Rhein-Zeitung* and *RP*, both based in Düsseldorf). He has also taught, and painted. He has gained particular recognition for his talents in Austria, where he was awarded the *Staatspreis der Republik* in 1971.

Cerny, Frank (b. 1946). Cartoonist for the *WAZ* during the 1980s and 1990s.

Cookson, Bernard (b. 1937). A visualizer in an advertising agency before becoming Political Cartoonist on the *Evening News* from 1969 to 1976, he has worked as a freelance cartoonist since 1967, drawing a regular TV strip for the *Daily Sketch* and contributing to *Punch*, *Daily Express*, *Today* and the *Sun*. His cartoons have also appeared in *Die Welt*.

Cruikshank, Isaac (1764-1811). Scottish-born and orphaned at an early age, Cruikshank migrated to London in the mid-1780s and worked as a watercolourist, illustrator and political caricaturist, exhibiting genre paintings at the Royal Academy in the late 1780s and early 1790s.

His second son George (1792-1878) was born in Bloomsbury and worked with his father from an early age, publishing his first cartoon in 1806. He completed Gillray’s last work for Mrs Humphrey and became a famous illustrator and humorist in his own right and the foremost caricaturist of the Regency period (1811-20). He famously illustrated the first English translation – by Edgar Taylor – of the Grimm brothers’ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, published in two volumes as *German Popular Stories* (London: Baldwyn, 1823; Robins, 1826), now known popularly as *Grimms’/Grimm’s* [sic] *Fairy Tales*. His woodcuts also illustrated an edition of Raspe’s *The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (London: Tegg, 1867). His father’s early death from alcoholism fired him to famously champion temperance, a commitment which was acknowledged by his burial in St Paul’s Cathedral.

Biography: E. B. Krumbhaar, *Isaac Cruikshank* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966); H. Guratzsch, ed., *George Cruikshank: Karikaturist* (Stuttgart: Hatje and Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft, 1983); R. Patten, *George Cruikshank’s Life, Times, and Art*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1992; 1996); D. Wootton, *The Illustrators: The British Art of Illustration 1800-1991* (London: Beetles, 1991), p. 9.

Cummings, Michael (1919-97). The offspring of a well-known political journalist and an artist, Cummings studied at the Chelsea Art School and began cartooning in 1939 on the left-wing paper *Tribune*. He then moved in 1949 to the *Daily Express*, succeeding Strube [q.v.] as Political Cartoonist (until 1990) and later worked on the *Sunday Express* (1958-96). He was a

freelance for *Punch* (1943-80), the *Daily Mail* (1990-96), *Oldie* (from 1992) and *The Times* (from 1995). His work was often reproduced in *Spiegel*, *Welt*, *Welt am Sonntag*, and *Neue Illustrierte*. He also designed a series of beer mat caricatures of West German politicians for the Isenbeck brewery (1967). Reputedly Churchill's favourite cartoonist, he was awarded the OBE in 1983. Klaus Pielert [q.v.] remembers meeting him in 1970 at a cartoonists' congress organized by the Americans in London: 'Er sah aus wie ein Frauenarzt'.

Czabran, Fedor (1867-19??). Contributor to *Lustige Blätter*; based in Dresden.

Damm, Otto (b. 1926). A 'Satiricum' prizewinner (1984; 1988), he draws political cartoons for the *Thüringer Allgemeine*.

[The GDR's 'Satiricum' cartoon exhibition was held biennially from 1978 to 1990 at the cartoon museum established in 1975 in Greiz, Thuringia.]

Daumier, Honoré (1808-79). French painter, sculptor and caricaturist, born in Marseille, he trained as a lithographer in Paris before distinguishing himself on the staff of the magazines *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari* (1830-72).

Biography: Bruce Laughton, *Honoré Daumier* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996); Colta Ives, Margret Stuffmann, and Martin Sonnabend, *Honoré Daumier: Zeichnungen* (Städel, Frankfurt a.M., & MoMA, New York, exhibition catalogue; Stuttgart: Hatje, 1992).

Dyck, Hermann (1812-74). Director of the Munich School of Arts and Crafts and a contributor to *Fliegende Blätter* from its inception, he produced democratically-spirited political cartoons during the 'Vormärz' and revolutionary period, and thereafter humorous drawings and allegories.

Ebert, Nik (b. 1954). Born in Upper Silesia (Poland) he moved to West Germany as a child, studied politics and law and became interested in cartooning. A Pielert protégé he joined the *RP* in 1986 alongside Romulus Candea and is now the title's chief political cartoonist. He succeeded Jupp Wolter [q.v.] as co-cartoonist with Horst Haitzinger [q.v.] for the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* in 1994.

Emmwood (John Musgrave-Wood) (1915-99). The son of a landscape painter, Emmwood was educated in Leeds and, as a young steward on a cruise liner, started drawing the passengers. After serving seven years as an army officer in Burma and China during the Second World War and beyond, he returned to England to take diplomas in drawing and painting. Thereafter, he was engaged to draw theatre caricatures for *Tatler & Bystander*

(1948-54) and show-business illustrations for the *Sunday Express* (from 1953). He succeeded Low [q.v.] as political cartoonist on the *ES* (1955-57), as well as illustrating for *Punch* and *Life*. In 1957 he joined the *Daily Mail* as political cartoonist with Illingworth [q.v.] and later with Trog [q.v.]. When the newspaper merged with the *Daily Sketch* and went tabloid in 1971, he alternated with Mac [q.v.]. He retired in 1975 and moved to France, where he continued to draw for the *Daily Telegraph* and *ES* (amongst others) before dedicating himself to fulfilling a long-held ambition to paint in oils.

Biography: J. Josten, ed., *The Great Challenge* (London, Pemrow; International Federation of Free Journalists, 1958), p. 57; D. Wootton, *The Illustrators: The British Art of Illustration 1800-2002* (London: Beetles, 2002), p. 90.

Ettl. *Frankfurter Latern* artist around 1890. No further information found.

Ferguson, James. *FT* artist from 1990. No further information found.

Fips, A. *Der Wahre Jacob* artist around 1916. No further information found.

Flora, Paul (b. 1922). A Tyrolean by birth and inclination (he was born in Glurns in the South, the family moving to Innsbruck in 1927) Flora spent two years in Munich before being called up in 1944 and, after fighting in Italy, Hungary and Slovakia, returned to Innsbruck. He has drawn for the Austrian *Wochenpost* (1954-57), political cartoons for *Die Zeit* (1957-71), *Tiroler Tageszeitung* (from 1958) as well as occasionally for *Nebelspalter*, *Die Presse* (Vienna), *SZ*, *Die Welt*, as well as the British titles *Spectator* and *Observer*, a singular distinction for a German-speaking cartoonist. One of the great graphic artists of his generation (awarded, amongst other things, the Austrian State Prize for Graphic Art), he has also created stage sets for the 'Deutsches Schauspielhaus' in Hamburg and Vienna's 'Akademietheater' as well as a series of stamps for the Principality of Liechtenstein (1985).

Autobiography: 'Lebenslauf', in *Paul Flora: Zeichnungen*, ed. by K. Arndt & H. Guratzsch (Gifkendorf bei Lüneburg: Merlin, 1984), pp. 133-37.

Biography: *ibid.*

Franklin, Stanley (1930-2004). Born in Bow and trained in London, 'Stan' began at the *Daily Herald* with the strip cartoon 'Mr Farthing' (1954-55) before becoming the political cartoonist at the *Daily Mirror* (1959-70), then editorial cartoonist at the *Sun* (1974-98). He also drew for the *New Statesman* (1974) and produced cartoon graphics for BBC TV comedy shows in the early seventies, such as 'The Marty Feldman Show'. His mascot is a little man with a big spotty nose called 'Raspberry' who appears in all his cartoons, as well as a pigeon

which was added when he joined the *Sun*. ‘Stan’ was also a sometime Victor Silvester Gold Medalist in ballroom dancing.

Garland, Nicholas (b. 1935). After beginning his career as a stage manager and theatre director, he teamed up with writer-comedian Barry Humphries to create the ‘Barry Mackenzie’ strip in *Private Eye* (1964-74). He went on to become the first political cartoonist on the *Daily Telegraph* (1966-86; again from 1991). This was interrupted by a period as cartoonist for the newly founded *Independent* (1986-91). He also drew political cartoons for the *New Statesman* (1971-76) and contributed to the *Spectator* (1974-97, including covers). He received the OBE in 1998 for his services to political cartooning.

Autobiography: *Not Many Dead: Journal of a Year in Fleet Street* (London: Hutchinson, 1990)

Garvens, Oskar (1874-1951). A sculptor by training, he dedicated himself exclusively to political cartooning from 1919, becoming a permanent contributor to *Kladderadatsch* from 1924.

Gaskill, Dave (b. 1939). A Scouse, he worked as an engineering and design draughtsman before becoming a full-time cartoonist, first in South Africa (1973-85), then Western Australia and New Zealand (1986-87). He returned to Britain in 1987, succeeding Kal [q.v.] as editorial cartoonist on *Today*, remaining until its closure (1988-95). He joined *News of the World* in 1986, the *Daily Mail* (1996) and has cartooned for the *Sun* since 1996.

Geering, John (1964?-99?). Cartoonist and comic artist whose strips were popular in both D. C. Thomson and Fleetway comics during the 1970s and 1980s. He famously created ‘Bananaman’ for *Nutty* in 1979, where it moved from the back cover to two pages, then took over the comic cover. Within a few years it became a television cartoon, narrated by The Goodies. Not surprisingly, the strip was retained when the comic was later incorporated in *The Dandy*. In the eighties he also drew ‘Smudge’ for *The Beano*, and for a period in the mid-late nineties *Desperate Dan*. In the 1990s he contributed cartoons to the *Daily Sport*.

