The British Pocket Cartoon: Origins and Subsequent Development in the *Daily Express* and the Popular Press (1939-1969)

James Whitworth

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Journalism Studies

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Abstract

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This thesis is the first full length study of the pocket cartoon. Introduced into the British newspaper by Osbert Lancaster in January 1939, the new form of political and topical cartoon was a departure not just in size, but more importantly in terms of content. Marking a significant shift from the established caricature based 'editorial cartoon', the pocket cartoon introduced a number of key innovations into visual satire in the UK press. Foregrounding the use of humour in a multimodal construction which combined both text and the visual, it burst the Westminster bubble of established cartoonists by focusing on 'ordinary' people, thereby democratising the genre. It also widened subject matter from politics to include a broader news agenda that was communicated through the prism of a humour-centric form.

The thesis argues that far from appearing fully formed in 1939, the origins and development of the pocket cartoon can be traced back to the seventeenth century and are rooted firmly in the popularisation of the British press. Utilising the University of Sheffield's digital access to UK Press Online, the thesis focuses on the *Daily Express* and for comparison the *Daily Mirror*, the two largest selling UK daily newspapers of the period.

Acknowledging that metaphor has long been a dominate trope of the traditional editorial cartoon, this thesis argues that the pocket cartoon employed a form of visual metonymy to enable a quicker and wider decoding of meaning by the aspirational readership of the *Daily Express*.

Appearing at first with the *Daily Express*'s gossip column, Lancaster's daily commentary on topical news soon found its home on the paper's front page. Through an historical overview of the British popular press, a study of visual metonymy, and case studies of the 1945 General Election, the Suez crisis, and the Profumo Affair this thesis argues that the pocket cartoon, while largely ignored by academic critics, was one of the key manifestations of the popularising trend of mid-twentieth century British newspapers.

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents.

Foreword

‘A professional preoccupation with the topical is the surest passport to oblivion, and nothing...dates so quickly as the apt comment.’ (Lancaster, 1961: 5).

‘Situations and personalities, once they are no longer contemporary, are swiftly relegated to a limbo from which...they either emerge as authentically historic, or else sink forgotten into a bottomless pit plumbed only by an occasional thesis-writer from the University of Kansas’ (ibid).

The above two quotes, derived from a then career retrospective, come from the originator and arguably greatest exponent of the pocket cartoon, Osbert Lancaster (1908-1986). The general reader may well therefore ask that if even Lancaster saw no long-term worth in his work, why would anyone else? The academic scholar may also see these remarks as justification for excluding Lancaster’s and other cartoonists’ work from a social science and historical survey of the mid-twentieth century, or for that matter from any social history. Yet the briefest search of a university library will reveal hundreds of studies, both of book and journal article length, of the role of cartoons in relation to newspapers, magazines, and wider society. So was Lancaster right? We can put the cartoonist’s remarks down to a self-deprecating modesty, but it also reveals more than he may have possibly intended. While libraries are well served with academic (and for that matter non-academic) studies of cartoons from the seventeenth century, through the glory years of *Punch*, to full length studies of

everyone from David Low to Charles Schulz, the study of topical or news cartoons is almost exclusively focused on the editorial cartoon. To an extent this is understandable because, as we will see, the editorial cartoon has a long history going back to artists such as Hogarth and Gillray while the pocket cartoon did not arrive until 1939. However, this is now more than 80 years ago and the critical and academic work dedicated to the pocket cartoon is almost non-existent. Why is this? The following thesis offers an answer to this key question through the prism of the role of a humour-centric form and the rise and then dominance of the pocket cartoon as an intrinsic element within the British popular press.

And not a single word of it was written in Kansas.

Chapter 1 – Introduction: the Pocket Cartoon and the 'Popular' Press

This thesis is presented in two parts. The first part focuses on the development of British popular press, its utilisation of the visual, and the origin and development of topical news cartoons. The second part aims to focus specifically on the pocket cartoon through a study of its origins and development and will employ three case studies along with an examination of the ways in which metonymy replaced the dominate trope of metaphor in the pocket cartoon. Together, these two parts will provide an analysis of a previously overlooked area of academic study and argue that the pocket cartoon is a key element in both the development of the British popular press in general, and specifically the way in which visual satire embraced the popularisation of the British print media.

Part two of the thesis will utilise the facsimile digital collections of the two most popular mid-century daily British newspapers, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* between 1939 and 1969. This spread of content will allow various key moments in editorial identification and social context, such as the build-up to the Second World War, the 1945 General Election, Suez, and the Profumo Affair to be fully analysed in relation to their representation in pocket cartoons. I will use pocket cartoons to consider how newspapers embraced an ever-increasing use of the visual and the ways in which metonymy was employed by the new cartooning form.

There will also be a study, for comparative reasons, of the editorial cartoon especially in the *Daily Mirror,* to examine the influence of the new cartoon genre.

The analytical chapters (4-8) will provide a thorough examination of editorial and pocket cartoons considering their prominence (including issues of foregrounding – for example choosing to use cartoons when there were so few pages due to paper rationing) as well as how they fit into the linguistic and visual style of their respective papers. There will also be close attention paid to understanding how pocket cartoons help solidify a sense of collective identity. In doing this, the analysis will consider how identities are reported and represented by newspapers through a perceived notion of who their readers are, and how pocket cartoons reflect and challenge this notion.

Chapter Four will develop a discussion of metonyms as the dominant trope of pocket cartoons and will contrast these with the metaphor dominated landscape of editorial cartoons utilising multimodal analysis to examine the development of metonymies, inter-relationship or conflict with the editorial cartoons, and indeed the editorial identity of the newspaper overall.

The thesis will then consider the representation of the 1945 General Election in editorial cartoons which were already exhibiting the influence of pocket cartoons; the Suez crisis and a discussion of the ways in which one of the most complex military configurations for centuries was expressed in pocket cartoons; and a study of the Profumo Affair and its place within the satire boom, emphasising it as both as epoch shifting event, as well as demonstrating the significant shift in both form and content of the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* in just seven years.

Digital Archives – Logistics of Data Collection

At the core of this thesis is a study of the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* newspapers between 1939 and 1969. The digitalisation of newspapers has provided the scholar with new opportunities to engage and study their content without the need for extensive travel and its related expense. As the University of Sheffield provides access to both of these key titles, the main question facing researchers is now to utilise them to the best effect.

The first thing to note from a logistical point of view is that despite the archives being accessed through the University's online library system, the researcher does not have to be in the library. This was a significant advantage, meaning that the newspapers could be read from any location with an internet connection. In addition to being available, the archive provides the ability to download pages to a hard drive and/or shared Google drive meaning that they can also be viewed offline.

Despite the new opportunities the digitalisation of newspaper archives has provided for researchers, there are some limitations to this strategy. Both the *Express* and *Mirror* archives are held by UK Press Online, which can provide the scholar with a frustrating experience due to their limited range of research tools. For example, the ability for keyword searching, especially when compared with Cengage, is very poor. This is one of the key benefits in digitalisation and therefore can limit the scope of some research projects. However, in the case of this thesis and specifically with relation to images, keyword searching is of very limited use. Images' captions seem to be rarely tagged, and this is certainly the case with pocket cartoons. The researcher is therefore left with only one choice: to 'manually' read each edition. While this may seem far from ideal, there are actually a number of advantages. It means that selectivity is less of an issue that

it may have been if the researcher was focusing on the results from keyword results. The fact that cartoons are easily identified from thumbnails means that the correct page in an edition is easily located. The key advantage is that it is much easier to place the cartoon within the context of the page. This means that we can see where on the page the cartoon is placed and even more usefully what it is placed alongside. As discussed in the coming chapters, especially the case studies, placement is often a key part of a newspaper's strategy to convey message that goes beyond the content of a specific cartoon or news story.

When it came to preparing work for the three main case studies, pages with cartoons were printed and placed in a binder with the *Express*'s page on one side and the *Mirror*'s on the other. This made for an excellent tool that combined both digitalisation and hard copy in order to get the full benefit of the ability to juxtapose both newspaper's layout and the different approaches to the same story. It also demonstrates the way in which traditional and modern methods of research can be combined to create a hybrid research style. This also enabled a much greater level of detailed study than a keyword search could provide.

In addition to this there is also the consideration of choice. While many newspapers have had their archives digitalised, many have not or at the least are not available to all scholars, which can skew research results. An example is the widely available *Times* Digital Archive, which is easily accessed, but it can be all too tempting to consider the newspaper as the voice of the nation, when in fact its circulation was just a fraction of much of the popular press. It is true that no researcher can read everything, but the accessibility of a source should not be mistaken for its suitability.

It would of course be unmanageable to read and comment on the ten thousand-plus cartoons Lancaster published in his career, or for that matter the (approximately) seven thousand cartoons that cover the period of this thesis.

There is therefore a self-evident need to focus on specific time periods. However, even within a limited temporal period such as that covered by the Profumo Affair (broadly between the spring and the end of 1963) there needs to be a modus operandi in relation to the selection of individual cartoons as well as the juxtaposition of editorial content.

For example, in the Profumo case study, during the week after the MP resigned, both the *Express* and the *Mirror* were read cover-to-cover and direct comparisons were made with cartoons and their respective newspaper's editorial line, as well as with each other. This allowed for a close data sample, the study of every single cartoon published in both papers, and the opportunity to read everything from front page splashes to editorials and columns. Doing so allows the researcher to understand editorial stance as expressed by the paper as an institution and the way in which topical cartoons sit within (and on occasion without) this position, as well as ensuring the representativeness of these interactions of textual content alongside editorial and pocket cartoons, particularly those of Osbert Lancaster.

Through a study of the popular (and largest selling) newspapers of the mid twentieth century, this thesis argues that through pocket cartoons we can discover in addition to choosing and maintaining editorial identities, the prevailing and changing societal attitudes which the popular press reported on and framed, and we can therefore identify a powerful source through which to study mid-twentieth century society. While this task has been made significantly easier by the digitalisation of newspaper archives, it is important to exercise 'cautious enthusiasm' (Nicholson, 2013: 61) about the glut of digitalised newspapers and note potential problems from a methodological point of view with which the researcher may be confronted. Perhaps the key issue is that of context, and the 'provenance of the [newspaper] in its place in a...series' (Hampshire and Johnson, 2009: 396). Keyword searching while

understandably attractive - and at times productive - can create as many issues as it solves. Indeed, researchers have highlighted a number of issues related to keyword searching in relation to what is a 'problematic loss of context' (Smits, 2014: 139), and can result in 'texts not contexts' (Deacon, 2007: 11). These inherent methodological difficulties are intensified when the researcher is looking at highlighted newspaper pages (or even individual articles) in isolation, as there is little opportunity to take a step back and look at where the story fits into the rest of the newspaper. Therefore, full editions have been studied in order to ensure context is not lost, but also to gain insights from the juxtaposition of content.

For this thesis I have chosen the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* as they are both exemplifications of the popular press, both in terms of content and the fact that they were the two largest selling daily newspapers in Britain throughout 1939-1969. By the end of the Second World War the *Express*'s circulation was '3.3 million…with the *Mirror* a million behind' and by the mid 1960s the *Mirror* had overtaken the *Express* and was selling 'in excess of 5 million copies a day' (Greenslade, 2003: 5). The fact that these newspapers were consistently the two largest selling and occupied opposing political positions means that they are extremely useful in studying how the main British political parties responded to key moments in the country's history.

Where appropriate I have referred to cartoons from other newspapers such as Illingworth's work for the *Daily Mail*, but as these tend to mirror the editorial stance of the *Express*, they are used primarily in case studies (such as the section on the 1945 general election).

Osbert Lancaster and Defining the 'Pocket Cartoon'

At this point it is important to provide a definition of the pocket cartoon and the key ways in which it differed from the established form of topical political cartoons, now often referred to as 'editorial' cartoons[1]. Dating back at least to the 1740s, the caricature-based topical cartoon was, as we will see, a popular form often published as prints. Artists such as Hogarth used the form to satirise and ridicule elites, mostly politicians and royalty. As will be discussed in the following chapters, when technology allowed images to be placed alongside text, magazines and then newspapers began to utilise the form on a regular basis. By the early twentieth century daily newspapers began to feature regular topical and/or political cartoons, which as a rule reflected the editorial/political orientation of the publication.[2] In this thesis I have chosen to use the term 'editorial' for these cartoons, a name they acquired from the habit of being placed alongside the editorial and comment page(s). Although their form did vary, shifting between a landscape orientation and portrait, they tended to favour the former as this fitted in with page layout, something that continues today with almost no British editorial cartoons being portrait in layout. The 'pocket cartoon' was actually named after the Deutschland-class cruisers of the German navy by the British, based on their smaller size and lighter weight.

The pocket cartoon was portrait in orientation so that it could fit within a single column of newspaper text. Its name therefore reflected its diminutive size, but the difference to the larger format political/editorial cartoon also led

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[1] The term 'editorial' is only required since the advent of the pocket cartoon in 1939 to distinguish the two.

[2] There are exceptions to this, as we will see, including David Low's work for the *Evening Standard* and Lancaster's work, particularly during the Suez Crisis.

to a significant change in content. Out of necessity, the pocket cartoon had to be drawn in a simpler style as there was no room for excessive detail. More importantly, and partly because of this, it could not rely on extensive symbolism and metaphor-based caricatures. It therefore utilised a humourous 'joke' or 'gag' as its comment; because of this, in the vast majority of cases the cartoon did not work without the caption, thereby establishing a multimodal medium where there was a co-dependent balance between image and text.

The first pocket cartoon in British newspapers was created by Osbert Lancaster, an art critic who had contributed illustrations to *Night and Day* (1937)[3]*,* as well as writing and drawing for the *Architectural Review* (1896 -). Towards the end of 1938 he was introduced to the *Daily Express'*s Features Editor, John Rayner, to whom he expressed his admiration for the single column cartoons that he had seen in a number of French newspapers. Rayner requested that Lancaster produce some for the paper, and he therefore began work on daily cartoons which he would produce for over forty years into the early 1980s. The British pocket cartoon made its first appearance, not as many critics have claimed on 1 January 1939 (Boston, 1989: 107; Farrowell, 2008; Fox, 2008: 203) - that date was a Sunday - but two days later on 3 January.

While political cartoons had long been positioned alongside editorials in British and American newspapers, as was the case with the work of Sidney Strube (1891-1956) in the *Daily Express* and Leslie Illingworth (1902-1979) in the *Daily Mail*, the small size of the pocket cartoon meant that there was greater scope in where it could be placed. The appearance of Lancaster's cartoons created a layout question that had no British precedent. The *Express'*s

[3] *Night and Day* was a British magazine designed to resemble *The New Yorker*. It was published weekly during the second half of 1937.

decision to place the pocket cartoons within the space allocated to a gossip column is most instructive and informative about how the newspaper initially viewed its latest innovation, as the gossip column included not just politics, but social issues as well. This could be argued to demonstrate one of the key differences between the long-established political cartoon drawn by the likes of Strube, David Low (1891-1963), Illingworth and Percy Poy (1874-1948) and Lancaster's fresh creation. The pocket cartoon would tackle politics, of course, but it would also move away from the Westminster-centric to focus on topical stories that involved ordinary people, such as the building of air raid shelters and the rationing of food. These stories certainly have a political element, but as Strube and Low had begun to do with their use of the Little Man and Colonel Blimp, Lancaster's work built on their work by approaching stories through the prism of the man in the street.

The use of this new form of cartoon helps us see how Lord Beaverbrook (1879-1964), owner of the *Daily Express* and Arthur Christiansen (1904-1963) its editor, understood the importance of a multimodal approach to content, in which cartoons and the written word are not just placed in juxtaposition but co-exist as part of a written/visual lexicon in which the caption is often more important than the drawing, something that is the opposite of the majority of editorial cartoons. This can work in two main ways. Firstly there can be a direct causal link in which the cartoon is drawn on the same topic as part of the column, in essence illustrating the story. Secondly, the subject of the cartoon does not have any direct connection with the text, however it is linked indirectly through attitude or outlook. That is, the *Daily Express's* new cartoonist utilised his work to comment on both the external political landscape and the internal thoughts and concerns of a society facing up to the outbreak of war with all its implications. In doing so, we can see a direct connection between diverse subject matter of the gossip column and attitude

of the characters who inhabit the single column of Lancaster's cartoons, both of which do not underestimate the intelligence of the newspaper's aspirational readership. A case in point is a cartoon [fig 1.1] showing a German officer breaking a civilian's umbrella across his knee while saying '…Herr Goebbels has just decided that it is, after all, a symbol of non-Aryan pluto-democracy' (*Daily Express,* 14 April 1939: 4).

When seeking to define the pocket cartoon, it is often easier to say what it is not, rather than what it is: that is, it is not an 'editorial' cartoon. As has already been stated there are a number of fundamental differences between the two including both form (editorial cartoons are significantly larger) and content (the shift from focusing on elites and the Westminster bubble to using ordinary people as a conduit for topical commentary). It may of course be that the very term 'pocket' is at best unhelpful and at worse misleading. However, when searching for an alternative name one is faced with a number of issues. Firstly, the pocket battleship connection if for most people now forgotten; secondly, none of the alternate names ever seem to be a good fit. Calling pocket cartoon 'social' or 'society cartoons' attempts to foreground the fact that pocket cartoons do not exclusively deal with politics, even if they often do either directly or indirectly. That is, even something which may initially appear to be 'non-political' as another increase in energy prices or train fares does in fact contain a political element. Then there is the 'gag cartoon' tag that is too often associated with general humour and lacks the topical element that pocket cartoons must have. And then there is the fact that 'editorial' cartoon is an appropriate name as they mostly appear on the editorial page and even when they do not they are seen as a reflection of an editorial voice. 'Pocket cartoons' is a much more vague term and could possibly explain why, at least to some degree, they have been ignored for so long by so many critics. However, there are two main reasons for the dearth of academic engagement

with the pocket cartoon. The first is a practical one: the very process of finding any significant holdings of a title, never mind multiple publications for comparison, has long been an issue. Historically only a relatively small number of libraries would hold large collections; and then there is the issue of the time required to go through back issues of newspapers scouring their extensive content for what is relevant to the researcher. It was time consuming - often involving travelling across the country - and expensive. Secondly, newspapers' use of the visual - and particularly popular newspapers of the twentieth century - seems to have long been considered too fleeting to be worthy of study, with a few notable exceptions (Smith, 1975) although this began to change in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Conboy, 2002; Greenslade, 2003). During the past two decades there has even been an increasing willingness to engage in a study of the multimodal and examine how the visual operates within a text-dominant field, something that has been labelled 'visual communication' (Machin, 2014: 25), and something for which the digitalisation of 'thousands of English-language newspapers, magazines and periodicals' (Nicholson, 2013: 59) is largely responsible.

However, this is only part of the reason for the dearth of academic engagement; it may well be more related to the fact that pocket cartoons tackle a much wider range of subjects and there is some reluctance to attribute the same worth to cartoons that tackle not just politics, but everything from NHS waiting times to the cost of bus travel and the weather. This is something that we can see on an almost daily basis in pocket cartoons today in the work of cartoonists such as Matt in the *Daily Telegraph* and Banx in the *Financial Times*, but what is particularly interesting to a study of the history of the pocket cartoon is that this wide spectrum of subjects was evident from the very beginning of its existence. When we examine a sample of Lancaster's cartoons published during his first month - and the pocket cartoon's first month - it will

become immediately clear that the palette of the editorial cartoon has been significantly expanded in the new form of visual topical news commentary that the pocket cartoon introduced.

This misconception that editorial cartoons are political cartoons and pocket cartoons deal with less weighty subjects, is an idea that has dogged critical appraisal of pocket cartoons for years. Even critics who acknowledge the importance of cartoons focus almost exclusively on the editorial. When Seymour-Ure discusses the role political cartoons have played in depicting prime ministers, he completely ignores the pocket cartoon, presumably because he does not feel they can be classed as political. While conceding that 'we should not assume that cartoons are frivolous because they may be funny' (Seymour-Ure, 2003: 230) he seems to define such humour in the well-established landscape of metaphorical tropes such as depicting Prime Ministers as gorillas, to indicate primitivism. He then goes on to acknowledge that 'cartoons must be at least as dangerous as hostile editorials' (Seymour-Ure, 2003: 231), but focuses on the likes of Low and Strube, and then Steve Bell in *The Guardian* and Peter Brookes in *The Times*. Indeed, Matt, the foremost contemporary pocket cartoonist, rates only one mention - and that in connection with the sale of originals - while Lancaster is ignored. Of course, the author is free to structure his appraisal in any way he sees fit, but what is most revealing about this chapter is that it demonstrates an assumption that pocket cartoons - whether present day or historical - are not worthy of consideration as political.[4]

It may be that one reason for critics' reluctance to engage with the pocket cartoon is that the cartoonist tends to supress his or her own politics. Readers

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[4] This continues to be the case today with the annual Political Cartoon of the Year award and subsequent book collection ignoring pocket cartoons.

would not struggle to identify the political position of a cartoonist such as Low or Bell, yet the pocket cartoonist breaks with this party-politicisation. Indeed, this is one of the genre's key strengths: pocket cartoonists are often free to criticise all political parties, something that is seen today in Matt's work, and was introduced by Lancaster in his first cartoons. This difference is alluded to in an interview Lancaster gave. While reticent about criticising other cartoonists, he succinctly articulates the difference between editorial and pocket cartoonists:

> 'It's OK when you're in opposition…[but] even Low…occasionally had to do an idealistic picture of happy young workers marching into the dawn - like a soap ad. Same with Vicky. When Vicky turned on the sob stuff it became rather embarrassing' (Boston, 1989: 112).

Lancaster, as the first pocket cartoonist, set a trend that has largely endured since. His work certainly does not seem to be drawn from one political viewpoint, indeed his subject matter is extremely varied and as has been discussed, strays far beyond the established remit of politics. An example of this can be seen [fig 1.2] when Lancaster utilises his interest in architecture and support for the preservation of historic buildings when he introduces the subject of town planning into the newspaper cartoon (*Daily Express,* 19 January 1939: 4). Indeed, this cartoon acts as a microcosm of the genre as it demonstrates a new level of the aspirational hegemony of the middle/lower brow which popular newspapers were courting. The two figures in the cartoon are town planners, something established by the metonymic signifiers of both dress and the map on the wall, helping situate them within a class structure. However, the key point here is the impact the characters' actions will have on us. That is, unlike the editorial cartoon which is mostly about its subjects - Prime Ministers, politicians and so on - the pocket cartoon has inverted this paradigm of the elite, to focus on the resulting impact of decisions. In other words, the social position of the characters being portrayed acts only to place them within a particular stratum of society, what really matters is how their

actions affect *everyone*. It is therefore implied that the town planners will make decisions which impact upon everyone regardless of their class. In the case of this cartoon, when one town planner says to the other 'There's only one solution, we must by-pass the by-pass' we understand implicitly that although ostensibly commenting on the town planners, the cartoon engages with the impact on those travelling on the roads. That is not to say that this is all the cartoon is about, there is clearly a political element as the town planners will be working with the local council. However, there is a further level of meaning that can be identified as well as the question of why there needs to be a second by-pass - could it be that the first was ineffectual? This is not to say that the editorial cartoon could not have more than one level of meaning - they often did - but rather that the effect of the cartoon is achieved through significantly different means, and the result is a combination of image and text that together creates a much more inclusive multimodal connection with the newspaper's readers, something that was to become a key element in the development of the British popular press.

Defining the 'Popular' in the Popular Press

Before we examine the progenitor of pocket cartoons in the popular press further, it is important to consider the definition of 'popular'. We can trace the origins of the British popular press back at least as far as the 1640s. While it may well be a temptation to consider popular as relating to a specific social group, that is the popular can be identified with non-elites, Watt has argued 'it would be more productive to reject an elite/popular dichotomy' (Watt, 1991: 3) and instead consider that the same work could offer something to people of varying backgrounds, regardless of any authorial intent.

However, ‘popular culture’ as a term remains problematic. It has been defined negatively as an ‘unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite, the subordinate classes’ (Burke, 1978: xi). Although this definition is useful to a point, it does reinforce a binary opposition which may be overly simplistic. As we will see, the interactions between elites and non-elites is more fluid than this definition may allow as authorial intent and modes of consumption could often be at odds.

What does seem certain is that ‘as literacy increased, the market for cheap print expanded’ (Watt, 1991: 3). It is therefore possible - and indeed likely - that illustrations played a role in this situation. That is, the visual acted as a gateway into literacy, appealing to the eye of the ‘reader’ especially when he or she could not actually read. As early as Elizabeth the First’s reign, there was a requirement, reinforced by visitations, that the ‘Lord’s Prayer and other biblical sentences be painted in every parish church’ (Watt, 1991: 6). This privileging of the visual can be seen to demonstrate both the importance of non-written communication and that a diverse audience was recognised as Watts argues, ‘in a partially literate society, the most influential media were those which combined print with non-literate forms’ (ibid.: 7). The ultimate effect of this was to excite interest in a potential readership to motivate them to ask questions.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was ‘an explosion in the production of printed material’ (Crabb, 2017: ix). While much of what was published during this period was of a religious and devotional nature, there were soon examples of an embryonic form of visual political satire. The English woodcut was often used to produce images of piety or depict scenes from the Gospels, such as *The Young-Man’s Conquest Over the Powers of Darkness* (1684) in which the opposing paths to heaven and hell are listed, with illustrations (O’Connell, 1999: 69). However the advent of print shops in

the early seventeenth century in London meant that that range of topics began to expand to include portraits and allegorical images. While it is clearly the case that the vast majority of customers would have been prosperous (whether the gentry or well-off urban classes) cheaper woodcuts aimed at the less financially secure were also produced. *Fill gut, & pinch belly* [fig 1.3] from 1620 is seen as an example of a form possibly representing 'an attempt to translate the themes of the rising trade in copper engravings into the lowliest medium of woodcut, with an eye to the unexploited commercial possibilities of a wider public' (Watt, 1991: 146). That is, a monster which represents the greed of the church is getting fat with eating good men. Through the use of visual metaphor this would have been easy to understand without the need to read the text, something that would become a feature of the editorial cartoon.

Around this time the advent of cheap publishing alternatives helped create an environment in which broadsides and pamphlets stimulated questions, gossip and rumour, feeding into a social desire for information and for extending knowledge. In doing so they met at the intersection of technology and 'a steadily increasing literacy rate' (Vincent, 1989: 44) to offer a diverse group of readers what they both needed and desired.

Technologically, the advent of moveable type allowed for woodcuts to be placed alongside the written word, marking the beginning of the cross-fertilisation of the verbal and the visual. What is particularly interesting is that the same material could be read or consumed by a wide range of classes and literary abilities. The better quality woodcuts would be used for 'fine illustrated books [which] were produced to a high standard and sold for a large amount of money to a professional audience' (Crabb, 2017: 2). Conversely, lesser quality woodcuts fed a different class altogether.

Perhaps most significantly, this new medium allowed for an unprecedented and unregulated flow of information. By distributing news beyond traditional elites, these woodcuts helped foment political upheaval and created an arena for gossip and rumour.

While at this time the text carried more importance than the visual image, which was often only very tentatively linked to the writing, we can see an embryonic form of the pocket cartoon in the so-called ‘visual joke’ single-sheet images. The 1655 engraving, *Wee bee seaven* [fig 1.4] depicts six foolish animals and humans, leaving the viewer to question where the seventh is, ‘only to realise that the viewer *is* the seventh’ (Jones, 2010: 372).

When considering the images known as ‘popular prints’, it is important to avoid the temptation to construct too direct a link with the later popular newspaper, in the sense that the two were designed for and consumed by the same strata of society, albeit hundreds of years apart. However, it should be noted that the same social strata does not necessarily exist across centuries and it is therefore problematic to think of social classes as historically specific. Yet in the case of the so-called popular print, there is at least a tenuous link to pocket cartoons in the sense that they were widely circulated. This, of course, is true to a point; however, it is a mistake to equate popular with something that is of a lesser value, especially when considering the evolution of the pocket cartoon.

In the preface to Sheila O’Connell’s *The Popular Print in England* Anthony Griffiths, at that point the Keeper in the British Museum’s Department of Prints and Drawings, states that ‘some books show a basic misunderstanding of what a popular print is’ before going on to add, ‘the great tradition of British political caricature has nothing to do with the popular print; these were expensive prints made for and bought by the political elite’

(O'Connell, 1999: 6). This may be true of the physical manifestation of the caricature, the actual print itself, but misinterprets the content and idea behind the illustrations which in fact share many common tropes with the popular print.

Indeed, this lies at the heart of one of the key issues to be discussed throughout this thesis. There is a constant danger that the term 'popular' becomes identified with an idea of a lower quality. The idea that if something is popular it cannot be serious or worthy of any sustained study may be one of the key reasons the pocket cartoon has been ignored by so many critics. How can something that is enjoyed by millions and is humour - or joke- based be serious? This thesis argues that the opposite is true. As we will see, the pocket cartoon has a long gestation before it arrived in January 1939 in form and more importantly content. The use of humour to ridicule the powerful has a long history but this humour was often framed in an elite form with frequent use of political caricature and literary, biblical, and classical references. The pocket cartoon changed all of this so successfully that the work of the 'quality' broadsheet cartoonists began to be at first influenced by and then later mimic the more popular based art form.

Ideas of the popular, and specifically the popular press, continue to frequently operate in a binary manner with the quality broadsheets set in opposition to the popular press. Yet the popular press cannot be simply defined as the press that sells the most copies. The popular press if not just for the people, but it is of the people. It has 'always claimed an allegiance with the people' (Conboy, 2002: 1) and has worked to achieve this through a symbiotic relationship which, as we will see, combines brand building, readers' aspirations, and accessibility to forge a relationship with audience. The popular press and within it the pocket cartoon does not just popularise the news, but moulds a new model from which the quality press has been forced

to learn and to a large extent embrace. It is both part of, and representative of, developments in the popular press in which specifically party political content was to be significantly displaced by other kinds of content, much of which was far from being neutral in a broader sense of the term 'political'.

Aims:

There has been so little academic engagement with the pocket cartoon that this thesis contains four key aims to both place the development of the pocket cartoon within its historical context, and study how British newspapers such as the *Daily Express* utilised the new cartoon genre. This thesis aims to show the key role pocket cartoons have played within the British popular press. It will argue that by solely concentrating on the editorial cartoon, scholars have neglected a key area of development in the popularisation of mid-twentieth century British newspapers.

Aim 1 – To show how the origins of the pocket cartoon lie in the Development of the British popular press

The pocket cartoon has a significantly longer history than at first appears to be the case, despite the fact that it appeared to arrive fully formed in the first days of 1939. It was, in fact, the culmination of many developments within the visual paradigm of Britain's print media dating back to at least the seventeenth century. In the following two chapters, this thesis will look at the history of both the popular press which was to fully embrace the new cartoon format and the pocket cartoon itself through a study of the academic literature of newspapers, magazines, visual satire, the popular, and specifically the newspaper cartoon.

Aim 2 – To examine the origins of topical newspaper and magazine cartoons from 1655 to 1939 as a precursor of the pocket cartoon

This thesis will begin with a detailed look at the history of the British popular press and then the topical news cartoon with reference to the critical literature.

Aim 3 – To establish the characteristics and use of metonymy in pocket cartoons

The chapter on metonymy will argue that while metaphor has and continues to be the key trope of the editorial cartoon, the pocket cartoon embraces metonymy based on its unique multimodal format.

Aim 4 – To link close readings of the pocket cartoon to specific, illustrative moments in post-war British history: the General Election (1945), Suez (1956-7), and the Profumo Affair (1963)

Chapter Five will focus on the period between the arrival of the pocket cartoon in Britain and the pivotal general election of 1945, focusing on the ways in which the new visual satire format established its identity and then how the long-established editorial cartoon began to adapt its form to include elements from the pocket cartoon.

The following three case studies in chapters Six, Seven and Eight look at the 1945 General Election, 1956 Suez Crisis and the 1963 Profumo Affair respectively, three events that had a significant impact on British society as well as the popular press and its use of topical cartoons. Utilising the above case studies this thesis argues that pocket cartoons became a key element in the triumph of the popular within British newspapers and can be seen as the format through which issues of class, editorial identity and politics were formulated with particular reference to audience and the relationship between newspapers and their readers.

Sources

This thesis builds on academic work in the history of the British popular press and studies in visual satire, caricature and the development of the editorial cartoon. Its main argument is two-fold: one is about the historical relationship between the pocket cartoon and the popular press; the other about the pocket cartoon itself and its place within the development of the British popular press as exemplified by the *Daily Express* and latterly the *Daily Mirror*. As there is no significant study of the development and role of the pocket cartoon, it will bring a new dimension to thinking on the twentieth century popular British newspaper.

In the following two chapters, this thesis engages with the academic literature of the history of the British press and the newspaper cartoon respectively by thematic and critical reading to foreground the key stages in the development of what was to become the pocket cartoon.

In part two of the thesis I will use as primary sources the newspaper cartoons published mainly in the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* for comparison and analyse them by looking at the drawing and what it represents, the caption, placement within the newspaper, and comparison to other content and/or editorial line, thereby establishing a clear pattern of interpretation which will engender a consistent approach to analysis.

Part One – Origins

Chapter 2: The Origins of the Pocket Cartoon in the British Popular Press

Introduction

To fully understand the specific role of the pocket cartoon within the popular press in the twentieth century, it is important that we consider the gestation of the popular press in Britain itself, as stated in the introduction as Aim One. It is my thesis that the basis for the evolution of the popular press is the march of the popular in tandem with economic considerations, two key factors that while often seemingly divergent, are continuously wedded and weave inexorably throughout the history of the newspaper from the seventeenth century to the modern day. There are other factors, of course, including the practical considerations of technology, but while this was a key enabler in the production of newspapers, it would be a fundamental mistake to argue that the demands of commerce have not always been a factor in newspaper production and as such there was a market driver in the birth of newspapers in which a demand was identified and acted upon.

This chapter looks at the growth of the popular press, set within a historical narrative, and traces developments which would lead to an increase in the use of the visual and ultimately to the introduction of political and/or topical satiric news cartoons. While the following chapters engage directly with the development of the visual and news cartoons, this chapter establishes a context for British newspapers and engages with ideas of an increase in popular elements that would, once technology allowed, create the ideal platform for the visual and then pocket cartoons.

During this period technological limitations, as well as commercial considerations[5], meant that the satiric news cartoon was largely absent from newspapers and, as will be described in the following chapter, to be found in periodicals such as *Punch*. However, while the cartoon was absent in form its key elements were very much present in the popular press. That is, concepts of readers/consumers as part of a brand, a move to a more entertainment-centric form, and the creation of a community of consumers via the adoption of more 'soft' news[6] would become key to the pocket cartoon were increasingly evident in Britain's popular print media.

Expanding Audiences - *The North Britain* as a Voice for its Readers

During the early eighteenth century publications such as Daniel Defoe's *Review* (1704-1713), *Tatler* (1709-1711), the *Spectator* (1711-1712), and *Mist's* (1725-1728) were concentrated on opinion and commentary, not news. Whereas in the past foreign news was a replacement for the unpublishable local news, and despite the fact that 'greater events were taking place in which England was involved' (Pagan, 1928: 5), this 'atmosphere of excitement' created a crucible in which new newspapers and new forms of newspapers were born and marked the evolution from 'courtly, manuscript literary culture to the print-based, market-centric system we know today' (McDowell, 1998: 5) and had begun to understand their potential to act as a platform to influence public opinion.