Biography: Paul Morris, ‘John Geering’ in *An Introduction to the World of The Beano* <<http://www.paulmorris.co.uk/beano/artists/geering.htm>> [accessed 22 May 2003]

Gerboth, Hans-Joachim (b. 1926). Cartoonist for *Kölnische Rundschau*. His work has also appeared in *RP*, *Spiegel*, and *Berliner Morgenpost*.

Gernhardt, Robert (b. 1937). An all-round humorist, born in Estonia to Hessian-Swedish parents, he has contributed work to various titles including *pardon* (from his first published

drawing in 1962; he was subsequently editor for two years) and *Zeit-Magazin* ('Hier spricht der Dichter'). As the brainchild of the 'Neue Frankfurter Schule' he co-founded in 1979 and has jointly edited *Titanic*, contributing 'Gernhardt's Travels'. He has co-authored children's books with his wife Almut and ghost-written scripts for the comedian 'Otto', as well as produced films, TV and radio plays.

Gibbard, Les (b. 1945). He first worked in New Zealand as a newspaper journalist, cartoonist and illustrator (1962-67), then emigrated to London and joined the *Sunday Telegraph* as arts caricaturist and pocket cartoonist (1967-70). He followed Bill Papas as political cartoonist for the *Guardian* in 1969, remaining until 1994 when he was succeeded by Steve Bell [q.v.]. He has also contributed to the *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Sketch*, *ES*, and *Time Out*, worked as a film animator, and drawn cartoons for TV current affairs programmes, such as the BBC's 'On the Record' (1988-95) and Channel 4's 'A Week in Politics' (1982-86). He was branded a traitor by the *Sun* for his caricatural criticism of the sinking of the *General Belgrano* in the Falklands War and was voted National Canine Defence League Dog Cartoonist of the Year in 1989.

Giles, Carl (1916-95). London-born he began his career as an animation artist for Alexander Korda's studios (1930-35) before joining *Reynolds News* as political and strip cartoonist (1937-43). He then became deputy cartoonist and war correspondent for the *Daily* and *Sunday Express*, eventually taking over from Strube [q.v.] in 1948. He continued to work for Express Newspapers until 1989, his most famous character being 'Grandma'. He drew advertising cartoons for Guinness and others and Christmas cards for several charities. He was awarded the OBE in 1959. Vicky [q.v.] described him as a 'present-day Hogarth', and his cartoons were frequently reproduced in *Spiegel*. Fritz Wolf [q.v.] believes there is no comparable artist in Germany, describing Giles's work as 'so brilliant he could not possibly imitate it'.

Biography: Peter Tory, *Giles: A Life in Cartoons; The Authorised Biography of Britain's Leading Cartoonist* (London: Headline, 1992)

Gillray, James (1756-1815). The leading English caricaturist of his day, he was born and raised in London in the Moravian Brotherhood, an extreme Protestant sect with a very negative view of human life. Around 1769 he became an apprentice engraver but soon left to lead a bohemian life with a group of strolling players. At the age of nineteen he was publishing his first satires, and in 1778 was admitted to the Royal Academy schools, where he spent the next three years. In 1783 he abandoned caricature in order to establish himself as a 'serious' engraver, but three years later returned to the medium and worked for various publishers, until in 1791 he began working exclusively for Hannah Humphrey, living above her shops. He settled finally above her shop at 27, St James's Street in 1797 (the year he accepted a Tory pension) and remained there until his death. Deeply introverted by nature, he

suffered a severe breakdown in 1807, after which his spirit and health began to fail. In 1810 he became insane and remained so till his death. Biographies: Draper Hill, *Mr. Gillray: The Caricaturist* (London: Phaidon, 1965); Richard Godfrey, *James Gillray: The Art of Caricature* (London: Tate, 2001)

Griffin, Charles (b. 1946). After two years training at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, where he drew cartoons for its journal, he moved to art school and began a career in graphics. His first caricatures were published in the Chelsea Football Club programme and first cartoon in the *Daily Mail*, both in 1976. He freelanced for publications like *Punch*, *The Times* (1982-83), and *Observer* (1981-83) before becoming the political cartoonist on the *Sunday People* in 1983. He then moved to the *Daily Mirror* (1985-96). He left to become political cartoonist on the *Daily Express* in 1996, before succeeding Franklin at the *Sun* in 1998. He specializes in the detailed painting of cavalry uniforms, and his cartoons have been reproduced in German papers such as *Welt* and *Die Zeit*.

Grosz, George (Georg Ehrenfried/Groß) (1893-1959). Born in Berlin and trained there and in Dresden, he was an exponent of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement, and one of Weimar Germany's harshest critics. He drew cartoons for *Ulk* and *Lustige Blätter* (1910-13) and volunteered for military service in 1914. Towards the end of the war he was court-martialled for insubordination, but was saved from the death sentence and committed to an asylum. He joined the Dadaists with John Heartfield in 1917 and the Communist Party in 1918, becoming a party press artist in Berlin. From 1926-32 he was an occasional contributor to *Simplicissimus*. He Americanized his name in 1916, emigrating to New York in 1932, where he opened his own school and took citizenship. Thereafter, his work became increasingly conservative. He died in West Berlin in 1959, only a month after what was to have been a permanent return to the city of his birth.

Autobiography: *Ein kleines Ja und ein großes Nein: Sein Leben von ihm selbst erzählt* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1955; repr. 1974); *George Grosz: An Autobiography*, trans. by Nora Hodges (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Biography: Hans Hess, *George Grosz* (London: Studio Vista, 1974; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Ivo Kranzfelder, *George Grosz* (Cologne: Taschen, 1994)

Gulbransson, Olaf (1873-1958). Born and educated in Christiania (now Oslo), by the age of seventeen, he was already drawing for several comic magazines in Norway. His first exhibition in Oslo in 1899 brought him fame and led to study and further success exhibiting in Paris. At the turn of the century he was regarded as Norway's leading press caricaturist. Headhunted by Albert Langen for *Simplicissimus* in 1902, he worked for the magazine until its demise in 1944, having become co-owner in 1906. For four years in the mid-twenties he

drew again for the Oslo paper *Tidns Tegn*. In 1929 he became a professor at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, retiring as emeritus in 1943. Apart from painting and portraiture he also illustrated books, and designed book covers and stage sets. He remained in Bavaria until his death, living above Lake Tegern in the 500-year-old 'Schererhof'. In 1966 a museum of his works was opened on the banks of the lake.

Autobiographies: *Es war einmal* (Munich: Piper, 1934); *Und so weiter* (Munich, 1954)

Biography: < <http://www.olaf-gulbransson-museum.de> > [accessed 10 October 2004].

Hachfeld, Rainer (b. 1939). A left-wing political cartoonist, writer and animator, born in Ludwigshafen and based in West Berlin since 1952, he has contributed to publications in West Germany such as *Berliner Extra-Blatt/Dienst* (1967-79), *Konkret*, *Der Abend* (1980-81), *Stern*, and *pardon* (1960-82). His work has also been published in East Germany, Latin and South America (usually under the pseudonym 'H. Campo'), Cuba and the USA (*Black Panther*, *Guardian*). Additionally, he has been a stage designer for political cabarets, designed graphics for the 'GRIPS Theater' in Berlin and produced plays for children since 1968, receiving the Brothers Grimm Prize (1969) for 'Stokkeror und Millipilli'.

Haitzinger, Horst (b. 1939). He studied art in Linz and at the Academy of Art in Munich, where he decided to settle. To finance his studies, he started contributing to the new *Simplicissimus* and remained one of its artists until it folded in 1967. His work has appeared in newspapers and magazines in all the German-speaking countries, including *Nebelspalter* (since 1968), *tz* (from its launch in 1968), *Bunte* (since 1982), *B.Z.* (since 1980), *Spiegel*, and *Quick*. He has also published in the USA and Britain. From 1972 his best political cartoons of the year have been published in an annual compilation. Since the end of the 1960s he has held the title of most frequently published German-speaking cartoonist, and as such is probably also the best-known editorial cartoonist amongst German-speaking Europeans.

Biography: Horn, p. 333.

Haldane, David (b. 1954). Cartoonist, illustrator, scriptwriter, and author, who was born in Blyth, Northumberland, and studied graphic design in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He began cartooning in 1978 and has drawn for *Punch* (1979-92), *Guardian* (1989-91), *Sunday Times*, *Mail on Sunday*, *Sun*, *Spectator*, *Observer*, *Private Eye*, and *Daily Mirror*. He has also produced greetings cards, worked in advertising, written scripts for 'Spitting Image', lectured on graphic design, and written a children's book: *The Zoo Goes to France* (London: Methuen, 1982).

Halle, Will. Artist who drew for *Lustige Blätter* in the 1940s.

Halliday, Tom (b. 1958). Irish political cartoonist and caricaturist, whose work has appeared in the *Sunday Independent* and *Private Eye*.

Hanel, Walter (b. 1930). Born in the Sudetenland (now the Czech Republic), he fled north towards the end of the war and survived the fire-bombing of Dresden. He left East Germany in 1950 and settled in Cologne, where he studied graphic art and began drawing humorous cartoons for the newly relaunched *Simplicissimus* (1957-59). He became a freelance graphic artist and caricaturist in 1959, extending his repertoire to satirical, topical cartoons. He worked for WDR television from 1960 to 1972, creating children's cartoon films and designing costumes and decor for films such as *General Frederic* (1964). In 1963 he began political cartooning and has drawn for titles such as *Christ und Welt* (since 1965; now *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*), *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* (from 1972), *Welt am Sonntag*, *Quick*, *Pardon* (1976-78) *Zeit-Magazin* (1978/79), *Spiegel*, and the *FAZ* (editorial cartoonist from 1981), from which his cartoons are reprinted in twenty German regional newspapers and worldwide.