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[5] As we will see these included the scarcity of daily newspapers, the problems printing detailed images alongside news copy, and logistical issues around delivering copies across the country; all of which would be addressed by the end of the nineteenth century.

[6] This sense of community created by newspapers by the use of 'soft news' has been discussed by a number of critics (see, for example, Hall (2019); Lehman-Wilzig, Seletzkey (2010); and Sparks (1998))

However, as profitable as it may have been in some circumstances, the economics of printing newspapers meant it was still far from an easy way to create a successful business. Parliament continued to protect its business from any kind of serious scrutiny. The Stamp Act, combined with various prosecutions and even imprisonments, acted as a deterrent to any adverse commentary on the establishment (such as when John Wilkes in the 6 June 1762 issue of the *North Briton* (1762-1771) criticised the King's speech to parliament and was subsequently arrested and imprisoned in the Tower).

Just as the rise of the merchant class had helped give birth to specialist titles such as *The London Gazette* (1665 -) and *Lloyd's List* (1734 -), the eighteenth century's wider expansion of the middle class led to newspapers that were born out of the demand for news reflecting the social and economic landscape of Hanoverian England. There is a link here between the practical and the aspirational. The growth of the newspaper was on the one hand a method for the prosperous middle-class to keep up-to-date with news, but it was also a vehicle to 'better themselves' (Williams, 2010: 66), a trend which can be traced to the *Daily Express* in the 1930s and beyond. This combined with the emergence of the two party system in which the Tories and Whigs both required newspapers to mirror and put forward their views meant that the press had to become better organised.

Commercialisation led to an increasing standardisation of appearance in which we can detect the beginnings of popular newspapers as they were to become in the twentieth century. There was also a significant shift in attitude; newspapers at this time, such as the *North Briton*, were beginning to claim to speak on behalf of their readers, as well as taking on the role of defenders of their readers' rights. It is here that the concept of brand begins to assert itself; that is, a newspaper speaking on behalf of *its* readers and in doing so re-defining one of the key roles of the popular press. This helped create a sense of belonging to a

group made up of readers and publication, something that would become key to the British popular press in the twentieth century as personified by its use of news cartoons that reflected the interests and concerns of its market.

When the *North Briton* launched in 1762 it clearly laid out its key principle, stating that the Liberty of the Press is the birth right of a Briton. While these 'words were scarcely an accurate description of the real status of the press at that moment: rather they revived an ideal and raised a banner, beneath which John Wilkes assailed the upstart king's administration' (Harrison, 1974: 17). Although this may not have been significantly different from the ethos of previous newspapers, what was different was the paper's campaign to criticise the government and its staunch defence of its right to do so. John Wilkes' criticism of the King's Speech may have led to imprisonment, though claiming privilege as an MP, he was released, but arguably the most important element was that Wilkes was articulating 'the claims of the growing middle class for a greater say in the running of society' (Williams, 2010: 69) and was in effect, a watershed in the growth of political consciousnesses.

The Diversification of the Stamped and Unstamped[7]

The effects of Wilkes' stance were felt far beyond the pages of the *North Briton,* and would continue to affect popular journalism into the twentieth century. As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, the growing demand for a wider representation of the middle and working-class would be

[7] Stamp duty was regulated on newspapers, something that has been characterised as a tax on knowledge. Those that did not pay duty became illegal publications, and have been classed as a 'species' which included the penny magazine and crime reports: see (Hollis, 1970: vii) and (Conboy, 2002: 67).

articulated in the diversification of the press into two broad groups: stamped and the unstamped. This, combined with the impact of the French Revolution had a dialectical impact on the British press, motivating the government to try to control the press by the twin strategies of suppressing calls for change while simultaneously promoting the maintenance of the status quo.

It was during this period that newspapers became fully evolved commercial entities and significant profits became not just a possibility, but a reality for a number of owners. Of course, profitability and commercial success came with certain conditions. Advertising was - as it remains today - key to the monetary success of the press. Newspapers such as the *Morning Chronicle* (1769-1862) grasped the importance of advertising from their readers' point of view by encouraging many small adverts which were designed to attract many different readers. *The Times* (1785 -) can be seen to have taken advertising to a further level in the second half of the nineteenth century when its advertising supplement was often bigger than the paper. The money being generated led to a need to take on more staff and as a result papers began to move away from the sole producer model to more complex organisations with hierarchical structures. In place of the one-man-band of previous times, were an editor, sub-editor, reporters (often numbered in double figures) and compositors. When combined with printing costs, it was immediately apparent that cover price alone could not hope to cover the expense involved. This new monetised business model demonstrates that for newspapers to survive and continue to disseminate their political message, they had to be economically viable. If they weren't they simply could no longer exist. Radical newspapers became popular partly because they understood what people wanted to read by learning from publications such as the police gazettes, which while claiming to expose crime and corruption of the wealthy, did not hold back on publishing details of everything from missing persons to army deserters as

well as details of people who had been transported, something that would be reflected in the twentieth century's popular press and its content.

The *Daily Mail* and the Birth of the Modern Popular Press

Brown has argued that to a critic reading popular British newspapers a hundred years after publication, 'it seems that there was a far smaller difference in style and language than there is today between the 'quality' papers and the 'down-market' ones' (Brown, 1985: 100). The latter, she argues, did not try to attract readers through a simplification of thought and vocabulary, as in a modern paper where journalistic skill goes into packing the maximum implication into words of one syllable, instead 'a small provincial paper credited its readers with a reading ability to understand a complex argument in appropriate language' (Brown, 1985: 32). It may well be that the popular press did not simplify their content to attract readers, but rather altered the form. In other words, papers such as the *Daily Mail* did not bring newspapers to the masses by writing simply and brightly in short articles, but by creating a cultural division which had not existed before. This was achieved by the creation of a new platform on which to position a daily newspaper. Using the foundations of early New Journalism[8], the *Daily Mail* shadowed public opinion while emphasising entertainment to create a sense of community, and in turn the commercialisation of popular culture by jettisoning serious political intent in favour of a 'popularisation of mass culture' (Conboy, 2002: 95).

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[8] See, for example, Jackson (1997) and Campbell (2003)

Brown also argues that although it may be tempting, it is ill-judged to relate the trend towards more frequent publication and shorter articles to the speeding up of nineteenth-century life with its railways and telegraphs. 'News…throughout this period dominated the newspapers in a way which it hardly does today' (Brown, 1985: 110). Rejecting the narrative of the second half of the nineteenth century as representing newspapers' ultimate victory of freedom of speech, Brown feels the general impression left by reading in the nineteenth century press - even to the end of the century - is of its weakness in generalising and sifting capacities, 'which was shown sometimes in its inability to digest reports from different places or build up information over a period of time' (Brown, 1985: 253). What was absent was independence of mind. In Brown's view, the Victorian picture of a free press exploring malpractice proves to be a poor guide to reality.

This is not to say that critics such as Brown feel that there was no progress during this period. Rather that it was not the spectacular seismic shift of journalistic legend. It could be argued that the style developed by *The Times*, under Delane's editorship (1841 - 1877) of parliamentary and diplomatic news and commentary directed to the interests of the well-to-do Londoner, was generally followed to the end of the century.

In these ways newspapers developed in the later nineteenth century in a favourable environment engendered by the fact they were no longer engines of potential sedition. Brown concludes that, 'It is a paradox, though an understandable one, that, in proportion as the newspapers grew in social acceptance, being no longer taxed or suspected, so they declined in critical vigour' (Brown, 1985: 276).

This raises the question whether the new daily popular newspapers heralded by the arrival of the *Daily Mail* on 4 May 1896 were the ultimate

confirmation of the decline of critical vigour. While contemporary critics such as G.M. Trevelyan 'were concerned by the new newspapers' (Lee, 1976: 15), it could certainly be argued that in fact they exchanged political radicalism for social radicalism. Aimed at a lower-middle class and particularly a female readership that had largely been ignored the *Daily Mail* can be seen as combining previous elements of the press, such as the entertainment of the weekly magazines with American innovations such as spacious composition. It was modern in both design, for example its first leader trumpeted the technological advances such as new typesetting technology, and combined the commercial imperative of low price ('The Penny Paper for a Halfpenny') with a new level of mass circulation. In essence, the *Daily Mail* 'was a triumph in inclusive popularity' (Conboy, 2002: 103).

It can certainly be argued that modern popular journalism can trace its birth to this day; however, its ancestry stretched back beyond the abolition of stamp duty in 1855, via the popularity of Sunday newspapers earlier in the century, to the 1650s. However, characteristics of the popular press can be seen forty years earlier with the post-stamp duty launch of the *Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper that combined both sensationalism and entertainment in a way which had previously only been the province of the Sunday press. The *Daily Telegraph* could certainly be seen as the bridge between the press as a platform for the man of letters, and a direct response to market needs. As Conboy notes, the 'economies of the market…combined with technological innovations produce[d] significant changes in journalism's organisation, distribution and content' (Conboy, 2011:9).

Innovations in Style – the Growth of the Visual

In the fifteen years before the launch of the *Daily Mail*, a number of journals drew together technological innovations and stylistic developments into a template that would be adopted by the popular press at the turn of the century. The *Strand Magazine* (1891-1950) and the *Westminster Gazette* (1893-1928) were certainly among the pioneers of this new style of journalism, but it was George Newnes' *Tit- Bits* (1881-1984) that from its first publication as a penny weekly can be seen as a prototype for the popular press. A mixture of fiction, competitions, jokes, some news, a significant amount of advertising, *Tit-Bits* broke new ground in terms of developing a popular community with its readers 'which anticipated much of popular journalism's subsequent rhetorical appeal'. (Conboy, 2011: 11)

Tit-Bits influenced future popular journalism in a number of ways, but it may be that its greatest influence lay in the way in which it acted as a 'mechanism of exchange between the popular press and the popular mind'. (Jackson, 1997: 202) That is, *Tit-Bits* was a significant step forward in the relationship between publisher and consumer. The weekly paper did this in a number of ways, including competitions, letters to the editor, insurance schemes, and even an (albeit short-lived) agony column. The supply of practical advice - often direct from Newnes himself - helped create a sense of community for which today's popular press continue to strive. Jackson calls this a 'community of mutual responsibility' (Jackson, 1997: 203). It may be helpful here to note the language that Newnes uses when setting out his agenda for *Tit-Bits*. Utilising language from the lexical field of industry in words such as 'business', 'manufacture', 'marketable commodity', and 'consumer', Newnes seems to be identifying his readership as upper working class: people who were salaried and commuted to

work. This commodification of the press had been seen before this date, but *Tit-Bits* can be seen to be the point where the link was not just implied but foregrounded. Curran has also highlighted this industrialisation of the press, 'in which an audience was not just seen as readers, but consumers' (Curran, 1978: 70).

Tit-Bits' competitions, romantic fiction, adverts, legal advice and a miscellany of other contents were designed to appeal to both male and female readers as well as the emerging white collar commuters (often on the ever-expanding railways). This is arguably one of the dominant social developments of the period to influence the popular press. Based on socio-economic conditions, including 'the newly created system of state education' (Wiener, 2011: 156) and the development of a transport infrastructure, this white collar social group can be seen as aspirational with a new spending power that the relatively cheap popular press could both target and serve. This developing relationship was best exemplified by the 'Inquiry Column' in which a question and answer format was employed to help reinforce the sense of familiarity with the examination format that would have been well known 'to an audience that was newly integrated into a system of compulsory schooling' (Jackson, 2011: 205). This whole concept of cultural and social identity (or 'personality' as Wiener has called it) was both a marketing device to reinforce reader loyalty, but also what appears to have been a sincere wish on Newnes' behalf to create a real connection and moral bond with his readers. With what we would today think of as interactive elements, *Tit-Bits* formulated a 'pluralistic discursive sphere' (Jackson, 2011: 206) which helped form a template for the popular daily newspaper. Newnes often referred to readers as 'our friends', using this editorial interjection as a way to reinforce the bond with readers and by extension help create a new notion of the popular audience by redefining the very concept of that audience, defining them as the 'crowds of hardworking people' (Wiener, 2011: 162). In what was perhaps then the ultimate

expression of a communal base of consumers, *Tit-Bits*' readers became writers via competitions, short story writing and general correspondence; in effect, they helped create the text, pioneering the concept of user generated content. This democratisation of the press significantly narrowed the gap between individuals in both terms of where they lived and to which social strata they belonged by offering readers interaction and a sense of belonging.

Pall Mall Gazette, The Star **and New Journalism**

If Newnes' *Tit-Bits* paved much of the groundwork for the mass market popular press, then W.T. Stead can be seen as the chief architect of what became known as New Journalism. Concurrent with the launch of *Tit-Bits*, Stead who was a friend of Newnes' was writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1865-1923) and pioneering investigative journalism. Stead's writing is full of zeal and political potency, and clearly demonstrates his commitment to issues of morality and the proactive urge for journalism to change society for the better. There is a link here to the earlier nineteenth century's radical press. Indeed, it may be more profitable to consider Stead's work to be less New Journalism and more re-newed journalism. As Joel Wiener has asked: 'How new is New Journalism?' (Wiener, 1988: 51). Indeed, he later noted that human interest stories which have long been associated with the era of New Journalism had also been utilised by 'Bennett in the 1830s and 1840s' (Wiener, 2011: 158). Therefore while it may be tempting to see New Journalism as a clean, dramatic break with journalism's past, it may well be that it was a culmination of many previous developments, both American and especially through the innovations of Pulitzer, and homegrown such as the Sunday press.

The Pall Mall Gazette is not just significant for its campaigning investigative journalism, which infamously included Stead being sent to jail for procuring a 13-year-old prostitute to highlight the Victorian problem with underage sex, but also for its actual format. As Wiener has noted, the Americanisation of the British popular press has a long history. *Tit-Bits'* use of cross-headings borrowed direct from American newspapers and gave the publication the advantage that it was much easier to scan and this, along with the use of line drawings and illustrations, stood out sharply when placed against the rather dour pages of traditional newspapers. While these innovations can be seen in the earlier Sunday newspapers, Stead 'brought them to a daily readership' (Conboy, 2011: 15) as he believed passionately in the importance of journalism as both a profession and in a wider social context, once saying 'A man without a newspaper is half-clad, and imperfectly furnished for the battle of life' (Bromley O'Malley, 1997: 50). Of course, this new development in journalism was not uniformly welcomed. Matthew Arnold called Stead's journalism 'feather-brained' (Campbell, 2003: 20), a telling phrase that encapsulates the feeling that 'popular' is directly equated with poor quality.

In what was a lesson in capitalism and commodification, *Tit-Bits* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* were so successful that they spawned a whole series of imitators that took away a significant number of readers. By the 1890s Stead's pioneering journalism had set the stage for the birth of the modern popular press. He resigned his editorship in 1891 to found the *Review of Reviews*. The *Pall Mall Gazette* was merged with the *Globe* in 1922 before merging with the *Evening Standard* the following year.

However, pre-dating the *Daily Mail* by almost a decade, T.P. O'Connor's *The Star* combined a radical political stance with innovative design elements and can be seen as a bridge between the New Journalism of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the commercial powerhouse of the *Daily Mail*. A sort of successor to the

radicalism in titles such as *Reynolds News*, as well as promoting causes such as Home Rule and criticism of the House of Lords, the *Star* introduced innovations such as Stop Press, one of the first cricket columns, extensive coverage of Jack the Ripper, and lower case headlines for lesser stories.

The Star was a daily newspaper that 'occupied a unique position in the history of morning and evening newspapers' (Goodbody: 1985: 20) in the sense that it was a daily London paper that dominated in terms of circulation, yet promoted radical socialism. It did this by combining the heritage of the radical press of titles such as the *Northern Star* and the new journalism of Stead, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and titles such as *Tit-Bits*. However, while the *Pall Mall Gazette* was read by what Stead considered the political and literary classes, the *Star* identified a gap in the market and positioned itself as a paper for the 'less socially elevated readership' (Goodbody, 1985: 21). It seemed to both Stead and O'Connor that there was a wide enough potential in the reading public that there was room for both publications. On launch the *Star* declared that it intended to approach all policies from the Radical standpoint. Using everything from gossip columns, a sports section and book reviews, the paper combined entertainment, with detailed coverage of the Whitechapel murders to create a successful template that Northcliffe and others would soon follow. This mixture of content seems to have been successful in attracting an early readership, something that a new concept in layout greatly helped. Borrowed from the American popular press where it was already established, lower case secondary headlines and cross heads gave the paper a distinctive look. Goodbody notes that 'this technique…summarised the substance rather than pointed to the importance of the article' (Goodbody, 1985: 22), something which made the paper appear modern and easier to read. It should be noted that despite very strong sales, advertising did not match this, something Goodbody attributes to advertisers

believing the *Star's* readers were less likely to buy their products than, for example, those of the *Evening News*.

The *Star's* radical credentials were therefore a barrier to its continued success and despite its commitment to popularism, in the end it could not compete with the popular journalism championed by Northcliffe and Harmsworth. A radical agenda, however much it was mixed with populist features, simply could not hope to match the evolution of the popular press as seen in titles such as the *Daily Mail*. This was compounded by the fact that the promotion of unpopular causes damaged circulation - something which newspaper owners became only too aware of and therefore was something from which they increasingly shied away.

This is not to say that newspapers which were aimed at the working class could not succeed - the launch of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Herald* demonstrated that people still believed in their potential - the issue was that by the second decade of the twentieth century newspapers 'were having to reflect rather than challenge the opinions of the majority of their readers' (Goodbody, 1985: 26). This stands in opposition to what Hampton calls the 'education idea' (Hampton, 2004: 9); that is, the concept of the press as an enabler of improvement for its readers, by informing, influencing or elevating them. While we can see this intent in the period from the radical press to the post-New Journalism era of *Tit-Bits* and the *Star*, the advent of the popular press in the 1890s saw a significant shift to an environment in which someone such as Northcliffe can be seen to neither 'lead or follow the public mood, but rather accompany it', something Hampton refers to as the 'representative ideal' (Hampton, 2004:9); unlike the former theory, here newspapers do not influence their readers (something that could be seen as a form of social control) but instead reflect and crystallise public opinion; essentially, the championing of the people by the 'Fourth Estate'. As the

years passed, the radical socialism of The *Star's* early days was replaced by its liberal owners. By the outbreak of the First World War, its influence had waned.

Brake and Codell have argued that this relationship between readers and editors should be thought of as 'encounters'. Whether it be articles, letters, debates or dialogues, in which a journalist or other reader responds, they argue that these encounters 'mediate periodicals' social functions' (Brake and Codell, 2005: 1). This focus on encounters allows Brake and Codell to concentrate not on what they see as the illusion of unity in periodicals - that is, the way in which many publications attempt to give the impression of a unified voice - but instead look at the 'multi-vocal discourse of periodical texts by editors, writers, and readers' (Brake and Codell, 2005: 2), something to which the pocket cartoon would contribute in the twentieth century. One of the reasons this is seen as so important in an interpretation of the popular press is that during the nineteenth century there was a fundamental shift in the role of reader which meant that the public became 'a source of opinions and judgements' (Habermas, 1989: 2), thus establishing the press as a platform and public space for discourses about society.

Brake and Codell also highlight the increasing importance in the latter half of the nineteenth century of celebrity authors and contributors. These included some of the biggest names of the day, such as James McNeill Whistler, George Eliot and William Thackeray. The effect of such influential names would have, of course, been limited if they had remained anonymous as had been the norm in the press prior to this period. The use of by-lines explicitly naming the famous authors was designed to increase sales and standing of the upmarket periodical. This helped create an elevated series of encounters by allowing the public to directly contribute to and comment on the arguments and opinions of some of the best known people in the land. Perhaps the most significant element of this was that 'dialogue among diverse emerging publics from differing classes, genders,

and new professional and political interest groups resulted' (Brake and Codell, 2005: 2).

Of course, this two-way relationship could not succeed without the advancement of technology. Wiener has argued that technology lies at the centre of New Journalism, and the rise of popular journalism of the twentieth century. He believes that the adaptation of technological developments such as the typewriter, telephone, high-speed rotary press, and the electric telegraph, combined with a shift in the economic basis of newspapers, to a transformation of the whole newspaper ecosystem. Introducing the collection, *Papers for the Millions*, Winer notes that 'innovation became commonplace: bold headlines, gossip columns, interviews, sports reporting, pictures, and "news stories" whose appeal derived from a subjective interest in the evolving human drama' (Wiener, 1988: xii). Although he accepts that there is a possibility that elite and popular elements of culture may well clash when forced to interact, his argument is that defining journalism as popular does not necessarily mean thinking of it as in some way inferior to the so-called quality press. However, he suggests that Arnold in his criticism of Stead's New Journalism may have had a point in that 'amusement and enlightenment do not mix well together, and that any attempt to fuse them, as was tried…with New Journalism, is doomed to failure' (Wiener, 1988: xix).

In a further essay in the collection, Wiener makes the point that critics such as Joseph O. Baylen have made a distinction between New Journalism and popular journalism, arguing that the quality of the Stead era soon was superseded by an era in which newspapers such as those owned by Harmsworth privileged entertainment and commercialism. Of course, how we consider the criteria for and the definition of 'decline' is pivotal here. The argument that popular is somehow less worthy is suspect to the say the least, as has been discussed earlier. Indeed, the idea that the popular press is in some ways a march to the lowest common denominator is something that we will consider in the next chapter,

specifically in relation to ideas of the worth of the visual. However for now it is worth noting that perhaps what Baylen sees as a decline in quality is actually the move from the educational ideal to the representative idea; in other words, newspapers were giving people what they wanted, not what they thought they should have (although newspapers such as the *Daily Citizen* (1912-1915) continued to somewhat optimistically oppose this trend). There may also be issues of social standing involved; Raymond Williams has argued that the negative perception of the content of the popular press is actually 'based upon class bias' (Williams, 1961: 202).

But what cannot be ignored, is that the emerging popular press of the early twentieth century was commercially successful, with the *Daily Mail* being the first weekday paper to sell one million copies by 1911. Other innovations, such as those in the visual appearance of newspapers marked a distinct break with the past; something that was so clear it made its way into the fiction of the day. Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories were originally published in the *Strand Magazine* - itself a product of the move into intertextual forms of publishing. In the *Hound of the Baskervilles* story, Holmes says, 'There is…much difference to my eyes between the leaded bourgeois type of a *Times* article and the slovenly print of an evening halfpenny paper' (Doyle, 2015: 263) before going on to admit that as a younger man he once confused the *Leeds Mercury* (the organ of Liberal politics in the city) with the *Western Morning News* (notable as the first paper to publish a weather forecast) (Klinger, 2006: 435). It can therefore be argued that the visual appearance of a newspaper carried with it a semiotic signifier of its social standing, whether that is the upmarket and respectable *Times*, or the 'slovenly' popular press, Sunday papers and the likes of the *Illustrated London News,* something that we will look at in detail in the chapter on metonymy.

The Press and Society

The urbanisation of the British population, while having a positive impact on newspapers from the point of view of distribution and more identifiable demographic for advertisers and editors, may have also had a more negative effect.

Lee highlights the commodification of the press and notes that the rise of respectable and successful newspapers corresponded with a new commitment to education. Following campaigning by the National Education League in the 1860s and the passing of Forster's Education Act of 1870, increasing prosperity meant changing patterns of consumption 'which were in some cases vital to the development of the press, increasing both in its sales and advertising revenue' (Lee, 1976: 17). Recognising the dichotomy of nineteenth century press success, Lee believes there was the side of production, and that of consumption; or, in political terms, 'from the side of the controllers and from that of the controlled' (Lee, 1976: 19), something which coalesced into the launch of the *Daily Mail* with its championing of new technology and targeting of a news market.

This focus on the importance of education to a wider readership was recognised by Alfred Harmsworth who tended to underplay advertising in the success of his titles, rather preferring to foreground the 1870 Education Act, saying of *Tit-Bits* that it would appeal to 'the hundreds and thousands of boys and girls leaving the new Board Schools' (although school attendance was not compulsory until 1880) (Briggs and Burke, 2009: 184).

Despite the press being regarded as an independent watchdog of every interest against abuse, Lee states that critics ignore Marx's point that education was also a matter of power. 'The logic of the press as an industry favoured the

process of centralisation…' (Lee, 1976:19). Hollis has argued that 'education was for working men…a political tool [which could] shape a sense of class consciousness and class power which would allow working men to force open the political community' (Hollis, 1970: 8). Indeed, Lee's Marxist reading of the nineteenth century press sees the growth of the press as a developing capitalist system, and therefore foregrounds ideas of production and supply. Noting the (often self-proclaimed) role of the press as an independent watchdog, Lee makes the point that a liberal view of the press is less likely to look beyond the newspaper to questions of ownership. He also argues that while many histories of the press concentrate on education as a key driver in increased sales, this ignores Marx's point about education, something the *Poor Man's Guardian* foregrounded with its motto, 'knowledge is power'. Indeed, this concept had long held a placed in liberal thought. Lee purports that because of this power, and newspapers' importance as a means of mass communication, they also were a 'means of social control'. (Lee, 1976: 27) This tension between the liberal ideal can perhaps be best illustrated in the short-lived official Liberal newspaper, *The Tribune* (1906-1908). Lee argues that despite its 'brilliant journalists' and 'deep purse' (Lee, 1976: 213) it still closed within two years, noting that some argued that it had been 'done down by the halfpenny trash which was more attractive to the mass of readers…' (Lee, 1976: 213).

Conclusion

Throughout the evolution of popular newspapers, from broadsides to publications such as *Tit-Bits,* the press has in essence been a popularising project. In particular, printing is a popularising medium even though because of

educational issues, access to money, and literacy rates it took time for the market to catch up with the potential of that technology. ‘Popular’ has come to be intrinsically linked to being commercially successful.

Nowhere is this seen in the history of the popular press more than in the increasing influence and importance of the visual, from the inclusion of woodcuts in execution broadsides to the image-heavy use of late Victorian publications such as the *London Illustrated News* and *Tit-Bits* and the advent of the popular press from 1896. It was with this realisation of the importance of the visual, along with technical advances in printing, that illustrations and cartoons began to gain both relevance and importance within the pages of the twentieth century popular press.

Chapter 3 - The Development, Role and Arrival of the Pocket Cartoon

Just like the newspapers in which they were to appear, pocket cartoons can be located within a long and at times confusing history. Even though pocket cartoons have a relatively short history, their ancestry can be traced back to the early days of publishing in the first half of the seventeenth century. Despite this long lineage, the visual contribution of popular publications has often been marginalised. The following chapter aims to demonstrate that there has always been a place for illustration within the popular sphere, and that far from arriving fully formed in 1939, the pocket cartoon was a product of a well-developed visual framework which was intrinsically aligned to the growth of the popular.

The Move from Folk Culture[9] into the Popular

The emergence of print in the sixteenth century marked a significant break with the era of folk culture, something that was organic and 'characteristic of a pre-capitalist era' (Conboy, 2002: 23) The advent of print culture helped shatter the communal past of 'oral tradition and ritual' (Burke, 1978: ix), by creating a two-tier system in which a clear difference existed between prints designed, and priced, for the elites and those that became known as 'popular' for the lower classes. Print would, to a large degree, undermine oral culture, something which

[9] Also known as the 'common culture' as in the culture of the masses. See: (Conboy, 2002: 3, 6 & 13-14).

along with the advent of the railways would contribute to the erosion of 'culture peculiar to each province and to turn regions into nations' (Burke, 1978: xiii).

Arguing that printing is an industrial process, O'Connell says that printmaking 'developed to serve the needs of a population congregated in towns' (O'Connell, 1999: 11). While in this instance she is making a case for a seventeenth century urban-centric market, her use of the word 'needs' is enlightening. These early prints were produced to serve a desire not just for amusement or entertainment, but also to fulfil a thirst for information. O'Connell argues that prints by the likes of Hogarth were too expensive for the so-called cheap end of the market. However, while this is undoubtedly true, access to prints in towns and cities was often fulfilled by print shops which displayed their wares in the windows, often attracting significant crowds. Conversely while it is true that publishers such as Seven Dials aimed their work at the popular and affordable end of the market, 'members of higher classes sometimes bought them' (O'Connell, 1999: 12). In this way we can identify a cross-fertilisation of markets with both upper and lower segments of society being exposed to a wide range of material, regardless of the original intent of its publishers, and that 'caricature tended to operate at various levels of complexity' (Bricker, 2018: 319). This potential range foreshadows the work of newspaper cartoonists in the twentieth century popular press, such as Low, Strube, and Lancaster, whose work was frequently consumed beyond the audience for which it was originally intended.

By monetising the popular print, popular culture was in essence 'being sold back to the people as a commercial transaction' (Conboy, 2002: 24). Yet it would be an error to suggest that the creation of a divide between creator and reader meant that consumers were merely passive. One of the marked shifts from the folk culture era to that of prints is the clamour for information from consumers, something which has been described as the transition from the 'oral culture' of gossip, rumour, and story-telling to the 'development of commerce' in

communication (Briggs and Burke, 2009: 25). Despite the Crown's highly regulated control of news, in which it turned 'to the courts to regulate the press through post-publication prosecution' (Bricker, 2018: 307), there was an increase in the demand for news, something which even if they could have printed domestic and not just foreign news, newspapers could not supply as they were priced - and aimed - beyond the poor. From the sixteenth century for those at the bottom end of society, chapbooks and printed ballad broadsheets offered the best opportunity to take advantage of the new print market. Sold on the streets, these broadsides were filled with a variety of 'news' and entertainment such as 'freaks of nature, monsters, great men and events, and reports of executions' (Conboy, 2002: 24). These publications had significant advantages over the embryonic newspaper as they had no regular publication schedules, indeed they were often one-off publications, yet they were a response to the call for entertainment and news (or gossip). In this way, 'ordinary people [were] participants, not simply observers'. (Conboy, 2002: 27)

The Age of Walpole and Hogarth and the Development of Visual Satire[10]

The advent of visual satire in terms of how we see it today can be traced back to the 1740s, a period in which Arthur Pond published an album of twenty-five *Caricaturas,* and Britain had its first Prime Minister, Robert Walpole. Coming at the end of the era when most prints were anonymous, *Idol Worship or the way to Preferment* (1740) [fig 3.1] heralded a new era of political satire in which the subject, in this case the Prime Minister, was clearly identifiable. The print was

[10] I use the term 'visual satire' to distinguish it from the written satire of writers such as Pope and Swift. As will be discussed, the visual element often combined with the written to create a level of multimodality. See, for example, (Geipel, 1972).

advertised in the *Daily Post* (1719-1771) and shows Walpole as a colossal figure at the entrance to St James's Palace bending forward with his naked backside exposed for an ambitious young man to kiss, a literal interpretation of the idea that caricature is 'an unmasking process' (Geiper, 1972: 22). Walpole was furious and tried to have the print sellers arrested, only to find that laws on visual satire were weak and difficult to implement. Having failed in this respect, and realising that failed prosecutions also have the effect of creating unwanted attention, he paid off artists and editors, and as a supplementary strategy at one point paid Gillray to show him in a positive light. This was taken to a whole new level by George IV who resorted to 'bribery on a massive scale' paying out '£26,000 to individual print sellers and artists, including George and Robert Cruickshank, to suppress individual works' (Bricker, 2018: 327).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, we can therefore detect a significant shift in the role of prints from those which aimed to entertain or communicate and import news and announcements, to the birth of work that aimed to comment on news and society. Prints such as Hogarth's *Gin Lane* (1751) while originally intended for the middle and upper classes, were not drawn in a way that excluded understanding by the working class. *Gin Lane* [fig 3.2] can, in fact, be seen as a prototype political cartoon. It includes tropes that have dominated editorial cartoons for over 250 years, such as use of symbolism and metaphor. Burke argues that Hogarth could not be considered a popular artist because he did not work 'mainly for a public of craftsmen and peasants' (Burke, 1978: 92), while conceding that some of his work would probably have circulated widely. Indeed, the visual satire of Hogarth's work would not be completely lost on the lower end of the market. Political attacks and broad humour would have been appreciated by those who could not afford the prints, but could enjoy them in the print sellers' windows. Scenes such as the tradesman pawning the tools of his trade and the naming of the gin distillery 'Kilman' would have been unlikely to have been lost

on those studying the print sellers' wares who could read or have the captions read for them. It has been argued that the lower classes looking at prints not intended for their consumption is an example of 'lower-status groups…imitating the cultural practices of higher status groups' (Burke, 1978: xxii). However, it could well be possible that the main motivation was not to imitate but rather the result of a desire to be informed and entertained, something that came to be the *raison d'etre* of the twentieth century press.

O'Connell argues that while Hogarth's print demonstrates a moral purpose in highlighting the dangers of alcoholism, its cost meant that it was aimed 'at the respectable middle class' (O'Connell, 1999: 162). While this is true, it does seem to miss the point that those it depicted would have been only too aware of the situation, and it was the middle-classes who needed to have the situation brought to their attention. Hogarth did aim *Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751) directly at the lower end of the market by having them issued on cheap paper, but this was an exception [fig 3.3]. Issued on cheap paper so they could be seen by 'men of the lowest rank' (Uglow, 1997: 501) the prints were also published in the *London Evening Post* between 14-16 February 1751. However, the argument over intended audiences when considered in the context of the evolution of pocket cartoons, is not as germane as that of content.

Popular prints certainly had a much wider audience than may have been originally intended by their authors, as they travelled far beyond the collected portfolios affordable only by elites via the print sellers' shop windows, to an extent that caricaturist Robert Newton (1777-1798) even 'became his own shopkeeper, setting up in the Strand' (Surel, 1989: 4). However, it is possible to argue that the real significance of these prints was that the audience was significantly wider than the number of people who actually bought a copy, just as the number of readers per copy of a newspaper sold is also greater. The most common kind of popular print before the 1800s was the simply illustrated ballad

woodcut, along with chapbooks and almanacs, which offer an interesting and overlooked blueprint for the popular press, along with a significant stage in the shift from folk to popular culture.

While, as we have seen in Chapter Two, newspapers did not gain momentum until the eighteenth century, current events were addressed in print in a number of other ways, in addition to the almanac. The broadside ran alongside the burgeoning newspaper industry for a number of years. By the mid-eighteenth century sensationalism began to feature in a number of broadsides; thus the demand for information was being supplemented by a desire for entertainment which was provided in part by publications made up of 'dying words' which became very popular and began to include illustrations of jails such as Newgate. The so-called execution broadsides were one of the most popular forms of street literature, fulfilling the demand for news of sensationalist crimes. This market for sensationalism continued well into the nineteenth century when single sheets, often featuring a woodcut illustration such as the 1827 broadside reporting the execution of John Akrill [fig 3.4] for horse stealing, remained very popular. Centred at the top of the sheet is a woodcut depicting the execution with text underneath. As with the popular newspaper of the twentieth century topicality was key; and so the printers' profit depended on producing the broadsides quickly and selling them as soon as possible. This meant that they were often on sale at the actual execution, so gallows speeches were often fictitious and the woodcuts generic. Despite this, the execution broadside remained 'highly popular up until the middle of the nineteenth century' (O'Connell, 1999: 169).