Biography: *Commedia dell'Arte: Der virtuose Strich des Karikaturisten Walter Hanel*, ed. by H. Guratzsch (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1988)

Hanitzsch, Dieter (b. 1933). Born in Northern Bohemia, he trained as a brewer and brewery engineer, then studied commerce in Munich before pursuing careers in advertising (he invented the advertising slogan 'Gut – Besser – Paulaner!'), economic broadcast journalism, and cartooning. He was a staff cartoonist for *Quick* (from 1969; chief cartoonist 1980-1992) and has been a political cartoonist for the *SZ* (from 1958), *General-Anzeiger* (Bonn), *Abendzeitung* (Munich), *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Focus*. He has published a string of illustrated satirical books – a good many of them about Franz-Josef Strauß – and has been artistic director of the 'Gothaer Karikade', Germany's oldest established political cartooning competition.

Hartung, Wilhelm (b. 1919). Born in Cuxhaven, Hartung studied education after the end of the Second World War, before becoming a press artist for the *Hamburger Anzeiger* (1948-57). In 1957 he moved to *Welt* as a political cartoonist, publishing also in *Welt am Sonntag*, *Hörzu*, *Fortschritt* and others. Additionally, he has worked in advertising, book illustration and written amusing stories and verse for publication.

Heath, Henry ([1795]-1840). Watercolourist, military painter, etcher, and caricaturist.

Heath, Michael (b. 1935). He was born in Bloomsbury as the son of comics illustrator George Heath (credited with introducing the speech bubble to British cartoons). His first

cartoon was published in *Melody Maker* at the age of nineteen. Since then he has contributed to a wide range of publications including *Tatler*, *Mail on Sunday*, *Sunday Times*, *ES* (1976-86), *Guardian*, *Private Eye* (from 1962, with the series 'Great Bores of Today' and 'Heath's Private View'), *Punch* (1958-92, including covers), *Spectator* (from 1957; cartoon editor from 1991) and was the political cartoonist on the *Independent* from 1990 to 1994.

Heidemann, Ernst (b. 1930). Since 1954 his work has appeared in publications such as *Quick*, *Frankfurter Neue Presse*, *pardon* and *Illustrierte Woche*. He has also drawn cartoons for advertising.

Heine, Thomas Theodor (1867-1948). A contributor to *Fliegende Blätter*, *Jugend*, and from 1896 co-founder, chief cartoonist and editorial board member of *Simplicissimus*. Expelled as a non-Aryan by the Nazis from the Prussian Academy of Arts, he emigrated in 1933 to Prague, then in 1938 to Oslo, where he worked as a press cartoonist until the country's occupation in 1942. He then fled to neutral Sweden and settled in Stockholm, where he continued cartooning until his death.

Autobiography: *Ich warte auf Wunder* (Stockholm: Neuer 1945; Frankfurt a.M.: Krüger, 1977); *I Wait for Miracles*, trans. by Clara Stillman (New York: Greenberg, 1947)

Biography: Lothar Lang, ed., *Thomas Theodor Heine* (Munich: Rogner & Bernard, 1970)

Heyne, Herbert (1913-81). Trained in the craft by an artist, he drew humorous, political and topical cartoons for titles which included *Bunte Illustrierte*, *Pardon*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Frischer Wind*, *Abendpost* and the *Frankfurter Neue Presse*.

Hicks, Wolfgang (1909-83). Hicks drew his first cartoon in 1928 for his home-town *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, becoming in 1933 a political cartoonist for the *Hamburger Echo*. He also drew anti-Nazi cartoons for the social democratic weekly *Echo der Woche* (1932-33). When the Nazis took power he was forbidden to draw, but he accommodated himself to the system and resumed working for the press, drawing humorous cartoons and caricatures for the *BZ am Mittag*, *Hamburger Anzeiger*, *Koralle* and others. During the war he was a naval reporter, contributing cartoons to publications like *Das Reich*. After the war he drew for *Stern*, and *Die Zeit* from its first issue in 1946, leaving in 1956 to succeed Szewczuk [q.v.] at *Welt*. He was subsequently picture editor for *Geistige Welt*, created with Christian Ferber *Das Kleine Welttheater* for the Saturday edition, and contributed to *Welt am Sonntag*. He also illustrated a number of books and worked as a commercial and advertising artist.

Hoffnung, Gerard (1925-59). Born in Berlin into a prosperous Jewish family, Hoffnung emigrated with his mother in 1937, settling in London a year later. He taught drawing at

Harrow (1945-50) whilst freelancing for *Lilliput* (to which he first contributed at age fifteen), *Strand Magazine*, *Tatler*, *Radio Times* as well as doing advertising work for brands such as 'Kia-Ora'. After a spell in New York (where he created a giant cartoon for the new UN building) he returned to England and drew for the *Daily Express*, *Punch* (from 1952), *Nebelspalter*, *Scala*, Guinness and Krug Champagne, and broadcast comedy for BBC Radio. An accomplished tuba bass player, he created the Hoffnung Music Festivals, a regular and hilarious treat at the Royal Festival Hall in the late fifties, which became the Hoffnung Interplanetary Music Festival in the last two years of his life. He published numerous books, which were used as the basis for a series of short animated films called 'Tales from Hoffnung' (1964), while in 1982 ZDF produced an eight part television series entitled 'Hoffnung nach Noten'. A bon viveur and raconteur he also had a quiet and concerned side to his character, illustrated by his work as a prison visitor.

Biography: Annetta Hoffnung, *Gerard Hoffnung* (London: Fraser, 1988); Wootton (1991), p. 144.

Horsch, Wolfgang (b. 1960). After studying theology in Heidelberg he became a freelance cartoonist based in Stuttgart-Hohenlohe, with his work published in titles such as *Die Zeit*, *Handelsblatt*, *SZ*, *FAZ*, *taz*, *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, and *International Herald Tribune*. His comic strip 'Diefenbach' (begun in 1997) is a Stuttgart feature, whilst his stock market comic strip 'Up and Down' started in 2000.

Hürlimann, Ernst (1921-2001). A left-handed architect born in the Bavarian Alps (Oberstaufen-Allgäu) and resident in Munich, he drew for the *SZ* from 1947 and worked for the Bavarian broadcasting service (*Bayerischer Rundfunk*) from 1954. His cartoons also appeared in *Münchener Illustrierte*, *Quick*, *Bunte* and others. He drew topical and humorous cartoons with a Munich flavour, as well as cartoons for advertising, and illustrated some 140 books. Together with E. M. Lang he arranged weekly caricatural commentaries for Bavarian Television's 'Münchner Abendschau', a slot known as 'Doppelter Ernst' from 1972.

Biography: <<http://www.zvw.de/aktuell/termine/ausstellung/kari-html/huerlimann.htm>> [accessed 24 November 2004]; Horn, pp. 375-76.

Illingworth, Leslie (1902-79). Born in Barry, South Wales, to Scots-Yorkshire parents, he began drawing for Cardiff's *Western Mail* while a student. A scholarship took him in 1920 to the Royal College of Art in London, after which he returned to Wales and the *Western Mail* as political cartoonist (1921-27), from 1924 also studying at the London's Slade School of Art. Thereafter studying in Paris, he freelanced for publications including the *Strand Magazine*, *Good Housekeeping* and *Life* and illustrated advertisements such as 'Beer is Best' and for Wolsey Underwear and Eiffel Tower Lemonade. He first contributed to *Punch* in

1931, succeeded Partridge [*q.v.*] as Second Cartoonist in 1945 and then E. H. Shepard (1879-1976) as Cartoonist in 1949, a year after becoming a member of the exclusive *Punch* Table. He joined the *Daily Mail* as political cartoonist in 1939, drawing under the pseudonym 'MacGregor' until he retired in 1969. Thereafter he published in the *Sun* and was guest cartoonist for the *News of the World* (1974-76).

Ironimus (Gustav Peichl) (b. 1928). A Viennese architect and artist, whose first cartoons were published in 1947 in regional newspapers. By the mid-fifties he was drawing for Vienna's *Die Presse*, *Express*, the *FAZ-Magazin*, and others, as well as starting his own architectural practice. He has drawn for the *SZ* from 1960. His work has also been published in Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland, where he drew for *Weltwoche* from 1973 to 1984. As an accomplished architect, industrial designer and writer on architecture, his prize-winning designs have included the Phosphate Elimination Plant in Berlin-Tegel, the Federal Art Gallery in Bonn, the Ground Control Station in Aflenz (Styria), and the studios of the Austrian national broadcasting company ORF in Graz. From 1971 to 1996 he drew retrospective cartoons for ORF's New Year's Eve TV broadcast. He studied from 1950-53 at the Viennese Academy of Visual Arts, and in 1973 was awarded the title of 'Meisterschüler' and appointed professor. In a 1973 documentary film about the early years of Adolf Hitler he played his predecessor in refusing Hitler's application to study at the Academy in 1907. For his contributions to art and architecture he has been decorated by both the German and Austrian states.

Biography: *Ironimus: Karikaturen aus fünf Jahrzehnten* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 1998)

Jak (Raymond Jackson) (1927-97). After art school and military service (when he taught conscripts to paint in the Education Corps) he worked as a staff artist in publishing and advertising – amongst other things retouching pubic hairs on photos for publication – whilst also contributing to *Punch* and *Lilliput*. He joined the *ES* as an illustrator in 1952, then succeeded Vicky as political cartoonist in 1966, a position he held until his death. One of the best-paid cartoonists in the history of Fleet St, he also drew on Saturdays for the *Daily Express*, then *Daily Mail*, on Sundays for the *Mail on Sunday*. A judo blackbelt, his motto was 'Never explain; never complain'. His cartoons were occasionally controversial (one in 1970 nearly caused the *ES*'s closure) and proved popular in Germany. They were reprinted in titles such as *Spiegel*, *Welt*, *Welt am Sonntag*, and *Rheinische Post*.

Biography: *JAK: His Life and Work* (London: Solo, 1997); Horn, p. 389.

Jensen, John (b. 1930). Born in Sydney the son of a cartoonist, he began professional cartooning at the age of seventeen for Sydney and Australian titles. He worked his way to Britain on a Norwegian freighter in 1949/50, becoming – by necessity – a London theatre

dresser before joining the *Birmingham Gazette* as staff cartoonist in 1952. He has since drawn for various titles such as the *Evening News*, *Punch* (from 1953; including covers), *Lilliput*, *Daily Express*, and the *New Statesman*. An ambidextrous artist, he has drawn theatre caricatures for the *Tatler* (1973-77), social cartoons for the *Spectator* (1973-76) and was the very first political cartoonist on the *Sunday Telegraph* (1961-79). He has also written on the genre, published works on H. M. Bateman and Will Dyson, and has long championed the cause of a British Museum of Cartoon Art.

Autobiography: *Flotsam & Jensen* (London: privately published, 2002)

Biography: Josten, p. 11.

Johnson, Arthur (1874-1954). Born in Cincinnati, he moved to Germany at the age of fifteen, when his father was appointed American consul in Hamburg. He studied at the Berlin Academy and drew for *Kladderadatsch* from 1896 to 1944. As a painter he was a prize-winning member of the Berlin Sezession.

Johnston, Tom (b. 1953). Originally from Belfast, Johnston's first work was published in the *Daily Mirror* in 1976, when he also became a full-time freelance. He later moved to the *Evening News*, then the *ES*, before joining the *Sun* in 1981. He succeeded Franklin [q.v.] as the political cartoonist there in 1992, but returned to draw for the *Daily Mirror* in 1996 replacing Griffin [q.v.]. He has also published in *Today*, *News of the World*, *Punch* and *Private Eye*. Additionally a professional base guitarist, he helped found the rock band 'The The' in 1977.

KAL (Kevin Kallauger) (b. 1955). Born in Connecticut, after graduation from Harvard in 1977 he came to Britain on a bicycle tour and decided to stay. He worked initially as a semi-professional basketball coach and player, but when the club met with financial difficulties he found alternative employment as a caricaturist of tourists in London and Brighton. Discovered by the *Economist* in 1978, he became its first resident caricaturist. He has also been the political cartoonist at the *Observer* (1983-86), *Today* (1986-87), and the *Sunday Telegraph* (1987-88). He returned to the USA in 1988 to draw for the *Baltimore Sun*. His cartoons are syndicated worldwide and continue to appear in the *Economist*. While remaining unsigned, as is the *Economist* tradition, they always contain his wife's name somewhere in the composition.

Biography: David Wootton, *The Illustrators: The British Art of Illustration 1800-1990* (London: Beetles, 1990), [n. p.].

Klaus, Anton (1810-57). An artist who produced drawings for exhibitions of the Berlin Academy from 1840 to 1848.

Köhler, H. E. (Hanns Erich) (1905-83). Born in what is now the Czech Republic, he studied in Dresden and Vienna, before becoming a freelance commercial artist and illustrator in Prague in 1929. He began cartooning in 1935 for Scherl-Bilderdienst, moving to Berlin in 1939 and drawing as 'Erik' for the Nazi-controlled press in *Kladderadatsch*, *Simplicissimus*, *Lustige Blätter* and *Das Reich*. From 1942 to 1945 he was Professor of Illustration and Commercial Art at the German School of Fine Arts in Prague. At the end of the war he was expelled and fled to Nuremberg, where he drew landscapes and portraits for the American occupation troops and began political cartooning for the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* (1948-73). Cartoons followed for *Die Zeit* (1949-70), *Deutsche Zeitung*, *Simplicissimus* (from 1956), *FAZ* (from 1958) as well as work in advertising.

Kolfhaus, Herbert (1916-87). A freelance political cartoonist for the West German press including *Münchener Merkur*, *Südwestpresse*, *Fliegende Blätter* and *Spiegel*. He was cartoonist for the weekly CSU newspaper *Bayernkurier* after its establishment by Franz Josef Strauß in 1950. He was born in Frankfurt am Main.

Krain, Willibald (1886-1945). Krain drew for most of the German satirical journals and was one of Berlin's leading press artists in the twenties. Because of his progressive anti-Nazi cartoons in *Der Wahre Jakob*, he was banned from his profession in 1934.

Krauze, Andrzej (b. 1947). Born in Poland, he has worked as an illustrator, painter, poster designer, as well as a political cartoonist for Polish, Dutch, French, Finnish, British and American publications. Educated at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Art, he became the spokesman for a generation of discontented Poles during the 1960s and 1970s, drawing in the satirical magazine *Szpilki* and later *Kultura*, and designing posters for the Polish National Theatre. When martial law was declared in 1981 he was in London with his wife and decided to stay put. He has drawn, amongst others, for the *New Statesman* since 1988 and the *Guardian* since 1989. He has also been a visiting lecturer and examiner at the Royal College of Art and designed posters for the Old Vic Theatre.

Biography: Stephen Moss, 'Spitting Images', *Guardian*, 17 October 2001, Arts section, pp. 12-13.

Kreische, Gerhard (1905-76). A graphic artist and cartoonist who was born in Magdeburg, Kreische studied at the Leipzig Academy, where he was a master-class student of Walter Tiemann, pioneer of the new book and typeface art. He was appointed a professor at the 'Hochschule für bildende Kunst' (School for Plastic Arts) in Weißensee, a leading centre for the training of cartoonists in post-war East Berlin. He later transferred to West Berlin and was

one of the founders of the art journal *Athena*. His cartoons appeared in *Der Insulaner* (often as covers) and *Ulenspiegel*.

Lang, E. M. (Ernst Maria) (b. 1916). The son of a director of the Oberammergau Passion Plays (in which the young Ernst Maria took part in 1922), Lang is an architect by profession. He studied in Munich, and served as an army engineer in the Second World War. In 1949 he set up in private practice, and was principal of the city's Architectural Training Centre and President of the Bavarian Architects' Association. He has drawn for the *SZ* since 1947. He has regularly appeared on Bavarian Television since 1954, principally as a cartoonist for 'Bayern-Report', and created the series of Rosenthal Plate Satires 'Politiker im Porzellan-Laden'.

Autobiography: *Das wars: Wars das?* (Munich: Piper, 2000)

Langdon, David (b. 1914). An airforce squadron leader during World War II he was a regular contributor to *Punch* from 1937 to 1992 (he was elected to the Table in 1958) and the *Sunday Pictorial/Mirror* (1948-90). London-born Langdon has published in other titles such as *Time & Tide*, *Lilliput*, *Radio Times*, *Spectator* and the *New Yorker*. He has produced an annual racing calendar for Ladbrokes since 1959, a substantial amount of advertising work including the famous wartime series 'Billy Brown of London Town' for London Transport, and contributed the strip 'Professor Puff' to the *Eagle* comic from 1953. He was awarded an OBE in 1988.

Larry (Terence Parkes) (1927-2003). Born in Birmingham he taught secondary school art, then worked as a factory 'progress-chaser', before joining the *Daily Express* briefly as a staff cartoonist in 1956. A freelance since 1957, he has worked for *Punch* (which published his first cartoon in 1954), *Oldie*, *Guardian*, *Private Eye*, and the *Daily Telegraph* as well as producing cartoons for advertising and television and painting scenery at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1973-74). His cartoons never have captions.

Autobiography: with Mark Bryant, *Larry on Larry: My Life in Cartoons* (London: Grub Street, 1994)

Leger, Peter (1924-91). Born in Brno into an artistic family, his chances of a normal art education were destroyed by the German invasion of Czechoslovakia and the ensuing war. After the war he felt strongly that his artistic talents should serve a political purpose. He first edited a magazine, and in 1947 became a freelance political cartoonist, prizing his independence and resisting any editorial control over his work. Having settled in Hanover, he began drawing for the *Hannoversche Presse* (from 1949), then the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*. In the early 1950s he began publishing in *Vorwärts* (the organ of the SPD, located

successively in Hanover, Cologne, and Bonn). He became Political Cartoonist for the *SZ* from 1963. His cartoons also appeared in trade union titles from 1951 onwards. For a long time Leger played a leading role in the journalists' trade union IG Wort, as well as writing about politics and lecturing on his craft.

Biography: Horn, p. 432.

Loriot (Vicco von Bülow) (b. 1923). The scion of an aristocratic Prussian family, he studied at Hamburg Academy after the war, and began signing his work 'Loriot' at the end of his studies in 1949. One of Germany's most prolific artistic talents Loriot has been cartooning since 1950, when his drawings first appeared in *Quick*, *Stern* and *Weltbild*. From 1967 to 1972 he wrote and featured in the television series 'Cartoon', which was followed by further series such as 'Loriots Telecabinet' and 'Loriots sauberer Bildschirm'. He has produced his own animated cartoons (including the dog 'Wum' and the elephant 'Wendelin'), as well as satirical prose, board games, records, and playing cards. He directed and starred in the film comedies *Ödipussi*, which premiered simultaneously in East and West Berlin in 1988, and *Papa ante portas* (1991). He has also directed opera and written and illustrated a host of best-selling books.

Autobiography: 'Biographie' in *Loriot* (Zurich: Diogenes, 1993), pp. 15-46.

Biography: *Loriot*, ed. by H. Guratzsch (Stuttgart: Hatje and Wilhelm-Busch-Gesellschaft, 1988)

Low, David (1891-1963). A New Zealander by birth, he had cartoons and strips published there from the age of eleven and by eighteen was already a professional political cartoonist. At the age of twenty he moved to Australia to draw for the *Sydney Bulletin* (1911-19) before emigrating to Britain, where he began cartooning for the evening newspaper the *Star* (1919-27). He also contributed to *Punch* from 1923 and the *New Statesman (and Nation)* from 1926, becoming a director in 1933. In 1927 he joined Beaverbrook's *ES* as its first political cartoonist (1927-49), switching to the Labour title *Daily Herald* in 1950, and thence to the *Manchester Guardian* as its first staff cartoonist in 1953. He remained there until his death. He created popular cartoon figures such as the reactionary 'Colonel Blimp' and the strip 'Hit and Muss' (satirizing Hitler and Mussolini) and wrote extensively on cartooning. With Low enjoying an international reputation as an insightful political cartoonist his work was syndicated world-wide to some 200 publications. In the latter years of his life, he received various honours, including a knighthood the year before his death.