The Role of Humour

Building upon the work of Hogarth in the mid-eighteenth century, early nineteenth century caricaturists expanded the visual iconography of the period to include recurring folk images, personifications of the law, religion and politics, and used imagist language to make 'verbalisations redundant' (Bricker, 2018: 316). At this point we can see the maturing of the iconography of the visual, in a specific language of political graphical caricatures and cartoons, moving from the tropes of the eighteenth century such as 'allegorical appeals to history, scripture and literature' (Bricker, 2018: 316) when society was sharply contrasted with the 'puffy, obese capitalist opposing the People, represented as a skinny urchin' (Philippe, 1980: 25) to a form in which cartoons depict individuals such as politicians, religious leaders, and royalty via a 'familiarity of style, form and "language"' (Seymour-Ure, 2003: 230).

It is here that one of the fundamental differences between the earlier allegorical prints and early nineteenth century satire can be seen in the foregrounding of humour, with artists such as Gillray often being very funny, if also equally cruel and defamatory, as their work depended on satirising, ridiculing and lampooning of its subjects.

The Political Cartoon as an Opinion-Forming Device

While it is certainly possible to argue that antecedents of the news cartoon we know today can be traced to the same period as Britain had its first Prime Minister, it was during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century that we

can witness a significant growth in the form, during which time visual satire began to privilege ‘the processes and contexts of opinion formation’ (Nicholson, 1996: 5). One argument to explain this growth where ‘between 1770 and 1830…20,000 individual prints totalling millions of individual copies were produced in Britain’ (Bricker, 2018: 306) is a decline in written satire following the heyday of the likes of Pope and Swift, largely due to the restrictiveness of the legal regime in relation to the printed word, is reflected in a sudden increase in the visual. As noted in the previous chapter, the two key mechanisms in controlling the press during the nineteenth century were the stamp taxes and prosecutions of seditious and/or blasphemous libels. Yet instead of satire declining in the first half of the nineteenth century, it migrated from the written to the visual. One of the chief reasons for this was the inability of the Crown to formulate a coherent legal structure to challenge and police visual satire; in comparison, there was an established framework that was tried and tested in bringing libellous and seditious material to court with cases often resulting in successful prosecutions and prison terms. Following the lapse of the Press Licensing Act in 1695, the role of policing the printed word fell to the courts, with a particular emphasis on closing ‘the loopholes…that had been exposed by satirists with their coy and circumlocutory language’ (Bricker, 2018: 307). Therefore, just as written satire was facing its most intense level of legal constraint, we can see the new visual medium of political caricature begin to emerge to face a legal system unprepared and incapable of applying the same level of control in which ‘libel laws were ineffectual when presented with largely deverbalised forms of defamation’ (Bricker, 2018: 306). Prints were also ‘relatively cheap to produce’ selling for ‘a few pence, thus having a potentially large market’ (Dabydeen, 1990: 131) and in turn becoming ‘an important opinion-forming process’ (Press, 1977: 216).

Caricature's visual language, including its use of metaphor and repeating tropes such as the personification of concepts such as religion and law, meant that the authorities struggled to create a legal system that could deal with the ambiguity of its semantic construction, and the way in which it defamed its subjects by making them recognisable to viewers by repeated visual tropes. This was a 'part of the time-honoured function of allegory…to serve as an "Aesop-language" to avoid censorship and dissident thought' (Fox, 1978: 227). Spanning the period from the 1740s and the depiction of Walpole's bottom into the nineteenth century and the move from non-specific symbols of early prints to the depiction of actual people, mostly politicians and Catholics (particularly the Pope), there is a distinct progression in the focusing of visual satire to address not just generic issues such as faith, piety and sin through allegorical or emblematic illustrations, but to foreground specific issues such as Walpole's increased wealth during his time as Prime Minister and allowing Catholics to become MPs, something which would become the daily essence of the pocket cartoon.

The fact that the visual satire of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was distributed widely meant that its endemic nastiness and often scatological portrayal of its subjects were extremely difficult to police, as 'the laws addressing visual defamation remained embarrassingly undeveloped' (Bricker, 2018: 314). As there was no courtroom protocol for interpreting defamatory images, visual satire was able to gain wide distribution and popularity in a manner than remained unchecked for a number of years until the public's taste for such images finally declined around the 1840s, partly due to the gentrification of Victorian Britain in which these images began to be considered uncouth, whether this feeling was aspirational or actual. Bricker calls this 'the death of visual satire' (Bricker, 2018: 328), but just as the written satire of Pope and Swift lost some of its ground to visual satire, it seems more germane to argue

that visual satire did not die out in the 1830s, rather it metamorphosed into a new form, essentially reinventing itself for the new Britain of Victoria.

Peterloo and the Beginnings of the Satirical News Cartoon

In 1819 caricaturist George Cruikshank created a large woodcut based on the Peterloo Massacre [fig 3.5]. Previously known for satiric attacks on politicians and the Royal Family, his work largely satirised contemporary society, for which he was favourably compared with Hogarth. Much of his output appeared in *The Scourge* (1811-1816), which billed itself as 'a monthly expositor of imposture and folly'; subsequently he had found fame with his illustrations for William Hone's verse pamphlets, including *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819) which sold over 100,000 copies and included *The Thing* which featured an illustration of a printing press, stating that it would 'conquer despite the new Acts, the "vermin" of the Church…taxmen and lawyers' (Fox, 1978: 232). However, it is with his depiction of the atrocities of Peterloo that we can see the next stage in the evolution of the pocket cartoon. While undoubtedly sitting within the tradition of the editorial print, we can see the artist responding to a topical event and commenting on it via the visual medium. *Massacre at St. Peter's, or 'Britain's Strike Home'* shows soldiers - or yeomanry - being used by the civil authorities to attack the crowd. Originally raised during the Revolutionary War to act as a land-based defence against the threat of invasion, the regiment was made of gentlemen and yeomen; that is, freeholders and tenant farmers who could afford to own their own horses, so the print shows not just a cavalry charge but an attack of one class on another. The print includes text showing soldiers being ordered to 'cut them down, don't be afraid, they are not

armed…he that kills most shall be made a Knight errant, and your exploits shall live for ever…'

There is little subtly or ambiguity about Cruickshank's position. There is a sense of outrage which is symbolised by 'the image of armed men attacking a passive mother epitomis[ing] violation and inhumanity' (Cross, 2004: 167). In an article in which Cruickshank's visual satire is compared with the radical poetry of Shelley, Cross notes how the artist reframes 'political conflict as an abusive domestic drama' reinforcing the visual trope of illustrating 'political threat through male aggression to a passive female' (Cross, 2004: 168), something that cartoonists from Phil May to Reg Smythe would continue. It should be noted that Cruickshank produced cartoons for both the reformist and loyalist causes, but far from being seen as a negative aspect to his work, it highlights the evolution in topical satire, wherein the artist criticises both sides of the political divide. Indeed, Shelley understood how radical cartoons could communicate with a diverse audience, just as the prints of Hogarth had done, something which his writing demonstrated by 'creating a verbal iconography with the impact of contemporary caricature' (Cross, 2004: 170).

Cruickshank's print is undoubtedly a graphic depiction of the attack, particularly in showing a woman, baby in arms, about to be cut down with a meat cleaver as a blood lust takes over. She is surrounded by the dead and dying, trampled to death by the advancing cavalry. The image is anything but amusing, and yet in a distant premonition of what the pocket cartoon would do, Cruikshank manages to bring an element of humour into the print by using 'the place name as a satirical pun, bitterly pressing the point that while Wellington had won Waterloo, the British government had won a rather less glorious victory over an unarmed crowd' (Philippe, 1980: 142). It was topical commentary on the news of the day and proved very popular. However, the topicality of such prints faced

a significant issue. Whereas execution broadsides got around the issue of printing and distribution by simply offering generic images and made-up text, artists such as Cruickshank had to accept the delays inherent in contemporary printing and publishing. While such prints were certainly popular, especially those depicting John Bull or satirising the Irish, the time involved from initial sketch to delivery to print sellers was simply too great for use in newspapers such as *The Times* in the early nineteenth century, even if they had elected to publish such images.

Satire Finds a Home - the arrival of *Punch*

By the 1840s there had been a significant increase in technical momentum, with the increased capacity of the steam powered rotary printing press essentially creating the bedrock on which mass production flourished. The use of the electric telegraph, along with the expansion of the railway network with which its development was closely linked in the 1840s, such as when the London and Blackwall Railway was equipped with the Cooke and Wheatstone telegraph, created the ideal platform for a much more efficient transmission of news, and in turn the ability to produce regular issues. These means of delivery meant that the topicality of cartoons became more important as the idea of a topical cartoon reacting to recent events and being published within a reasonable amount of time was becoming a reality. Artists such as John Gilbert (1817-1897) whose prolific output was regularly featured in the *Illustrated London News* (1842-2003) could utilise his ability to work quickly to create tens of thousands of drawings, something which made him ‘the most prolific black and white artist of his time’ (Reid, 1975: 98).

It would take the launch of *Punch* magazine in 1841 to create a platform for regular news-centric cartoons. Celina Fox has argued that the birth of *Punch* heralded 'a new era for caricature' (Fox, 1988: 5). This is almost certainly true, but *Punch* was in turn born out of another new era, that of the new printing presses. The visual satire of Hogarth's era had been produced on copper plates. A skilled and laborious task, an engraver made small incisions onto a copper plate and then ink would be applied and worked in to the lines of the plate. By the time of *Punch* this method had been largely superseded by wood engravings, which deteriorated less quickly and gave a distinct white-on-black character. This meant that cartoons could be printed alongside text to allow for magazines to expand their use of the visual. The weekly 'big cut', *Punch's* key drawing, was drawn on a single block of wood, enabling it to be engraved in time for the magazine's weekly print run.

Punch was certainly not the first publication to do this, the French satirical magazine *Le Charivari* (1832-1937) had been very successful using woodcuts, but where it excelled in Britain was in its regular publication schedule. The previous generations of visual satirists such as Gillray (1756-1815) had their work issued as prints which were sold separately as well as being collected into volumes. *Punch* made this seem obsolete and redundant. Willian Thackeray contrasted these 'mottled portfolios' with the respectable, 'gentle and harmless pages of *Punch*' (Thackeray, 1854: 4).

Regular publication was a significant achievement in the days of a 'journalistic world of rapidly appearing and disappearing magazines' (Price, 1957: 30). It also had an impact on the style of the cartoons. As modern readers, it is easy to see cartoons of the mid-to-late nineteenth century as featuring too much intricate detail, but the previously alluded to move from copper to boxwood

engraving meant that artists (and therefore engravers) could work faster, thus allowing for a shorter turn around and therefore a more topical cartoon.

There was another factor in the creation of more relaxed drawing styles. This can be traced in the first years of *Punch*. The magazine's early radicalism can now be seen as almost arbitrary, as it had little consistency in its targets. While its criticism of the monarchy was a constant, it gradually grew less and less radical. Yet this move from early radicalism to a more sedate satire did not happen in isolation. As the 1840s segued into the 1850s, British society as a whole was becoming more prosperous and stable, in which 'a certain climate of propriety…had settled over the court, the aristocracy, and the political establishment' (Altick, 1997: 4). *Punch* was occupying new ground, somewhere between the formality of high art and the depths of the gutter press as personified by *The Satirist* (1831-1849). It marked a departure from the days of Hogarth and Cruickshank when 'comic art still had a grotesque and uncouth quality' to the era of more 'genteel and decorous style of cartoon drawing' (Geiper, 1972: 36) of the likes of John Doyle. Of course, while still often irreverent, the first years of *Punch* were not as radical as much of the press in the 1820s and 1830s had been. From its first issue, *Punch* was part of the general move from the vicious and often scatological caricatures of earlier in the century, to a more restrained and 'family-friendly' ethos by employing a less savage form of satire. Fox contends that *Punch* was inspired by *The Times* and was in effect 'a visual companion to the newspaper' (Fox, 1978: 6).

Anticipating 'one aspect of the development of the popular press over fifty years later' (Conboy, 2002: 102), *Punch's* success was in part due to the way it appealed to both male and female readers. Its visual satire was not of the vicious and cruel nature of the earlier period, but rather a middle class product that tapped into the gentrification of the mid-nineteenth century foregrounding less offensive

images, and is a key example of the nineteenth century's 'struggle towards visual representation' (Carey, 2014: 170) in which magazines and latterly newspapers began to increase their use of images, in a transition from the idea of the visual as second class, to a realisation of its commercial appeal. That is, the nineteenth century can be viewed in retrospect as a series of developments that included the diorama, daguerreotype, and lithographic newspaper illustrations which were stepping stones towards cinema and film, and the ascendency of the pocket cartoon.

This development of the visual was encapsulated in the work of John Leech. His caricatures were extremely popular as were his illustration work, such as *A Christmas Carol (*1843), and *The Comic History of England* (1847-8). What is striking in some of his most famous cartoons, such as *Substance and Shadow* (*Punch* 1843), is that there is a noticeably less formal style [fig 3.6], being more naturalistic and less cluttered than was typical at the time. In this sense we can see the roots of the style of the pocket cartoon. Leech's topical work, as well as his book illustrations - his drawing of Fagin in particular - show a simplicity of line that can be seen as the building blocks with which Phil May and David Low would develop the style which Osbert Lancaster would use in his work. The use of pathos, something that is often utilised in pocket cartoons,[11] can be seen in much of Leech's best work, the previously mentioned *Substance and Shadow*, as well as *Poor Man's Friend* (1845) being two notable examples. Perhaps Leech's greatest innovation was his avoidance of the grotesque and cruel that had been so prevalent in the works of artists such as Gillray.

However, the development of style was not linear. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, John Tenniel continued to favour the methods in which he

[11] See for example the discussion of Lancaster's cartoon on the return of Eden to Britain in the Suez case study.

had been trained. He insisted on using wood blocks long after they had been dropped by the rest of *Punch*'s artists, believing his work was more visually striking in this medium, and he therefore sacrificed topicality for precision. He also favoured a grotesque style that Leech had left behind, something that endeared his work to Lewis Carroll. Indeed, to modern eyes much Victorian cartooning which was intended to be funny can leave the reader cold and in the case of a successful Victorian cartoonist such as du Maurer, 'we may wonder what their contemporaries found to be so funny' (Geiper, 1972: 20). In fact, it may be that the more 'modern' humour was found at this time not in the work of contemporary cartoonists, but in so-called gags which appeared throughout the country from regional newspapers such as the *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (1850-1916) and the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* (1839-1900) to national magazines such as *Tit-Bits* and *Lloyd's Weekly News* which ran a regular column of imported American jokes, something which has been called a 'cultural transfer' (Nicholson, 2012: 274), while others were clipped from publications such as *Punch*. This popularity of jokes in the Victorian era clearly contradicts the idea of the Victorians as humourless, although critics such as Gatrell still define the era as 'respectable [and] moralizing' (Gatrell, 2006: 19). A study of the period and its humour can certainly provide 'a powerful key to the cultural codes and sensibilities' (Bremmer, 1997: xi), in which not just the humour used, but the humour that was *avoided* can be instructive, for example during the era of late Victorian *Punch* when its cartoonists resisted American imported humour in cartoons that upheld British cartoon tradition, albeit at the expense of a lack of development in the art form, such as George Du Maurier's drawing room cartoons.

By this period the power and impact of political caricature was as much in evidence in America as it was in Britain, notably during the 1870s when the *New York Times* published a series of caricatures of 'Boss' Tweed of Tammany Hall

[fig 3.7] by Thomas Nast. Tweed proclaimed that he did not care what the newspapers printed about him as most of his constituents couldn't read, but '*them damn pictures!*' (Geiper, 1972: 24). As had happened with the relationship between Napoleon and Gillray, cartoons had a greater impact on their targets than the purely verbal and therefore the visual medium can be seen to be developing a power that could not be matched.

It was not until the final decade of the nineteenth century that the groundwork that Leech had laid down took its next and most decisive step towards the form and style of the pocket cartoons of Osbert Lancaster. Around this time *Punch* had become 'starchy and proper, and very distant from its origins as a radical journal in the 1840s' (Houfe, 2002: 25), its politics much more conservative. Houfe goes on to suggest that the influence of the likes of Leech and Doyle had been replaced by a more benign social humour, in which society and class replaced politics and the Crown as the sources of humour. Indeed, it is certainly possible to argue that from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the First World War cartoons could be somewhat staid and 'lack [a] vitality', something which 'characterised much high-class humourous illustration' (Geiper, 1972: 32) of the period.

This gentrification of visual satire is exemplified by the development of John Bull who had been the mainstay of cartoonists' representation of England since the early eighteenth century, when John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712) was as published. By the 1790s 'he had evolved into a radical patriot-lout, often depicted with obscene disrespect by Gillray and others' (Matthews, Mellini, 2000: 17). During this period he has been characterised as a man 'whose truculence and aggression would be insupportable if it were exercised on anybody else but foreigners' (Samuel, 1989: xi). However, a little over a century later,

John Bull had gained a much more civilised Pickwickian depiction, representing high Victorian values as seen in the works of Leech and Tenniel in *Punch.*

Phil May and a New Age

It was into this era that Phil May arrived, beginning his regular contributions to *Punch* in 1896. His work, concerned with both society and politics, bridged the gap between these two realms and sowed the seeds for the blossoming of pocket cartoons in the twentieth century. In his work for *Punch*, as well as his epic *'The Parson and the Painter'* (1890), May brings the striking designs of poster art to political and social cartooning. He combines hatching with figures in simple outline to create strong visual images. The aesthetics of his cartoons was central to the development of a minimalist style that continued through Osbert Lancaster and Mel Calman to Matt.