Autobiography: *Low's Autobiography* (1956).

Biography: Colin Seymour-Ure and Jim Schoff, *David Low* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985).

Luff (Rolf Henn) (b. 1956). Henn is an independent industrial and graphic designer, who was educated at the University of Mainz. His first political cartoons appeared in the *Mainzer Allgemeine* in 1987. He now regularly produces work for several leading regional dailies, including the *Hannoversche Allgemeine* and *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, and illustrates school books and different themed volumes. He is also a glider pilot.

Lurie, Ranan (b. 1932). Born in Port Said into a pioneering Israeli family and educated in Jerusalem and Paris, he started drawing political cartoons for the Israeli press in 1948. He joined the staff of *Yedioth Aharonoth* in 1956, and by the early sixties was regarded as the country's national cartoonist. The veteran of two Middle East wars (1948 & 1967) and unashamedly partisan, he emigrated to the USA in 1968 to draw a weekly cartoon exclusively for *Life* until the magazine folded in 1972. He then moved to *Newsweek* (1974-76), while also contributing to the *New York Times* (from 1970), *Paris-Match* and the *Wall Street Journal*. In a unique cross-cultural career he was staff political cartoonist on *Die Welt* (1980-81), *The Times* (1981-83), and Japan's *Asahi Shimbun* (1983-84), before becoming the first political cartoonist on the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (1997-2000). In 1996 he founded *Cartoon News Magazine*, which became the web-based *Cartoonnews.com* in 2000. From 2002 he has also been a Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington-based think tank. His work is syndicated to some thousand publications in over a hundred countries (an unprecedented number according to the Guinness Book of World Records).

Semi-autobiographical novel: *The Cartoonist's Mask* (t.b.p. in English).

Biography: T. R. Fletcher, 'About Ranan R. Lurie', *Cartoonnews.com*

<http://lurieunaward.com/about_lurie.htm> [accessed 30 March 2004].

Mac (Stan McMurtry) (b. 1936). Scots-born and Birmingham-educated, McMurtry was an award-winning cartoon film animator before becoming a freelance cartoonist in 1965. He was political and social cartoonist on the *Daily Sketch* (1969-71), thereafter on the *Daily Mail* (from 1971) in succession to Illingworth [q.v.] and in tandem with Emmwood [q.v.] until his retirement. He has also contributed to *Punch* (including covers), worked in advertising, book illustration and greetings card design, written comedy scripts in partnership with Cookson [q.v.] for noted British comedians, and produced a children's book *The Bunjee Venture* (Cressrelles, 1977), which was made into a cartoon film by Hanna-Barbera. Mac's blonde wife always appears in his cartoons, unless it is a political topic. His work has often been reprinted in German newspapers such as *Die Welt* and *Express*.

Mahood, Ken (b. 1930). A successful professional painter, born in Belfast, he had his first cartoon published in *Punch* at the age of eighteen. He later became a regular contributor and the magazine's Assistant Art Editor (1960-65). He was elected to the *Punch* Table in 1978.

He was the first-ever political cartoonist on *The Times* (1966-68), and pocket cartoonist on the *Financial Times* (1972-82) and *Daily Mail* (since 1982), as well as contributing to the *New Yorker*.

Marcks, Marie (b. 1922). Berlin-born Marcks studied painting at her mother's art school and then architecture during the Second World War, before breaking off her studies to marry. She moved to Heidelberg in 1948, working as a graphic artist for, amongst others, the American Occupation Forces. The mother of five children, she spent two year-long sojourns in the USA with her husband and family (1957 & 1963), where she contributed to *Stars and Stripes*. She became a cartoonist in 1962 and has drawn on social and political issues for the *SZ* (daily from 1965 to 1990), *Vorwärts*, *Titanic*, *DAS*, and *Die Zeit*. She has also produced short and animated films, book illustrations and covers, songs, and designs for international exhibitions. Autobiography: *Marie, es brennt! Eine gezeichnete Autobiographie 1922-1968*, 2 vols (Munich: Kunstmann, 1995)

Biography: Eckart Sackmann, <<http://www.comic.de/gelbseiten/lexikon/marcks.htm>> [accessed 3 September 2003]; Horn, pp. 466-67.

Matt (Matthew Pritchett) (b. 1964). The grandson of novelist V. S. Pritchett, he trained as a film cameraman, then had his first cartoons published in the *New Statesman*. A contributor to *Punch* and the *Spectator*, he has been pocket cartoonist on the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sunday Telegraph* since 1988.

Meinhard, Fritz (1910-97). Born in Frauenberg, Bohemia, he studied architecture and painting at the Prague Academy. He drew for *Wespennest* and, after the moving to Stuttgart, for the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* from 1949 until his death. There he became known to readers as 'Herr Fischle' and in 1952 drew the coat of arms for the new state of Baden-Württemberg.

Mester, Gerhard (b. 1956). A freelance cartoonist based in Wiesbaden, Mester studied graphic design in Kassel, before turning his hand to freelance political cartooning in 1984. He has drawn for titles such as *DAS*, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, and *Eulenspiegel*, as well as charitable political causes concerned with the developing world and anti-militarism.

Meyer-Brockmann, Henri (1912-68). A student at the School of Arts and Crafts in Hanover, who was expelled for political reasons in 1934, he walked to Munich to become a master-class student of Gulbransson [*q.v.*] at the Academy of Art (1934-39). After the war, he turned to political cartooning, drawing first for *Ruf*, then later the artists' weekly chronicle in the *SZ*, and from 1954 for *Simplicissimus*.

Mohr, Burkhard (b. 1959). A Cologne-born political cartoonist, who studied painting and sculpture at Munich's Academy of Visual Arts and in Belgium, Mohr has drawn exclusively for the *Bonner General-Anzeiger*, *FAZ*, *Behördenspiegel*, and *Das Parlament*. Reprints of his work appear in numerous further publications, whilst he also fashions political grotesques in wrought iron from his base in Königswinter near Bonn.

Murschetz, Luis (b. 1936). Born in Velenje (Slovenia) he grew up in Styria and studied machine engineering in Graz, before turning his hand to professional drawing. He first worked as a commercial artist and freelance sports cartoonist in Rotterdam and Feldkirchen before moving to Munich in 1962, where he has concentrated on political cartooning. Since 1967 he has contributed political cartoons to the *SZ* and, in 1971, succeeded Paul Flora [q.v.] as staff cartoonist for *Die Zeit*. He lived in London for a period in the late seventies. He also writes and illustrates his own books. Those for children include *Die Ungeheuer von Loch Ness* (Diogenes, 1991) and *Der Maulwurf Grabowski* (Diogenes, 1972) [trans. Mole (Methuen, 1973)], whilst *Couscous auf beide Wangen* (Sanssoucci, 2001) is a collection of travel anecdotes.

Biography: 'Galerie Luis Murschetz', *Die Zeit: Leben*

<<http://www.zeit.de/leben/special/murschetz.html>> [accessed 7 November 2003]

Mussil, Felix (b. 1921). A native of Berlin, where he studied architecture during the Second World War, Mussil decided to become a freelance cartoonist in 1948. He has been staff cartoonist for the *FR* since 1955, and a permanent member of its editorial board from 1956. He has also contributed to *Stern* and *Kristall*, and created the comic series 'Unsere Roboter'.

Newman, Nick (b. 1958). A self-taught artist, he began his career as a business journalist on *Management Today* (1979-83) before becoming a cartoonist. He has contributed single cartoons and strips such as 'Dan Dire' and 'Battle for Britain' to *Private Eye* (from 1981), and has been pocket cartoonist on the *Sunday Times* since 1989. He has produced 'Megalomedia' with Ben Woolley for the *Guardian* since 1989, as well as drawing for the *Spectator*, *Punch*, *Independent Magazine*, *Marxism Today*, *Observer* and *Today*. He has also written scripts and sketches for a number of television comedies, including 'Spitting Image' from 1983 to 1988.

Newton, Richard (1777-98). A caricaturist, miniature painter and illustrator, whose first caricature was published at age thirteen and who, at his death at the age of twenty-one, had already etched some two hundred satirical prints. He initially worked for the radical London publisher William Holland, taking charge of the business when Holland was imprisoned for sedition in 1793-94. Mostly social satires which feature extravagant burlesque and schoolboy

smut, Newton's drawings demonstrate his pioneering use of 'strip' cartooning on a single plate.

Biography: David Alexander, *Richard Newton and English Caricature in the 1790s* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester University Press, 1998).

Oskar (Hans Bierbrauer) (b. 1922). A Berliner who trained as a lithographer before studying at the city's Academy of Plastic Arts, his studies were interrupted by the call to arms. Captured by the Americans (and later interned by the British and Russians), he became a speed drawer for a variety theatre group. He escaped back to Berlin at the end of 1945, where he briefly resumed his studies before turning his hand to portrait painting to make ends meet. His career as a political cartoonist was launched during the Berlin blockade (1948-49), after he won a competition organized by the *Berliner Tagespiegel*. His cartoons appeared in the *Berliner Anzeiger* from 1951, later the *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Abendschau* (until 1988). He came to prominence in the early fifties when he drew the image of a fugitive for the Berlin police which resulted in the man's arrest. An innovative career as a television caricaturist began in 1952 with NWDR-Berlin, leading to programmes such as *Zum Blauen Bock*, and the quiz shows *Gut gefragt ist halb gewonnen* and *Dalli-Dalli* in the sixties and seventies. His pen-name derives from the Berlin colloquialism 'frech wie Oskar' (cheeky devil), a reference to his style 'from the outset'.

Autobiography: 'Vita', *Oskar Kunst*, pp. 1-3 <<http://www.oskar-kunst.de/vita.html>> [accessed 20 January 2004].

Biography: Forschungsstelle Geschichte des Rundfunks in Norddeutschland, 'Hans Bierbrauer', *NWDR Zeitzeugen* <<http://www.hans-bredow-institut.de/nwdr/zz/bierbrauer.htm>> [accessed 2 May 2004].

(NWDR was launched in Hamburg in 1948 as the first post-war public broadcaster in Northern Germany, including Berlin. Its West Berlin studio NWDR-Berlin became the independent broadcasting station 'Freies Berlin' in 1953. WDR was formed from NWDR in 1954/55; whilst NDR became the successor station to the rump NWDR from 1955.)

Partridge, Bernard (1861-1945). Born in London the son of an eminent surgeon and nephew of Queen Victoria's portrait painter, he studied painting and stained-glass window design and was for a while a decorator of church interiors. He was also an actor, appearing in the premiere of G. B. Shaw's *Arms and the Man*. He exhibited at the Royal Academy and illustrated 'Stageland', Jerome K. Jerome's series in the theatre magazine *Playgoer*. His first cartoon was published in *Punch* in 1891, and he joined the staff the following year. He began political cartooning there in 1899, succeeding Linley Sambourne as Chief Cartoonist upon the latter's death in 1910. He also drew advertisements for Lever Brothers, Selfridges and others, exhibited his paintings and was elected to the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolour in

1896. He was knighted in 1925 and retired from *Punch* in 1945 after fifty-four years of service.

Biography: Derek P. Whiteley, 'Bernard Partridge and *Punch*', *Image*, 8 (Summer 1952) pp. 48-59.

Party (Josef Partykiewicz) (b. 1914). Born in Lviv (Lwów/Lemberg) in what was Austro-Hungarian Galicia, he studied art and law, although his heart was in painting. He moved to Germany in 1940 and drew cartoons regularly from 1946. His work featured in Federal German titles, primarily *Rheinischer Merkur*, *Kölnische Rundschau*, *Welt*, *Stern*, *Badische Zeitung* and *Hörzu*.

Biography: Josten, p. 32.

Pepsch (Josef Gottscheber) (b. 1946). A graphic artist, born and raised in Styria (Austria) he trained initially as an electrician. He moved to Munich in 1966, where he worked as a photographer and book illustrator, publishing his first work in 1971 and turning freelance at the same time. His first cartoons appeared in the *SZ* in 1974. Since then his cartoons have been taken up by the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, *Badische Neueste Nachrichten*, *Vorwärts* amongst others. He drew the series for *Zeit-Magazin* entitled 'Gottschebers einseitige Blätter'. Since 1987 he has also worked as a painter and sculptor.

Philipon, Charles (1806-82). French journalist, lithographer and caricaturist, who was born in Lyon. He went to Paris in the early 1820s to study art, and soon abandoned painting in favour of cartooning. Rejected by most of the city's humour magazines because of his reputation as an agitator, he founded his own in 1830. It served as a focal point for opposition to the regime until it was forced to close down in 1835.

ref. Horn, p. 546

Biography: David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture 1830-1848: Charles Philipon and the Illustrated Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

Pielert, Klaus (b. 1922). After war service – during which he twice won the Iron Cross and also lost a leg – he began political cartooning in 1947 for the *Neue Rhein-Zeitung*, when it was the first Rhenish newspaper licensed by the British. In 1961 he joined the Essen-based *WAZ* (after *Bild*, the second largest regional newspaper in the country) for which he drew two cartoons a week until he retired in 2000. He has also worked for the *Handelsblatt* and the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, where his cartoons first appeared in 1962.

Biography: Albert Block, ed., *Klaus Pielert, Politische Karikaturen 1947-1987: Ein Bilder und Lesebuch zur Geschichte der BRD* (Düsseldorf: Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung & VHS, 1987)

Pinn, Ingram (b. 1950). Raised in Eastbourne, he studied at the Camberwell School of Art, then taught at a London comprehensive. He later became a graphic designer at the University of London. His first published drawing appeared in *New Society* in 1975. He drew weekly for *New Scientist* until 1995; he has drawn for *Radio Times* since 1978, contributed to *The Times*, *Sunday Times* and *Observer*, and has been an illustrator and cartoonist for the *FT* since 1987. He has also illustrated children's books.

Platzmann, Thomas (b. 1960). Born in Essen, Platzmann studied German and History then trained as a cabinetmaker, during which time he began publishing cartoons. Success led him to become a freelance cartoonist in 1987. He has contributed political cartoons to the *NRZ*, *FR* and *Hannoversche Allgemeine*, as well as humorous cartoons to various publications including the *NRZ*, *SZ* and *Freie Presse* (Chemnitz).

[biography provided by the artist]

Priestley, Chris (b. 1958). Born in Hull, he first worked as caricaturist for the music magazine *Record Mirror* (1981-85), then in 1983 became an illustrator for *The Times* and *Independent*. He was an illustrator for the *Economist* (1990-96; including covers) and political and strip cartoonist on the *Independent* (1995-98). He has also contributed to the *Financial Times*, *Observer*, *Guardian*, *Sunday Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Telegraph*, and *Independent on Sunday* ('Bestiary' with Chris Riddell [q.v.]).

Rademacher, Hellmut? Cartoon in *Die Zeit* in 1996. No further information found.

Radler, Max (1904-71). Radler initially trained in stucco and sculpture, and as a decorator. His travels led him to Munich, where he studied painting at the School of Arts and Crafts in the twenties and joined the Realist movement. In 1945 his entire oeuvre was destroyed in a bomb attack. He continued to paint professionally after the war and was a political cartoonist for *Simplicissimus* from 1953 to 1967.

Raemakers, Louis (1869-1956). A Dutch political cartoonist who studied art in different European capitals and then taught art in Dutch schools, he worked as a cartoonist for *Algemeen Handelsblad* in Amsterdam, then moved to *De Telegraaf*. He rose to international prominence whilst working for the title during World War I. Prosecuted by the Dutch authorities for his viciously anti-German cartoons, which were seen as endangering the country's neutrality, he sought asylum in Britain in 1916. He was encouraged by Prime Minister Lloyd George to go to the USA to enlist support for the war against Germany, and worked there for Hearst Publications. In the thirties he drew anti-Nazi cartoons again for the

De Telegraaf and later directed a Dutch drawing school. He left for the USA in 1940, but returned to Holland after the Second World War, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Rain, Mikki (b. 1951). A London-based freelance 'Jill of all trades' who has concentrated on illustrations and cartoons since 1989, working for titles such as the *New Statesman*, *Economist*, *Time*, *New Internationalist* and *Private Eye*, as well as in advertising and publishing. [biography provided by the artist]

Riddell, Chris (b. 1962). Riddell came to Britain from South Africa at the age of one. He was political cartoonist for the *Economist* (1988-97), at the *Independent* and *Independent on Sunday* (1991-95) and the *Sunday Correspondent* (1989-90). He has worked for the *Observer* (business cartoonist 1990-91; and political cartoonist from 1995), drawn covers for *Punch*, *Economist* and the *New Statesman*, and has written and illustrated some ninety children's books.

Rushton, Willie (1937-96). Actor, author, broadcaster, illustrator and cartoonist, Rushton was born in Kensington, London. After national service in the BAOR and a year in a solicitor's office (1959), he became a freelance cartoonist, drawing for the *Tribune* and illustrating children's books. He co-founded *Private Eye* in 1961, for which he designed the 'Little Gnittie' masthead, a spoof of the *Daily Express*'s Crusader logo and a caricature of fellow *Eye* founder John Wells. He continued to draw for the publication until his death. A self-taught artist, he also contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* (notably illustrating Auberon Waugh's column 'Way of the World' from 1990), *Daily Express*, and *Punch*. He acted in films such as *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines (Die tollkühnen Männer in ihren fliegenden Kisten, 1965)*, and on stage (notably in a two-man-show with Barry Cryer called *Two Old Farts in the Night*), and regularly appeared on television and radio shows such as *That Was the Week That Was* (1962) and the popular BBC Radio 4 quiz *I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue* (from 1976).

Biography: Richard Ingrams, *Rushton in the Eye: A Private Eye Special Issue* (London: Pressdram, 1997).

Ryss, Günter (b. 1965?). His cartoons appeared in *Mannheimer Morgen* (1997) and in the anthology *Loko-Motive: Karikaturisten im Zug der Zeit; Eisenbahn-Karikaturen von 1852 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by Walther Keim (Gudensberg-Gleichen: Wartberg, 1997).

Sartin, Laurie (b. 1949). An English-born illustrator and cartoonist based in Landshut, Bavaria.

Schilling, Erich (1885-1945). An engraver by trade, born in Suhl in Thuringia, he began drawing for *Simplicissimus* in 1907, becoming one of its principal political cartoonists. He also contributed to the Social Democratic journal *Der wahre Jacob*. Although a staunch critic of the Nazis during the Weimar Republic, from 1933 he became one of the regime's most loyal propagandists. He committed suicide at the end of the Second World War.

Schoenfeld, Karl-Heinz (b. 1928). Born in Oranienburg (Brandenburg), Schoenfeld moved to Berlin in 1939, where he trained as a photomechanic with Zeiss-Ikon before studying drawing under Karl Hofer. He began cartooning for the East Berlin press, then changed to political cartooning for the West Berlin press, Ullstein and the Springer-Verlag. In the seventies he moved to Hamburg, where he became staff cartoonist for the *Bild-Zeitung* and the *Hamburger Abendblatt*. He also designed magazine programmes for NDR (*Norddeutscher Rundfunk*) television. Now based in Potsdam and Liguria, he continues to draw on a daily basis, with his work syndicated to newspaper titles throughout Germany.