Phil May's cartoons [fig. 3.8] were fresh, different, and more direct than almost anything that had come before them demonstrating a 'breath-taking economy of line' (Geiper, 1972: 89); that is, he utilised a style that appeared to be more simply drawn and lacking in detail. His work for *The Graphic*, which included a number of prototype pocket cartoons, *Punch*, and his books were hugely successful, often featuring colourful street types. His bold drawings were a revelation, 'turning the so-called limitations of pen and ink on its head' (Houfe, 2002: 37). He was a decidedly 'modern' artist in his own time, with his work being especially suited to reproduction as he drew with clean lines and pioneered the use of white space to add impact to his work.

May's subjects, including 1896 cartoons on women's rights and issues of class, are topics that were frequently seen in Lancaster's and other pocket cartoonists' work. Although his captions feature the standard stage-style dialogue of Victorian cartoons, albeit in a constricted form, in which a conversation is reported, often with each character speaking twice, this constriction of the traditional form of cartoon dialogue can be seen as a stepping stone to the one line caption of the pocket cartoon, and both the form and content demonstrate a significant stage in its development, over forty years before Osbert Lancaster's *Daily Express* debut. May's work can be seen to have heralded a seismic change in topical and political cartooning which would really take hold following the First World War when 'content began once again to triumph over form in pictorial humour' (Geiper, 1972: 32). The ponderous caption exchanges of the nineteenth century were giving way to the more laconic joke. Just as drawing styles from May through to Low became more economical, the caption became more sophisticated, and the symbiotic relationship between the visual and the verbal developed.

Daily Deadlines - the Character of News Cartoons

When studying the political cartoons of the early twentieth century, we can trace a genealogy in cartoon characters such as Bairnsfather's Old Bill, and Strube's Little Man, to Low's Colonel Blimp and American examples such as Bill Maudlin's GIs Willie and Joe, in which we can identify a connection in the style of the drawings that make up the antecedents of pocket cartoons.

In 1904 Harmsworth appointed W.K. Haselden, originally an insurance clerk, as the first newspaper staff cartoonist on a national daily paper when he began to draw cartoons for the *Daily Mirror*. Although his idea to draw cartoons based on topical events was certainly not innovative - it had long been a staple of Victorian magazines - what was new was the idea that he would do it daily. Haselden's earliest cartoons were close to half page size and were made up of a single panel. They did not have captions as such, but were accompanied by a commentary. A typical example of this early phase was the cartoon from June 3, 1904. Haselden's drawing shows a MP addressing the House of Commons with just two other MPs present. The caption reads: 'Our cartoonist's idea of how the House of Commons discusses the national estimates and agrees to the expenditure of vast sums of taxpayers' money. In the meantime the dining and smoking rooms are crowded'. The text is certainly reminiscent of *Punch* cartoons from the Victorian era and although different from the usual form of dialogue, contains description with which many readers would be familiar. However, what is more significant is the composition of the drawing. While there is plenty of cross hatching to denote shade, the bottom half of the image makes great use of white space, something that was anathema to Victorian cartoonists, with the notable exception of Phil May. However, by the latter years of the century's first decade, Haselden's cartoons had developed from a single panel to the same space being divided into multiple panels. Often credited as the inventor of the British strip cartoon in 1904,[12] Haselden's daily cartoons soon moved away from daily politics and topical news to concentrate on wry observational humour directed at society in general. He developed a regular cast of characters - one of the staple ingredients of a strip - by far the most popular of whom were Big and Little Willie, his 'conception of the German Emperor and his Crown Prince son'

[12] The very first newspaper comic strip was Richard Felton Outcault's *The Yellow Kid* which appeared in Hearst's *New York Journal* in 1896

(Gifford, 1971: 2). As the First World War began, Haselden combined the split panel format with topical satire creating a hybrid format that allowed him to blend the humour the paper wanted with hard-hitting satire, such as the New Year's Day strip from 1915 in which Big Willie and his son wake depressed because they have unfulfilled resolutions from the previous year and create a fresh set including killing 'larger numbers of non-combatants' and attacking 'more unfortified towns'. While technically a strip cartoon, the topicality of Haselden's work can be seen as a bridge between turn of the century May and the first generation of daily newspapers cartoonists such as Sidney Strube.

As has been discussed, newspapers did not exist in a social vacuum. The development of the press should not be seen as occurring within a journalistic bubble, but rather as part of the wider community. In fact, it is certainly possible to argue that the newspaper industry has seldom led the way in technological advances such as the use of the printing press for their own sake, but rather has responded to what has been happening in society. An example of this can be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century when cinema became a source of mass popular entertainment, and the first newsreels were shown in 1910. Newspapers needed to respond to this new form of entertainment and did so by beginning to further embrace the visual. While language had long been privileged, with the connected thought that visual-heavy publications were meant for those who could not read, the influence of cinema meant that consumers of the 1900s were undergoing a significant shift in terms of what they demanded of their entertainment and information suppliers which meant that 'their literacy was one of pictures, not words' (Williams, 1977: 79). In essence the *Daily Mirror,* the *Sunday Pictorial* (1915-1963) and newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century were belatedly, and perhaps in some cases such as *The Times* in 1922 begrudgingly, taking their lead from the picture papers of the nineteenth century such as the *Illustrated London Life* and in doing so continuing the march of the

visual and fulfilling 'Northcliffe's notions of picture book news' (Williams, 2010: 145).

Setting the Stage for Pocket Cartoons

Although during the 1930s *Punch* continued to be the most significant market for cartoonists' work, popular newspapers were beginning to feature topical cartoons partly as a drive to utilise the visual to hopefully attract a wider readership, build on American models of success, match competitors, but also to build a brand loyalty with exclusive content. Along with Strube, David Low of the *Evening Standard*, Will Dyson of the *Daily Herald*, Poy of the *Daily Mail*, and Haselden of the *Daily Mirror* were beginning to solidify the presence of daily news cartooning.

Sidney Strube is, in many ways, the immediate forerunner to the pocket cartoonist. He is arguably, along with Phil May, the most important cartoonist to its development. Although he drew what were certainly editorial cartoons and made use of the traditional caricaturists' tropes such as featuring politicians with labels attached to their clothing to act as signifiers of character, Strube either introduced or refined elements from Phil May to create what we can now view as a hybrid between editorial and pocket cartoons by the introduction of two innovations, one minor and one much more significant. Strube's first contribution to the future development and evolution of the pocket cartoon was the way in which he developed May's use of white space and simpler lines to create an editorial cartoon that stood out on the page where it was surrounded by text.

However, it was his second innovation that marks Strube's work out as so important in the development of the pocket cartoon.

While Strube continued to use caricatures of politicians throughout his long career just as hundreds of cartoonists had done over the previous 150 years, they quickly became the subject, not the focus of his cartoons. Of course, as a topical cartoonist Strube commented on the politics of the day, but he introduced a new device to achieve this aim. Strube's Little Man represented the 'man in the street' (Christiansen, 1961: 91) that the *Daily Express* was so intent on targeting, often appearing in his cartoons as an *observer* of events and a personification of a specific class. Born out of his experiences in the First World War, where original sketches had him in uniform, Strube's Little Man was a product of his time. Following the Representation of the People Act of 1918 in which men aged 21 and over gained the right to vote, and the British economy's shift to a more service and mass production base, many British workers became 'consumers as well as producers…an integral part of this process was the development of the mass press…[and] the most profitable elements of the new mass media were able to conceptualise their audience as the "man in the street"' (Brookes, 1985: 49). In essence, Strube's cartoons gave the concept of the man in the street a visual identity, encapsulating all the *Express* wanted to achieve by positioning itself as the voice of common sense and the tax-paying middle-class man who was often a victim of the vested interest of politicians, as well as acting as a way of 'disseminating [Beaverbrook's] ideas' (Allen, 1983: 30). Bespectacled, with bowler hat and umbrella, the Little Man was used by Strube to forge a direct connection with the newspaper's readership. Therefore, instead of the reader of his cartoons essentially looking in at the actions of politicians, Strube allowed the viewer to feel *part* of the cartoon by allowing them to relate to the Little Man.

Strube's cartoons also fulfilled another role: that of 'creating a coherent outlook' (Brookes, 1985: 54) for the *Daily Express,* something Seymour-Ure has defined as 'a paradoxical combination of the predictable and the unexpected. They help to order the world beyond the breakfast table… [leading to] a kind of reassurance about the paper's personality' (Seymour-Ure, 2003: 9). To help enable this a varied series of apparently unrelated features worked to establish a coherent whole, such as society columns showing their subjects living their lives independent of events in the world; and the cyclical nature of everything from gardening reports to weather forecasts helping to give a sense of unthreatening normality. Strube's cartoons certainly seemed to fit into this structure that 'was natural, stable and inevitable' (Brookes, 1985: 54) and can be seen to be part of an optimistic national view that Brookes feels propagated this ideology. On 28 February 1931 the *Express* openly stated its intentions, classifying Strube's work as something that would dispel the 'blues', leading to Stanley Baldwin calling him a 'gentle genius' (Christiansen, 1961: 155). In essence, the *Express's* readers are being asked to identify with the Little Man who was a loyal citizen, fighting in the First World War, putting the Empire first, and therefore seemingly fitting well into Beaverbrook's Empire Free Trade crusade during 1929-31 in which he campaigned to put into place his Imperial Preference policies by giving speeches across the country and even having the *Express* 'include in its pages an enrolment form' (Allen, 1983: 37) for the United Empire Party[13].

However, it may be that this view seriously misinterprets Strube's output. His cartoons, like Matt's today, can certainly seem to be offering a cosy middle-class view of the world, but it can be argued that this is only a surface-based assumption. Deeper study reveals a cartoonist who was by necessity operating

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[13] A political party formed by the *Mail* and *Express* which ran candidates in by-elections as part of the papers' 'Empire Free Trade' campaign

within a certain political framework, and contributing to the *Express's* overall positive outlook, but was in fact capable of a stronger, more realistic and pragmatic view of the contemporary world. This was something that became more prevalent as the 1930s progressed and shadows of war lengthened. Strube's 15 October, 1934 cartoon [fig 3.9] shows the Little Man talking to John Bull who says that 'Everything in the garden's lovely', essentially an encapsulation of the *Daily Express*'s world view. The Little Man counters by saying, 'Yes, I suppose one day you'll be able to afford a bit of barbed wire around the fence'. Set in an English garden, the somewhat rickety garden fence is struggling to keep out the chaos of terrorism, revolt, fear, and Hitler; far from being a safe and secure place, the garden of England is portrayed as oblivious - or intentionally ignorant - of the encroaching threat from the rest of the world. This image builds on the long-established motif of England as 'an enclosed garden walled off from its enemies' (Stallybrass, 1989: 204). In another article on Strube, Brookes argues that the meaning of the cartoon is that to 'meddle in foreign affairs is doomed' (Brookes, 1990: 31). This is, of course, not the same as appeasement and Strube does not shy away from illustrating Hitler performing a Nazi salute. Brookes' argument is plausible, but seems to miss the more subtle interpretation that Strube was intentionally contrasting John Bull with his Little Man. Indeed, it is certainly possible to argue that this cartoon acts as symbol of the developing nature of topical news cartoons as the 1930s approached mid-point just over four years before the first pocket cartoons.

Contemporaries to Strube such as Partridge and Ravenhill were still using John Bull representations as a stock part of their repertoire. Strube's Little Man is a new representation of England, as well as a representation of a new England. It is a highly significant moment in the evolution of newspaper cartoons, in which there is a move from John Bull who stood for Britain as a whole, and during the First World War the 'British government's propaganda effort' (Benson, 2004:

28), to the Little Man as a device to foreground the man in the street, something with which readers could identify. The Little Man, like the *Daily Express*, was 'an Englishness that represented itself as modern' (Brookes, 1990: 31), portrayed by Strube as urbane with a level of modernity that stood out from other contemporaneous cartoonists such as Ravenhill, and Bairnsfather's representation of 'the soldier's true condition' (Samuel, 1989: xxiv), Old Bill, who seemed to personify an earlier time and would soon be parodied by Low's Colonel Blimp.

The nearest contemporary character to Strube's Little Man was Poy's creation for the *London Evening News,* John Citizen who also observed incidents, rather than being the focus of them. J.C. Walker who later became cartoonist for the *News of the World* in the 1940s and 1950s noted the importance of contemporary cartoonists such as Poy and Strube creating characters that can act as a 'mouthpiece' (Walker, 1949: 33) which could at times be at odds with the editorial direction of the newspaper for which they worked, as this could distance the remark from the cartoonist and the paper and be seen to be the voice of the average man in the street. This can also be seen in the different ways that cartoonists such as Strube would actually format their drawings. Whereas previously Strube would draw 'a large crowd to represent Public Opinion' (Benson, 2004: 31), he now simply used the Little Man who in effect illustrated the privileging of the individual and the readers' personal grievances against government policies, such as the overburdened tax payer. This bemused and sometimes amused spectator of the vagaries of politicians acts in much the same way as Matt's characters do today.

Strube's cartoons fulfilled another important role in Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* that is significant for the development of the pocket cartoons of Osbert Lancaster, and later cartoonists. They both foregrounded and privileged humour.

Before Strube, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, cartoons could be funny, but this was often a secondary feature; the primary one being that of satire and political point making. Strube's cartoons were 'intended to make people laugh as much as convey an explicit political message' (Brookes, 1990: 32). Of course, that is not to say that they did not do both - they often did - but rather that the mode of communication was humour, therefore helping fulfil the *Express's* role as an entertainment platform and business. The commercial and editorial policies of Beaverbrook were translated into visual jokes by Strube's cartoons. This should not be overlooked, even during a period when Beaverbrook made his oft-quoted remark about newspapers being a platform not to make money, but to make propaganda. The more prosaic reality is that newspapers needed to be financially viable and the *Express* achieved this through both a mass circulation - a front page banner claimed daily sales of 1,670,000 in May 1931 which had increased to 2,329,000 by 1937 (Allen, 1983: 54) - and through its popularity among advertisers. Strube's cartoons were a key driver in this (as Lancaster's would be) and it should therefore not be unsurprising that Strube has been called 'the world's most popular cartoonist' (Benson, 2004) as he was drawing for the newspaper with the world's largest circulation. Paid more than anyone on the paper, including the editor, Strube's work was of central importance to the success of the *Daily Express* throughout the 1930s, acting as a representation not of class, but of social outlook. An encapsulation of the *Express's* target audience, and to some degree a reflection of it, Strube's Little Man replete with metonymic signifiers of bowler hat, bow tie, and umbrella encapsulated the move from generic national symbolism to identifiable individual that Lancaster would build upon in the following decade.

David Low and the Freedom from Editorial Line

While Beaverbrook tried to tightly control and mould the *Express* to attract a specific readership, his relationship with David Low on the *Evening Standard* was very different. Beaverbrook made great play of the editorial independence he allowed Low, making ‘a public virtue’ out of his stance (Seymour-Ure, 1991:14). Despite some critics having argued that Low overstated his independence, for example Beaverbrook withdrew a number of Low’s cartoons which remained ‘unpublished in his lifetime’ (Benson, 1998: 14), Low still enjoyed unparalleled freedom. This was particularly significant during the 1930s when Low’s strong anti-appeasement position was in conflict with Beaverbrook and many of the paper’s readers. The press baron acknowledged this, albeit grudgingly, when in June 1938 he characterised Low’s work as ‘brilliant in drawing, inexhaustible in invention - and, mostly, wrong in viewpoint’ (Benson, 1998: 15).

Like Strube, many of Low’s Colonel Blimp illustrations can be seen as a stepping stone to the birth of the pocket cartoon [fig 3.10]. Blimp was often seen as an attack on the officer class, but his purpose was wider than this. He was a vehicle for Low to attack both sides of the political spectrum, even if the ‘colonel’ title ‘made the depiction of left-wing stupidity so much more difficult’ (Seymour-Ure, 1991: 19). While much critical attention has been focused on Low’s most famous creation including full-length studies by Seymour-Ure (1985) and Benson (1998), from the view point of the pocket cartoons of the 1940s and beyond, what is more significant is the inclusion in many of Low’s cartoons of a character that is, in part at least, a self-portrait. This unnamed character is essentially a construction like Strube’s Little Man and Poy’s Little Citizen who often acts as a

transmitter of the readers' feelings when confronted with Blimp's stupidity in areas such as appeasement. Sporting Low's neat moustache and slimmer form, this self-portrait stands not just in ideological opposition to Blimp, but in sharp *visual* conflict, with his neat appearance contrasting with Blimp's obesity which can be seen to imply complacency. He is also very simply drawn, which naturally focuses the reader's eye on the character. While Low's avatar never speaks, he fulfils his role of the receptor of Blimp's declarations, often in Turkish baths as Blimp is massaged, has water poured over him, and in numerous other situations. Unlike Strube and Poy, Low never promoted his own character to a speaking role, rather having Blimp occupy a mid-ground between elite and man in the street.

It is therefore possible to argue that Low's daily cartoons 'demonstrated the capacity for conveying serious political messages within an entertaining medium' (Hampton, 2013: 681), something which would be further developed in the pocket cartoon. Eager to classify his work as journalism, Low's visual satire built on an 'extensive use of cartoons as political discourse in British journalism' (Hampton, 2013: 684) to help solidify the presence of daily news cartoons in the UK press, and take advantage of 'a wider audience in political debate' (Conboy, 2002: 59) which had begun to assert itself in the era of New Journalism.