Schöpfer, Rudolf (b. 1922). A cartoonist and press artist born in Dortmund and resident in Münster, Schöpfer has drawn for the *Westfälische Nachrichten* and *Westfalen-Blatt* amongst others.

Searle, Ronald (b. 1920). Born and educated in Cambridge, Searle's first drawings appeared from 1935-39 in the *Cambridge Daily News* and soon thereafter in the students' magazine *Granta* (1936-39). Serving with the Royal Engineers in the Second World War, he was captured at the fall of Singapore by the Japanese. He survived both working on the infamous Thai-Burma railway and incarceration in Changi Gaol, and returned to England at the end of the war. Searle went on to become the cartoonist for *Tribune* (1949-51), *Sunday Express* (1950-51), *News Chronicle* (1951-54), as well as drawing for *Punch* (1949-62; including covers), *Lilliput* (in which the St Trinian's girls first appeared), *Time & Tide*, *Life* (covering the Eichmann trial for them), and *New Yorker* (since 1964; including covers). His work has also appeared in Germany in titles like *Spiegel*, *Kristall*, *Stern*, *Quick*, and *Die Zeit*. During the Suez Crisis he was co-opted by the War Office to work for the Department of Psychological Warfare. He has lived in France since 1960 and has contributed regularly to publications there, including *Le Monde* since 1995. He has also designed animated sequences in several films including *Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines* (*Die tollkühnen Männer in ihren fliegenden Kisten*, 1965), co-founded a publishing house, produced and illustrated some 80 books, designed medals for amongst others the French Mint (from 1974), and worked extensively in advertising. A popular commentator on and in Germany, Searle's first big retrospective was held in the Kunsthalle Bremen in 1965.

Autobiography: Ronald Searle, *Ronald Searle* (London: Deutsch, 1978); Ronald Searle, *Ronald Searle in Perspective* (Sevenoaks: New English Library, 1984)

Biography: Russell Davies, *Ronald Searle* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1990); Gisela Vetter-Liebenow, *Ronald Searle* (Hanover: Wilhelm-Busch-Museum, 1996)

Siegl, Wigg (b. 1911). An Austrian by birth – from Siegsdorf bei Traunstein – he spent most of his life in Munich as a graphic and comic artist and cartoonist. His work appeared in *Simplicissimus* as well as *Quick*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Bunte*, *Stern*, *Weltbild* and others. His drawings were in modern succession to the old *Simplicissimus* tradition and demonstrated a prodigious technical and comic talent.

Simonds, David (b. 1961). Born in Pinner on the outskirts of London, he began work as a children's book illustrator after art college, before drawing for magazines such as *Radio Times* (for which he worked from 1985 to 1990). He has produced cartoons for the *Economist* since 1989, *Guardian* since 1991, and *New Statesman* since 1996.

Singleton, Adam (b. 1961). Hailing from Harthill, South Yorkshire, he was educated in Wales and at Lancaster University, where he was sent down. He then spent three years illustrating the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's magazine *Sanity*. His Milton Blag cartoon strip began in the 'What's On Guide' for Bristol and Bath, *Venue*, in 1985 and ran for 17 years. Apart from a commercial foray drawing dirty seaside postcards, he has worked solidly for newspapers and magazines: *The Cartoonist*; *Private Eye* (from 1985); *Punch* (from 1988 until its demise); *Spectator* (from 1988); *Oldie* (from 1992); for a week at the *Guardian* during the Russian Coup of 1991; and a stint at the *Sunday Times* over the weekend of the Princess of Wales's death in 1997.

[biography provided by the artist]

Skott, Berndt A. (b. 1943). Born in Königsberg, East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia) he trained as a stone mason before spending eleven years in Greece. Upon his return he turned his hand to professional cartooning and has drawn for the Springer Press titles *Welt*, *Welt am Sonntag*, and *Berliner Morgenpost* ever since. His cartoons are reprinted in some twenty-five other German dailies.

Slater, Paul (b. 1953). A freelance painter, illustrator and cartoonist, who was born and educated in Burnley, Lancashire, and at the Royal College of Art. He has worked extensively in advertising, as well as in the print, broadcast and entertainment media. His work for television includes 'Spitting Image'. His illustrations have accompanied the 'Eating Out' column of *The Times* every Saturday since 1990, whilst his covers have adorned *Radio Times*

(since 1986) and *The Week*. He also edits 'Practical Nudity' Magazine <<http://www.practicalnudity.com>> [accessed 15 December 2002] a satirical on-line magazine.

Smith, David (b. 1943). Born in Norfolk and educated at the Courtauld Institute and Birkbeck College, London, he produced a weekly caricature for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Magazin* from 1981-85, and has contributed caricatures to the *Guardian's* book page since 1981. He has drawn for the *Independent* since it was founded in 1986, whilst also regularly producing cartoons for the *Daily Telegraph*, *Observer*, *Daily Mail*, *Times Literary Supplement* (including covers), *Punch*, *Paris-Match* and *Libération*, amongst others.

Strube, Sidney 'George' (1891-1956). A cockney cartoonist known as 'George' because of his habit of addressing others so, he worked in furniture design then moved to advertising before becoming an exclusive freelance cartoonist for the *Express* in 1912. After service as a PT and bayonet instructor in the Artists' Rifles in the First World War, he joined the *Express* staff as political cartoonist. By the thirties his 'Little Man' cartoon character had become a national symbol and made Strube one of the most popular and highest paid artists in the country. During the Second World War he produced memorable propaganda posters. He continued cartooning freelance after being sacked from the *Express* in 1948, following a disagreement with the editor. His work then appeared in the *Sunday Times*, *Time & Tide*, and *Tatler*. A fastidious worker his motto was 'Never let it go until you are satisfied – and never be satisfied!'

Sturtzkopf, Carl (1896-1973). He began in 1923 as a sports illustrator, before turning his hand to humorous drawing for *Lustige Blätter*, *Münchener Illustrierte*, *Die Woche*, *Ulk* and *Simplicissimus*. From 1933 he produced political graphic satire under the Nazis. After 1945 he worked in Munich as a political cartoonist, then moved to East Germany, where he drew in particular for *Eulenspiegel* from 1959. In 1960 he took East German citizenship.

Stutz, Ludwig (1865-1917). With Gustav Brandt one of the principal political cartoonists for *Kladderadatsch*.

Sullivan, E. J. (Edmund Joseph) (1869-1933). The son of a noted artist, at age nineteen Sullivan was recruited by the *Graphic* (later the *Daily Graphic*) as a staff artist. Work for other publications followed after he left the title in 1893, including *Punch* and the *Pall Mall Magazine*. He also illustrated books, among them Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1898) and *French Revolution* (1910), and worked in advertising, including designing the announcement of the opening of Selfridges in 1909. After his graphic Germanophobia during

First World War, he taught book illustration and lithography at Goldsmiths College, London, the city in which he was born, lived and died a distinguished professional artist.

Biography: James Thorpe, *E. J. Sullivan* (London: Art and Technics, 1948)

Szewczuk, Mirko (1919-57). Born in Vienna, he spent the Second World War in Berlin working for Scherl-Verlag and drawing for *Die Woche*. After 1945 he moved to Hamburg to work for *Die Zeit*, transferring to *Die Welt* in 1949, where he remained until his untimely death. He was one of Germany's leading post-war cartoonists, as well as an accomplished book illustrator.

Biography: Stanley Appelbaum, 'Mirko Szewczuk', in Horn, p. 666.

Tenniel, John (1820-1914). London-born painter, illustrator and cartoonist. Blinded in one eye by his father (a fencing and dancing master) in a fencing accident – thus limiting his career to black-and-white art – he caught the eye of the editor of *Punch* with his illustrations of *Aesop's Fables* (1848). He worked for *Punch* from 1850 to 1900, gradually progressing to political cartooning and succeeding John Leech as Chief Cartoonist in 1864. With a serious minded, solemn approach to his work, he created an 'official' style of political cartooning in his use of national symbols such as Britannia, and is credited with turning *Punch* into a national institution. He was knighted in 1893. He continued his book illustrating, most famously for Lewis Carroll's 'Alice' series.

Biography: Rodney K. Engen, *Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991)

Thöny, Eduard (1866-1950). Thöny was born in Brixen in South Tyrol (now Bressanone in the Alto Adige) and studied at the Munich Academy of Art. He trained as a military and equestrian painter. Preferring to define himself as such, he drew social cartoons for the *Münchener Humoristische Blätter* from 1888, and for *Simplicissimus* from its first year to its last (1896-1944).

Biography: Dagmar von Kessel-Thöny, *Eduard Thöny: Leben und Werk* (doctoral dissertation, Universität München, 1974); Stanley Appelbaum, *Simplicissimus* (New York: Dover, 1975), pp. xxviii-xxix, 11-15, 143-63.

Thomas, Paul (b. 1961). He succeeded Griffin [*q.v.*] as editorial cartoonist on the *Daily Express* in 1998. He had previously worked for *Punch*, drawing its main political cartoon from 1989 to 1992, as well as the strip 'The Safeways' (1990-92) and was the magazine's last cartoon editor before it closed in 1992. His first strip ('Wold Affairs') was published in the *Spectator* in 1987, for which he has also drawn covers. He has contributed to the *Independent on Sunday* (front-page pocket cartoons since 1989), *Tablet*, *ES* (business cartoons, 1990-97)

and *Private Eye*, as well as teaching illustration and graphic design at the University of Hertfordshire (1988-96).

Til (Til Mette) (b. 1956). Born in Bielefeld Mette studied art and history from 1980-86 in Bremen. He is co-founder of the Bremen edition of the *tageszeitung (taz)*, in which his cartoons have regularly appeared since 1986. He published his first book of cartoons in 1991 (*Wie meinst du das: 'Die Chips sind alle'?*, Lappan) and many more have followed. Since 1993 he has lived as a cartoonist, comic writer and painter in New York, becoming a US citizen in 2004. His work has been published in *SZ*, *Die Presse*, and from 1995 has featured exclusively in *Stern* where he shares the cartoon page with Gerhard Haderer.

Biography: <<http://www.tilmette.com>> [accessed 16 December 2004].

Tomëi, Jürgen von (b. 1937). He has taught at the School of Arts and Crafts in Basle since 1966 and drawn political cartoons since 1965 for, amongst others, the *Badener Tageblatt*, *FAZ*, *Nebelspalter*, *Vorwärts*, *Publik* and *Deutschland-Magazin*.

Tomicek, Jürgen (b. 1957). Born in the Allgäu region of the Bavarian Alps, he trained in business, specializing in advertising graphics and design, before becoming a police motorcyclist in 1975. He began as an amateur, drawing cartoons for local newspapers then decided to turn professional as a political cartoonist in 1984. His work appears regularly in publications in Germany and Austria, including Vienna's *Die Presse*. Since 1994 he has taught advertising and media at the Police Institute for Further Education in Münster, Westfalia.

Autobiography: 'Vita' in *Atelier Jürgen Tomicek* <<http://www.tomicek.de>> [accessed 30 July 2003].

Townsend, F. H. (Frederick) (1868-1920). A highly prolific, popular London-born cartoonist and book illustrator, he began contributing to the *Illustrated London News* while still a student and also illustrated Oscar Wilde's 'The Canterville Ghost' for its first publication. He later drew widely including for the *Daily Chronicle*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Strand* and *Tatler*. His first cartoon appeared in *Punch* in 1896, and he joined the *Table* in 1905. In the same year he was appointed the magazine's first art editor, a position he held until his sudden and early death on a golf course. He produced mostly social cartoons for *Punch* as well as illustrations for features like 'Parliamentary Sketches'. He continued to illustrate books and also worked in advertising.

Biography: Percy Bradshaw, *The Art of the Illustrator 2: F. H. Townsend* (London: Press Art School, 1918).

Traxler, Hans (b. 1929). The son of Austrians, Traxler was born and grew up in what is now the Czech Republic, before being forced to flee to Bavaria at the end of the Second World War. He has lived in Frankfurt a.M. since 1951. Known in the early fifties under his pseudonym 'TRIX', he was one of the founders in 1962 of *Pardon*, and in 1979 of *Titanic*, which he still co-publishes. He has contributed cartoons to other titles, including a series 'Letzte Meldung' in *Zeit-Magazin*, as well as writing and illustrating children's books. With Peter Knorr he was responsible for the caricatural equating of 'Birne' (pear) with Helmut Kohl.

TROG (Wally Fawkes) (b. 1924). Canadian-born cartoonist, pre-eminent caricaturist, and comedy writer, who came to England at the age of seven and later studied art at the Camberwell School of Arts and Crafts. During the Second World War he worked in a camouflage factory until it was bombed, then drew maps and diagrams for the Coal Commission. Entering an in-house art competition in 1945, he was 'discovered' by Illingworth [*q.v.*], who arranged for him to join the *Daily Mail* as an artist and whom he later succeeded as Chief Political Cartoonist (1968-71). He drew the popular comic strip satire 'Flook' (initially for children), which ran in the *Mail* for 35 years from 1949 and engaged a series of writers apart from himself, including Sir Compton Mackenzie (author of the *Just William* children's books; 1953), artist-musician Humphrey Lyttleton (1953-56), jazz blues singer/musician George Melly (1956-71), film critic Barry Norman, and Barry Took. In 1984 it moved to the *Mirror*, where it was written for a while by novelist and playwright Keith Waterhouse. Additionally, he was Political Cartoonist and Caricaturist on the *Observer* (1965-96, excl. 1968-71) and then the *Sunday Telegraph*. He has also drawn for the *Spectator* (from 1959-61), *Private Eye*, *New Statesman* (from 1965), *Punch* (from 1971, esp. covers), *Today* (briefly upon its launch in 1986), and covers for *The Week*. A cricket fanatic and an accomplished clarinettist, he adapted his pseudonym from the name of one of his early jazz bands, 'The Troglodytes'.

Biography: Frank Whitford, introductions in *Trog, 40 Graphic Years: The Art of Wally Fawkes* (London: Fourth Estate, 1987).

Vicky (Victor Weisz) (1913-66). Born into a Hungarian Jewish family in Berlin, in order to support his fatherless family he started drawing cartoons for the anti-Nazi journal *12 Uhr Blatt* from the late twenties as well as for the paper *Montag Morgen*. In 1935 he emigrated to Britain and worked for a succession of titles including *Time & Tide* (1936-43), *News Chronicle* (1939-53), *Daily Mirror* (1954-58), *New Statesman* (1954-66), then finally the *ES* (1958-66). His work was frequently reproduced in the post-war East and West German press including *Spiegel*, which featured him on the cover and in an article entitled 'Großer Kopf mit kleinem Körper' (2 June 1949). Fritz Wolf [*q.v.*] recalls meeting him in 1963 and describes

his somewhat manic personality thus: 'Ein kleiner Kerl, der mir erzählte, wie er nur Kaffee trank und vor Ehrgeiz nicht richtig schlafen konnte.' Suffering from depression, he committed suicide in 1966.

Biography: Russell Davies and Liz Ottaway, *Vicky* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1987)

Wheeler, Colin (b. 1938). Cartoonist, art journalist, Royal Academy-trained painter and teacher, his first cartoon appeared in the *Times Educational Supplement*. He has also contributed to *Private Eye*, *Punch*, *Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph*, *New Statesman*, *Independent on Sunday* and has produced the daily, front page pocket cartoon for the *Independent* since 1986.

Wilke, Erich (1879-1936). One of three cartoonist brothers, Herrmann and Rudolf (1873-1908) being the others, he drew for *Jugend* (1900-38) as well as occasionally for *Simplicissimus* and *Lustige Blätter*.

Willson, Richard (b. 1939). After training and working as an architect, he began a career as a painter, book illustrator and sculptor. He joined the *Observer* as a caricaturist in 1968 staying at the title until 1971. He has been a portrait caricaturist and editorial cartoonist for *The Times* since 1971, while also producing work freelance for a variety of publications including the *Spectator* (1968-74), *New Statesman* (from 1980), *Punch*, *Washington Post* (from 1972) and the *Tablet* (especially cover art). In addition, he has worked extensively in advertising, and for the Third World Foundation, producing UN publications and travelling extensively in developing countries.

Woodward, George (1760-1809). An amateur caricaturist and humorous writer, his drawings were etched by Charles Williams, Isaac Cruikshank, and Thomas Rowlandson. He was a pioneer of the strip form and perhaps Britain's first 'gag cartoonist'. An extremely popular artist with a most convivial nature, he died with a glass of brandy in his hand.

Wolf, Fritz (1918-2001). Born in Mühlheim on the Ruhr, Wolf trained in chemigraphy before fighting in the Second World War, during which he became a prisoner of war. After his release he studied free graphic art at the Folkwang School in Essen (1945-49). He joined the *Neue Tagesschau* (later to be rebranded as the *NOZ*) as a commercial artist upon graduation, becoming after five decades its longest serving employee. He drew a daily political cartoon for the title from 1954 until his death in 2001, originally signing himself 'Lupus'. His drawings have also appeared in *Die Zeit*, *Die Welt* (1956-58), *Westfälische Rundschau* (1957-67), *Time & Tide*, *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Mainz) from 1954, and *Stern* (1958-92), notably the socially satirical series 'Bilder aus der Provinz'. He also contributed 'Anmerkungen' to the

women's interest magazine *Brigitte* for twelve years from 1977. His name has been given to a biennial competition Prize for New Generation Cartoonists established by the City of Osnabrück in 1999.

Biography: 'Fritz Wolf', *Fritz-Wolf-Gesellschaft e.V.*, <<http://www.fritz-wolf-gesellschaft.de/index1.html>> [accessed 28 November 2003]; Stanley Appelbaum, 'Fritz Wolf', in Horn, pp. 725-26.

Wolter, Jupp (1917-93). Wolter began his professional life as a clerk, running a factory despatch department by the age of twenty. Called up for military service in 1939, he survived the war working in offices, while also gaining experience as an actor, cabaret artist, editor of a satirical magazine and as a lightning sketcher in a military theatre. In 1945 he became an advertising artist and freelance political cartoonist. He drew for *Der Bund* (DGB trade union newspaper, becoming a permanent employee from 1948), *NOZ*, *DAS*, *Spiegel*, *Revue*, *Bonner Rundschau*, *Stern* and many others, and also illustrated numerous books.

Zanetti, Paul (b. 1961). Employed at eighteen as the cartoonist on Sydney's largest circulation daily the *Daily Telegraph* as well as the *Sunday Telegraph*, Zanetti is now the most widely syndicated political cartoonist in Australia. *Spiegel* has been one of the few European publications to feature the work of this talented freelance, whose entrepreneurial interests include an independent press syndication company, 'Classic Cadillacs' car hire and, with his wife, organizing 'Dream Weddings' down under.

Autobiography: 'About Paul Zanetti: Background, History, Interests [...]', in *Zanetti*, <<http://www.magna.com.au/~caddy/index2.html>> [accessed 25 July 2003].

Zel (Hans-Joachim Stenzel) (1923-99). Born to German parents in Louisville, Kentucky, during a sojourn in the United States, he was brought back to Berlin in 1925. He initially worked as a scene painter for the Berlin opera and trained as a cartoon animator, until called up for military service in 1942. From 1948 on, he was self-employed as a press cartoonist, his first drawings appearing in the East German youth publication *Junge Welt*. He also drew for *Radio Revue* as well as for the *Berliner Morgenpost* from 1959 until his death. A master of cheeky Berlin wit he used it to good effect also in stick figure cartoons for advertising and the animated film 'Berlin im Volksmund' at the 1963 Berlinale.

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