Despite being known as a caricaturist and one of the great editorial cartoonists of the twentieth century, Low's role in the development of the pocket cartoon has been largely ignored. Arriving in London during 1919, Low worked for the *London Star* before joining the *Evening Standard* in 1927 where he stayed until 1949 when he moved to the *Daily Herald* and finally the *Guardian* until April 1963. Low thus straddled the years before the emergence of the pocket cartoon, through its arrival, and retired as it began to secure its place in both the popular press (such as the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror*) and broadsheets (such as *The Sunday Times*). During the 1930s, Low helped popularise a drawing style

that privileged brevity and economy of line, something which would become the hallmark of the pocket cartoon. Low was a great admirer of Phil May, whose stark style had been such a revolution in the 1890s, and went so far as to revive the idea behind May's *The Parson and the Painter* (1890) with his series *Low and I*, in which he channelled the spirit of May in both the humour and the drawing style, making much use of white space to great effect. This is particularly apparent in the period from the mid-1930s to the early years of the Second World War when 'the starkness of events suited the pen of a black-and-white artist' (Seymour-Ure, 1985: 43). Of course, simplicity of style is often deceptive, and this is the case with both May and Low. However much work went into the illusion of spontaneity, it is the end result which is important. Low's clean lines and understanding of the importance of space made his cartoons seem neither 'fussy or cluttered' (Seymour-Ure, 1985: 125). Of course, this is not to say we should think of Low's work in the same category as the pocket cartoonists, but in his use of space and style Low's work, while certainly more famous for its political caricature, helped create the environment in which the pocket cartoons of Osbert Lancaster would arrive.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have mapped the way in which visual satire developed and found a home in first the British popular magazine and then daily newspapers. In particular we have traced the development of ideas and concepts that would lead to the first pocket cartoons, and most importantly highlighted the fact that the new cartoon genre did not materialise fully formed in the first days of 1939, but had in fact been in development for at least 200 years. While the

‘editorial’ cartoon was the dominant topical form of the cartoon during these two centuries, this thesis has demonstrated how its key elements grew out of developments in visual satire. These included the use of humour, *Punch*’s popularisation of a less scatological form of satire, and then artists such as Phil May and David Low whose style of drawing began to move away from the intricate penmanship (and before that engraving) of the nineteenth century. Visual satire was both a product of the march of the popular and was soon to become one of its great success stories. The pocket cartoon with its brevity, modern layout and shift of emphasis from elites to the majority can be seen as a microcosm of the explosion in popularisation in newspapers such as the *Daily Express, Daily Mirror* and *Daily Mail* and a key weapon in the armoury of a more entertainment-centric platform which through a number of innovations in style, language and layout both mirrored and pushed forward the development of the British popular press in the mid-twentieth century.

Part Two – Development 1939-1969

Chapter 4 - Metonymy

Introduction

Newspaper cartoons are in essence a multimodal construct through which the cartoonist and the paper build levels of communication on a bedrock of signs, metaphor and metonymy. Critics from de Saussure to Barthes, Foucault and beyond have understood the importance of language in the formation of meaning, but it should not be underestimated how important metaphor and metonymy are to the visual. This chapter will consider their role in newspaper cartoons with specific focus on sign systems and metonymy in pocket cartoons, something which fits in to the theory that the study of newspapers and their content should not be based on just social critique but instead engage with the 'ways in which texts betray complex ambivalences towards power, nation...race, class and identity' (Dobson and Ziemann, 2008: 198).

The Reign of Metaphor

In the 250-plus years of the topical cartoon, it is metaphor, 'a figure of speech in which one thing is described as another' (Cuddon, 1982: 391), that has dominated. From the images of 1740s Hogarth and his contemporaries, right through to today's editorial cartoonists such as Steve Bell and Peter Brookes, metaphor and symbolism have played a pivotal role in understanding their messages. In a cartoon [fig 4.1] such as Gillray's 1805 portrayal of Pitt

the Younger and Napoleon, we see a large pudding being carved up by the two men. The success of the image is dependent on its audience being able to decode what Gillray is portraying; that is, the two men carving up the world between them. The metaphor is reinforced by the illustration of countries on the pudding so that it resembles a globe. It also requires an understanding of the term or at least the concept ‘to carve up’, and finally it requires its audience to identify who the two protagonists are, essentially relying on our shared knowledge to ‘make visible’ (Ricouer, 2003: 38). Editorial cartoons often include certain aspects that require a wide range of knowledge including current affairs, politics, and literary allusion. In effect they require and demand a level of education and knowledge that it could be argued make them the province of the elites. That is, in their use of pictorial metaphors, editorial cartoons ‘are frequently related to events whose knowledge is essential to understand them’ (Alousque, 2013: 381) and ‘must always be studied within their socio-political context’ (El-Refaie, 2003: 75). This is the opposite case with pocket cartoons which use metonymy to *help readers understand*. While all images require some degree of knowledge, pocket cartoons do not have the room, both literally and metaphorically, to include any excessive information which needs to be decoded, and therefore they need to focus on a layer of visual communication which is ‘both culturally and historically specific’ (Kress, 1996: 3) so that the potential for misunderstanding is minimised and meaning is unaffected. In the field of newspaper cartoons, ‘printed language and images…come together to influence the viewer’ (Sweetser, 2017: 66). That is, newspaper cartoons are not devoid of *intention*. However, it is how we decode this intention, whether that be just the intention of the cartoonist or that of the newspaper and/or proprietor, that lies at the centre of understanding the role of visual communication.

Defining Metonymy

Before we look specifically at newspaper cartoons, it is important for our study to define metonymy and look at why its difference from metaphor is so important. Metonymy is closely related to synecdoche, meaning when discussing a part of something, but meaning the whole such as ‘talking heads’ when the writer is referring to a person. It can also be used when more generally associated concepts are used to stand for a whole such as the Crown for the monarchy, or Fleet Street for the press. While this is a relatively straight forward distinction, it fits less when we consider visual metonymy. While it is true that a cartoonist could, for example, draw a crown on a female character’s head to signify that she is a queen, it is the choices that the pocket cartoonist makes and the importance of those choices that are significant when he or she is not drawing specific people, but rather metonymic constructs through which readers decode more general concepts such as class. This does not necessarily mean stereotypes such as seen in David Low’s old majors, but rather a more subtle depiction of a character’s place within a particular social stratum, such as whether a man wears a suit, or if there is a bottle of port on the table. These are shorthand signifiers which enable the reader to correctly place a character within a social milieu and as such form a key method by which we can analyse cartoons.

Over the past couple of decades the role of metaphor and to a degree metonymy has been increasingly acknowledged by critics to the point where today many accept that ‘metaphor and metonymy play a central role in the interpretation of political cartoons’ (Alousque, 2013: 365). The key phrase here is ‘political’ as further investigations reveal the privileging of editorial cartoons, even though the arguments apply equally to pocket cartoons. While

in the use of metaphors in political/editorial cartoons there is a ‘ubiquity of tropes in visual as well as verbal forms’ (Chandler, 2017: 152), in metonymy we see a part-whole construct which while it can operate at the verbal level, it is with the visual that its power in illustration lies. Barthes refers to a ‘metonymic fallacy’ whereby the represented part is taken as an ‘accurate reflection of the whole’ (Barthes, 1974: 162) as the metonymic success is based on factors which include class, age, and education. This is something to consider when analysing cartoons, even if for many readers this is a subconscious reaction.

What critics such as Alousque agree on is that metonymy in cartoons acts as a sign system, often comparing it to its use in advertising. Pictorial metaphor and metonymy are seen as intrinsic elements with newspaper cartoons, however the role of metonymy and its use of mapping within a domain (as opposed to metaphors use of tropes from two separate domains - the ship *ploughed* through the *sea*) in the pocket cartoons of the popular press seems to have been largely ignored. There is also the temptation to place metonymy in a subservient position to metaphor, but this seems to be a result of the foregrounding of editorial cartoons from Pitt the Younger and Napoleon carving up the world to Steve Bell and the slicing of the vote between Labour and the Scottish Nationalists. Indeed, Alousque is arguably no different from most critics when she lists four key areas where metaphor and metonym interact in political cartoons in which metaphor is privileged over the use of metonymy (Alousque, 2013: 369). This can be inverted when we apply this theory to pocket cartoons, where visual metonymy is the dominant force and can be seen to work on a number of levels, as ‘the graphic form is capable of conveying rich conceptual expression beyond the demonstrative qualities of iconic signs’ (Cohn, 2010: 3138). It can be relatively simplistic, such as a *Chicago Times’* strip cartoon in which a stick figure holding chicken

drumsticks is replaced with the same figure holding dumbbells to denote health (Cohn, 2010: 3139) to a more sophisticated system in which everything from dress to the types of drink a character consumes are used as social signifiers. Therefore, to function correctly, the reader must be able to decode and 'read' the metaphor. However, the development of a new form of visual satire – the pocket cartoon – meant that metonymy became a key tool in the cartoonist's armoury.

Semiotics

To understand the role metonymy (and for that matter metaphor) play in a study of the visual, and specifically the pocket cartoon, it is vital to develop an appreciation for the way in which the visual elements combines with the textual to operate as a signpost to meaning. To do this we need to consider a semiotic approach.

Semiotics is, in essence, the study of signs, a sign being something that stands in for something else. Words are signs, so the word 'dog' is a way in which the idea of a dog can be communicated to someone else without having to have an actual dog. A picture of a dog - whether a cartoon or a photograph - is also a sign as it evokes the idea of a dog without any dog actually being present. Physical actions can also be signs, so barking and sticking out your tongue works as a sign, something which has been a much used trope in American editorial cartoons with the anthropomorphism of animals into humans, such as Republicans as elephants and Democrats as donkeys. Signs also exist in the natural world, so if we see smoke rising it is a sign that there is fire.

Ferdinand de Saussure's (1857-1913) posthumously published '*A Course in General Linguistics'* (1916) introduces the concept of the sign and its two elements: the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the thing that stands in, so the word 'dog'; the signified is the thing or the idea that the person is trying to communicate is trying to evoke, so the four legged animal that barks and wags its tail. While this may seem obvious, de Saussure's key point is that there is often no inherent link between the signifier and the signified: the use of the letters d/o/g do not actually have any direct link with the animal other than the fact that as a society we have decided that when we put the letters d/o/g together that is what it will mean, and of course the word 'dog' is English and is different in other languages and therefore 'are never organic elements of a linguistic system' (de Saussure, 1916: 100). He also stated that when we use the word 'dog' we are not referring to a specific dog, but more to the concept of 'dog'; there is nothing dog-like about the word 'dog'. By using the word 'dog' we are trying to evoke the general idea of dogs, not a specific dog, which demonstrates how 'reality is divided up into arbitrary categories' (Chandler, 2017: 18), that is the relationship between the sign and objects, or the signifier and the signified. One of the key elements here is the way in which the entire success of sign systems is dependent on a shared understanding between creator and audience. While such systems can seem obvious - everyone would recognise a drawing of a dog whether realistic or more like Schulz's Snoopy, even in one of his alter egos such as a pilot 'within the political context of the Vietnam War' (Scott-Ball, 2016: 54) or 'Thurber's dogs' (Moltenbrey, 2009: 42) - different kinds of dogs could carry different levels of meaning dependent on nationality. In this way, the visual can be seen to transcend the idea of different languages making a universal understanding redundant. In our study of the pocket cartoon as a drawing, we can identify de Saussure's ideas and by doing so we can frame the cartoon within particular parameters such as gender, class and even period. As we will see, the study of

the drawing itself, even before we consider the caption, placement, or relationship to the editorial line, provides a significant level of signs that can be decoded dependent on our own societal standing and placement.

Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) looked at how we could use these concepts outside of written or spoken language. He suggested that there are a number of different ways in which signifiers link to signified. Mainly there are three different kinds of sign. The icon is anything with a physical resemblance to the thing it is trying to evoke e.g. drawing of a dog (not ultra-realistic) has an inherent link to the thing itself as it physically resembles the thing. The index has a link to what is being evoked by direct relation so smoke coming from fire; puddles from rain. There is a causal link between the two things - rain causes puddles. It can also describe signs that require a direct link to make complete sense, so the word ‘me’ has little meaning until we know who is saying it and has a different meaning based on who is speaking. The symbol has no relation between the signifier and signified other than the fact that we have decided as a society that these two things should be linked. Language is a key example - if we do not understand a language – such as the French word for dog - then meaning fails. If we do understand the language then meaning is established. Traffic lights are a well-known visual example, there is no inherent link between green and going or red and stopping other than as a society over many years we have decided that this is what these colours mean. Peirce’s development of de Saussure’s ideas helps us further interpret the pocket cartoon which, as a rule, *does not feature recognisable individuals* (such as politicians). Utilising his concept of the ‘index’ we can

often see this present in everything from the visual shorthand of social positioning of characters to establishment of scene or even time period.[14]

There are, of course, competing theories of semiotics with critics such as Barthes, Lacan, Kristeva, Derrida, and Foucault all building on de Saussure and Peirce's original ideas. However, this thesis will focus on semiotics as textual, visual, and cultural practice as this mirrors the approach to visual analysis. This does not mean that it will use a social constructionism form of semiotics, even though sign systems do play some role in the 'construction of reality' (Chandler, 2017: xvi), but rather consider the way in which we interact with the multimodal through our reading of signs.

Signs therefore are selected by media producers, such as writers, film makers, and cartoonists to create specific meaning. This could be via metaphor (weights for responsibilities) or visual metonymy (office block for the city). These decisions create a large amount of meaning for the audience, and therefore demonstrate how the creator can dictate meaning for that audience. This has become so well established that when a sign is used consistently in culture, Barthes argues that it can become a myth - we can define myth as an accepted dominant connotation of a sign for example a bulldog for Britain/Churchillian spirit (this works for British audiences) - a process known as naturalisation in which the media shapes society's ideology through repeated use of signs. He also claims that semiotics is a science 'dealing with values' (Barthes, 1970: 110).

With all this in mind, we can see how producers base their work on a perceived understanding of how it will be decoded by readers/viewers. Stuart Hall's interpretation of reception theory, which he applied in his studies of the

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[14] As the pocket cartoon genre developed, both de Saussure's and Peirce's basis for analysis was inverted: see discussion of Lancaster's 30/11/69 cartoon later in this chapter.

British media, argues that media producers encode their texts with meaning, such as the clothes a character wears. This is then ‘handed over’ to the audience who decode it for meaning. However, a key point here is that the audience and the creator must share the same tools to enable the audience to decode the message in the way intended by the sender; as we will see when we look at specific examples of pocket cartoons, culture, income and class all have an impact on the success of the decoding. Therefore a text may be decoded in one of three ways: A dominant reading in which the audience decodes the text in exactly the way in which the author intended, thereby suggesting that they share the same cultural and ideological positions. A negotiated reading in which the audience understands the meaning and connotations of the message of the producer, but adapts them to their own beliefs. You can find something funny even if you do not agree with it. An oppositional reading where the audience rejects the producer’s message despite understanding the denotive and connotative meanings (Hall, 2019: 273). This may be because they do not find it funny, or they find it offensive in which case they may reject the text outright. In some cases the majority of the audience can come together to take up an oppositional reading of a text to make people realise how it can be read in an offensive way such as Mark Knight’s 2018 Serena Williams cartoon [fig 4.2] in Australia’s *Herald Sun* which many considered racist. In this case, the original meaning can override a creator’s intention and create a new meaning.

Although semiotics is often thought of as language focused, particularly in the work of de Saussure, it does cover other areas such as photographs and (particularly) advertising there is a lack of critical engagement with drawings and especially cartoons. This is because some critics see this as beyond the textual, but this is what makes pocket cartoons so fascinating as they combine the two.

While de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* is widely seen as the bedrock of modern semiotics, and although Charles Sanders Peirce's work (albeit unknowingly) complemented and enhanced the new science of signs, it was with some of the later critics (such as those mentioned above) and especially Roman Jakobson (1896-1982) that the role of semiotics beyond purely that of language towards a system in which consideration must be applied in areas such as 'architecture, dress, or cuisine' (Jakobson, 1968: 703), even though he still maintained that language remained 'the most central and important of all human semiotic systems' (Jakobson, 1970: 455). The second of these - dress - is especially relevant to our study of metonymy as will be discussed shortly. Visual metonymy is largely dependent on semiotics for its meanings to work and it is therefore important that we continue to bear in mind the role that the signifier and signified play as well as how the investment of meaning is key because the signs that are placed in front of us have already been constructed with an assumed meaning; in other words, these signs are manipulated, yet the meaning remains fluid. This is because the 'linguistic sign does not represent reality' (Chandler, 2017: 15) rather it reflects an implicit agreement between creator and audience, an agreement that is dependent on a shared knowledge, perception, and belief system.

The development of semiotics has become a profitable tool for analysing the visual as it helps us consider whether the 'passive consumption of popular culture' (Green and LeBihan, 1996: 77) is actually an active engagement on the part of both producer and recipient. Indeed, the understanding of the importance of semiotics has become so widespread that it is a key element in a number of contemporary novels by academics, including David Lodge's *Nice Work* in which a character comments 'signs are never innocent. Semiotics teaches us that.' (Lodge, 1988: 221) and Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*

in which a ‘strings of semiotic systems...position[s] the reader as decoder’ (Green and LeBihan, 1996: 90).

Visual Metonymy

While, as discussed, metaphor has long been one of the dominant tropes of editorial cartoons and visual satire and is perhaps a familiar feature of language, metonymy is arguably less well defined as a concept to many readers. This is compounded by the slippery distinctions between it and synecdoche.

On a basic level metonymy is defined as a ‘figure of speech in which the name of an attribute…is substituted for the thing itself’ (Cuddon, 1982: 394); that is, a phrase is substituted by another which is linked, or associated, in meaning or as a non-specific reference to an original phrase, such as Number 10 for government. This is in contrast with synecdoche which is a ‘figure of speech in which the part stands for the whole’ (Cuddon, 1982: 676), such as when saying England lost the penalty shoot-out ‘England’ stands for the football team. There is a key problem here for our study which is that both these definitions allude to the use of language; however, while they can also relate to images, for example a photograph labelled ‘England’ could be of the football team, when discussing these concepts in relation to the emerging tropes of the pocket cartoon, this study’s assertion is that we need to use a hybrid term: visual metonymy. This is because the images used in pocket cartoons, such as a three-piece suit or the outline of a church steeple are used by the cartoonist as a substitution for detailed meaning; that is, the signified is metonymically formulated to engender meaning. To succeed, the use of semiotics and specifically visual metonymy needs to be tied to the way in

which the cartoonist interacts with and understands the communal nature of assumed newspaper readerships.

Visual metonymy is common not just in newspaper cartoons but in other areas such as graphic design and advertising, such as the 1980s campaign for Silk Cut cigarettes in which a piece of silk had a cut in it, or the use of company logos (the apple for Apple computers). However, even when discussing visual metonymy critics tend to still focus on its traditional definition, defining it as 'based on contiguity, not similarity. For example, 'we can refer to humans as a whole by their parts [we need more hands]' (Uno, Matsuda and Indurkhya, 2019: 1).

Visual Metonymy and the Multimodal

The very fact that pocket cartoons almost always include a mixture of language and image means that at the most basic of levels they are multimodal in that there are two modes at work: text and image. However, the same can be said for any publication that includes both text and image, from advertising to postal stamps. In the case of newspaper cartoons we are considering the multimodal on a more sophisticated level. Here we are considering the multimodal in terms of the use of multiple literacies *within one* medium. In the case of the pocket cartoon, the use of an image *along with* text (the caption) works as a whole to create meaning by building on a shared knowledge with readers as well as an assumption of a shared belief system, often based on the respective newspaper's editorial line. In other words, with the newspaper cartoon 'meaning is communicated not just through language, but through visual language' (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 1). This idea of a presupposition of the audience's understanding is one of the key differences between the

editorial and the pocket cartoon. The editorial cartoon relies on a shared knowledge with readers who are expected to identify everything from the identity of a character to literary and biblical references, along with a knowledge of the history of the editorial cartoon and its continuing tropes. This engenders a power relationship with the reader, one that puts the cartoonist in a primary position. However, the pocket cartoon operates on a different level as can be seen in Lancaster's work. Here the cartoonist's upper middle-class characters can be seen to be designed to appeal to the *Express'*s aspirational readers; however, they could also be seen as a platform by which to satirise them.

From the inception of the genre it was clear that in the physically limited space that the pocket cartoon typically occupies, a new system of signs and semiotic modes needed to be established which places the pocket cartoon apart from editorial cartoons as there was little room for elaborately and detailed drawn metaphor-centric characters that had dominated the previous 200 years of political satire. That is, in a typical editorial cartoon there is likely to be a *recognisable* figure drawn in caricature (often a politician) and placed in a metaphor-focused situation; or a heavily signed illustration (such as a fist hitting a table with the name of an individual or political party written on the hand). For these cartoons to function, they need the audience to easily identify the subject if it is a caricature, or understand the literal labelling and the metaphor. Whereas in a typical pocket cartoon, there is simply no room for detailed drawing and lots of labelling; instead, sign systems operate to create 'visual statements' to socially ground 'people, places and things' (Kress, 1996: 1). Therefore the multimodal element switches from metaphor to metonym, something which is dictated partly by form (limited space) but also by audience (fewer educational barriers to understanding). This is particularly important because, as previously discussed, the pocket cartoon tends to not

feature recognisable individuals, but rather recognisable characters. That is, in place of the editorial cartoon's focus on politicians and celebrities, the pocket cartoon often features 'ordinary' people in 'ordinary' situations, such as two people in their kitchen or walking down the street. Therefore, to help the cartoon achieve its full effect, the drawing needs to be metonymically clear and precise. In other words, the reader needs to know not *who* the characters are, but *what* they are; there needs to be a 'shorthand' visual signifier that works at a basic, yet essential level. As we will see, as readers/viewers we need to identify sex, approximate age, and often most importantly, social position and/or class as, for example, humour was often derived from the bemusement of elites seen discussing stories that affected the aspirational readership. In the case of Lancaster's work, this is achieved through the semiotic signifiers of clothing where, for example, a suit would identify a certain social position and therefore can be seen to be something which 'symbolises a particular kind of lifestyle' (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 9). This visual shorthand could be seen to be less sophisticated than the detailed caricature of a prime minister, but it is no less powerful for this; indeed, this may actually *increase* the power of the cartoon as it is mostly through the combination of both the text (caption) and the metonymically signified (the characters) that the cartoon achieves its purpose. Even though metonymic signifiers require a level of reader identification, this is rudimentary compared with the editorial cartoon and therefore it elicits a more immediate reader response by democratising the content.

Visual Metonymy and Linguistics

In critical linguistics, we can see how texts have an (often hidden) layer of meaning and/or ideology, through which we can identify how this is 'closely linked to power' (Fairclough, 1989: 2). Therefore, one of its key strengths as a critical tool is the way in which it allows us to understand not just the importance of what is said, but the importance of what is *not* said. That is, meaning can often be established by the search and identification of absence. This is potentially even more important when we consider the multimodal form of the topical cartoon, especially in the pocket cartoon in which absence is not just revealing *but also required*.

In the case of pocket cartoons, through the utilisation of visual metonymy we can see how 'the choices of representation' (Feng: 2017, 441) decided upon by the artist are key to their cartoon's intention. This nonverbal manifestation of metonymy is integral to our understanding, so much so that many pocket cartoons simply would not 'work' without the correct interpretation of what is essentially an evaluative meaning. That is, our 'terms of reception' (Feng, 2017: 447) are encoded in a shared well known lists of scenarios that can be identified by one subpart.

We can therefore see that all cartoons are 'read'. If there is a caption then this will be read in the literal sense, but whether this is the case or not, all images are 'read', that is they are decoded by the audience who need to negotiate a complex set of contexts which are both culturally very specific and highly focused on that audience.

At their most simplistic level, many pocket cartoons essentially contain one person speaking to another so that the cartoonist has an outlet for his or her caption. Indeed it is possible to argue that this is all there is to pocket

cartoons, that the caption is king, and that even stick figures would work as they are simply hooks on which to hang the caption. However, this would be a fundamental mistake as the vast majority of pocket cartoons, and certainly those by the likes of Osbert Lancaster, utilise visual metonymy to create a subtle, but nonetheless understandable sign system that readers of the popular press initially, and elite newspapers in later years, can easily decode to the extent that metonymy 'is fundamental to visual meaning making and develop[ing] a social semiotic framework' (Dezheng-Fenn, 2017: 441). This includes everything from dress styles and jewellery to home decor and pictures on the wall to help signify social standing and class. Through a study of the metonymy of pocket cartoons it is possible to see that the multimodal nature of cartoons equates to what has been called 'printed language and images' and how they push 'the limits on the amount of meaning to be squeezed into a limited space of paper' (Sweetser, 2017: 66). These complexities of modalities create two central questions: what frame of reference is required for the readers of a newspaper such as the *Daily Express* to understand the references both stated and signified in a pocket cartoon, and how does this differ from metaphor-centric editorial cartoon?

Unlike many editorial cartoons whose 'reliance on non-literal thought process actually contributes to their complexity' (El-Refaie, 2009: 181), and in which there is often an over-determined literalism, pocket cartoons require a level of visual literacy that does not preclude non-elites from understanding them. This is not to say that they are in some way 'simple' but rather that they do not require the extensive decoding that can be a prerequisite to fully understand editorial cartoons. Although at a basic level some decoding is required, the semiotics of pocket cartoons is based on a sign system that is founded not in historical metaphoric tropes, but in contemporary society and is thus easier to decode *quickly*. For example, the wearing of suits is often used

to signify a certain class, and when inverted such as in the case of a street cleaner wearing a suit, this conflict creates humour. Normally though, this conflict is an exception; for the most part, a suit is shorthand for a character's social position, whether that be in a bank, office, or in a senior position. It should be noted that metonymy can often bleed into stereotype (and vice versa) whether that be from the mildly comedic image of a Frenchman as a striped t-shirt wearing man on a bicycle adorned with onions to racist depictions of Africans as cannibals with bones through their noses. This iconography was still prevalent in the 1960s, especially in the work of cartoonists such as Cummings, although it did gradually die out in the latter stages of the twentieth century[15].

Metonymy can therefore be seen as the arch trope of the pocket cartoon. Critics such as Forceville have identified the importance of metonymy to the study of a number of visual areas such as advertising and fashion, and the same principles can be applied to all images which appear in a dominantly written environment where a 'sub-part of a visual frame evokes the entire frame' (Sweetser, 2017: 69) which is essentially how a pocket cartoon can often deal with complex issues in such a small area of newspaper estate. It is therefore important that we examine the choices of representation used in visual media such as cartoons to fully understand the multimodal role of metonymy. While written metonymy is important (Buckingham Palace has issued a statement) it is when combined with *visual* metonymy that the full impact of pocket cartoons can be evaluated, the resource of words extended to that of the visual.

It should be noted that while some critics feel that 'visual images lack a clear vocabulary system and many interpretations rely on context' (Dezheng-Feng, 2017: 444), this is more an issue with the use of metaphor that with that

[15] Although it did occasionally resurface, see for examples Mac's 2015 *Daily Mirror* about the singer Tom Jones' African ancestry

of metonymy. It has been argued that the success of metonymic identification is similar to that of discourse semantics in that it is 'context dependent' (Dezheng-Feng, 2017: 444), however this is less the case in pocket cartoons where cartoonists *intentionally* utilise metonymy as a visual shorthand that specifically targeted readers, located nationally, socially, and politically can easily decode. Working with often broad stereotypes such as the second hand car salesman or the vicar, pocket cartoons construct a series of evaluative meanings mostly to reinforce their message, but also sometimes to undermine preconceived ideas of reception in the way in which readers make sense of the visual as it is 'impossible to represent everything [as] we constantly make choices according to our interest in the process of sign making' (Dezheng-Feng, 2017: 448). While it may be true that the use of stereotypes via metonymic images can lead to negative judgements of social status, pocket cartoons can be a tool to create an internal conflict between the anticipated meaning and the actual message.

As the art of the newspaper cartoon has progressed from copper engravings through the *Punch* era into the twentieth century the depiction of people - of the human figure - has generally moved away from 'photo-realism' to 'extreme stylisation' (Forceville, 2011: 875), something that has been characterised as when 'figures are drawn schematically, generalising the characters past any recognisable individuality other than gender' (Cohn, 2010: 3138), yet this is more appropriate to some cartoonists than others. Mel Calman's work may well fit this definition, while in Lancaster's pocket cartoons there is more attention to detail, especially dress which adds metonymic significance to his work. This is the first level of metonymy in newspaper cartoons in which a stylised version of a person is used to signify the whole. However, it is in the second layer that we find the true importance of metonymy. Just as critical discourse analysis can help us identify linguistic

‘strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface’ (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 9) multimodal analysis of the pocket cartoon can help us identify how metonymy is not just a *visual* signifier but also one in which further dimensions to the cartoonist’s intentions and/or conflict with editorial line may be revealed.

A study of the development of Osbert Lancaster’s pocket cartoons from 1939 into the 1960s helps illustrate the importance of metonymy to pocket cartoons. Understandably, the earlier cartoons feature either men and women in uniform, or older people in suits. This helps establish the class and social standing of his characters. However, by the mid 1950s and beyond Lancaster’s cast of characters has expanded to reflect society. Everything from Teddy-boys to an increasing presence of youth helps give the cartoons a contemporary feel. By the late 1960s Lancaster plays on the very form of metonymy by using dress as a metonymic source of humour.

Osbert Lancaster and Metonymy: Three Examples

Undertaking a detailed study of three cartoons from the 1960s enables us to see how metonymy was used to facilitate meaning, as well as highlight some of the key differences between editorial and pocket cartoons, in the decade when the barriers between the two forms began to blur.

For these examples, I have chosen three cartoons which demonstrate one of the key features of the developing pocket cartoon: the way in which it engaged with topics that exist beyond the established subject areas and the Westminster bubble. The first is a cartoon [fig 4.3] from late 1963, a time when popular culture was beginning to dominate large sections of the popular

press. Although the Profumo Affair had been the mainstay of the news pages since the spring of that year, by late November other stories were finally beginning to break its stranglehold on news, and none of these represents the popular press's engagement with popular culture better than the advent of the Beatles. Essentially unheard of outside of the provincial city of Liverpool at the beginning of the year, by the final weeks of 1963 they were a cultural phenomenon which the press could not - and certainly in the case of the popular press - did not want to ignore. Beatlemainia was nearing its peak in Britain and this provided ample stories with which topical cartoons could engage.

The first example features two men in monastic habit. This is a strong example of the way in which clothing is one of the key ways in which visual meaning is created. We can assume that almost all readers would be able to make the link between the clothing and who/what these men are; that is, by simply drawing the men dressed this way, Lancaster uses a visual shorthand that is readily understandable to place his characters within a professional idiom so that the reader instantly recognises them as monks. This is further enhanced by drawing the two men wearing sandals, again tapping into our cultural memory and ability to identify metonymic signifiers. It should be noted that sandals on their own would not create the same visual message, whereas the habits do that; therefore, we can see that there are different levels of metonymic significance. While all clothing will work as a signifier to an extent, not all clothing is metonymically equal; for example, the monastic habit is strongly metonymic as it has direct connection with a profession/calling. Some items such as a suit, while still significantly metonymic have a wider application (many different professions wear suits) and indeed have subdivisions such as the pin-striped suit, as we will see in a later example.

While we can see how the clothing immediately establishes the characters' vocation, it does not necessarily help the reader with temporal location. This is normally not an issue as, by definition, most topical news cartoons have a contemporary setting. However, due to the fluidity of signifiers often inherent in visual imagery, sometimes this is not always possible to ascertain. If we look at Lancaster's cartoon, we search for further visual clues. For example, if there was a window through which we could see skyscrapers or advertising hoardings it would be possible to at least place the cartoon within a modern framework. The knowledge that it is a topical cartoon would therefore lead us to decode these clues to establish a temporal framework, something which occurs in the 'typical' topical news cartoon, and is indeed one of its key strengths. In this instance, the clothing does not allow for a definite temporal placement. Once the reader/viewer has taken into account the clothing they can look for additional metonymic placement in the background. This is one of the key devices the reader can use to help locate the cartoon in both time and/or place. As the clothing signifies vocation, Lancaster uses the background to signify location. Again, this only usually needs to be metonymically approximate; that is, office blocks would denote the city and hills and sheep the countryside. However, while the architecturally accurate arches signify cloisters, and we therefore read the visual as signifying a monastery which obviously works alongside the clothing, there is still no temporal signifier. As already stated, readers would approach the cartoon with a shared knowledge of the function of topical cartoons (that they are comments on contemporary issues) but would also be aware that cartoonists often use non-contemporary settings to make their point. While this is much more the case with editorial cartoons, it is sometimes used in pocket cartoons often as a way to increase the effectiveness of a comment on modern day news. In the case of Lancaster's cartoon, there initially appears to be no visual evidence to place the cartoon in any temporal framework. This is, of course, because the

viewer will know that monks have existed for hundreds of years and are relatively unchanged in appearance. Clearly Lancaster knows this and therefore uses this metonymic uncertainty as a tool to create meaning when *used in conjunction* with the cartoon's caption. However, even here Lancaster plays with readers' expectations. The first line of the caption reads 'Pax vobiscum!'[16] (*Daily Express*, 28 November 1963: 1), which seems to fit perfectly with an historically set cartoon. It also plays with reader expectation by having one of the monks speak in Latin. At this point it is worth noting that Catholic masses were still in Latin and therefore at least some of the newspaper's readers would understand the quote. As has been discussed, since the 1930s the *Daily Express* had been aimed at an aspirational readership which would have been largely upper-working class and lower-middle class. Latin in the 1960s was taught in grammar schools (but not comprehensives until 1965) and therefore was 'only available to those who were suitably intellectually gifted' (McMillan, 2016: 25). It is also possible to suggest that even those readers who would not have immediately understood the Latin would have been flattered that their paper included such a thing. However, it is also quite possible that an understanding of the phrase was not necessary to understand the caption as a whole. 'Pax vobiscum' is followed by 'Yeah! Yeah! Yeah!', a line from the Beatles' *She Loves You* that would have been ubiquitous at the time. This instantly sets the cartoon in a contemporary temporal framework. Lancaster has used metonymic signifiers such as the habit and cloisters to leave the reader in a suspension of understanding before the text reveals the meaning. It is also interesting to note that a small visual detail is now revealed: the monk who is speaking has longer hair in what is an allusion to the 'Beatle haircut'. In effect, the image and the picture work

[16] Translates as 'Peace be with you'

together in a cyclical unveiling of meaning. The viewer/reader tries to decode the image, reads the caption, which in turn sends them back to the image and its metonymic signifiers. The cartoon is a topical comment on the impact and reach of a popular trend, which uses metonymy to guide the reader to the fulfilment of meaning.

We can compare the approach of Lancaster's pocket cartoon with an editorial cartoon published in the same newspaper earlier in the month. Cummings' cartoon [fig 4.4] features all four Beatles - recognisably caricatured - emerging from a stage door to be greeted with a line of policemen holding back a crowd. On the floor, crawling through the policemen's legs are two establishment figures in late middle-age. One speaks to the approaching group 'Gentlemen - can't we persuade you to become Conservative candidates - after all, you've never had it so good!' (*Daily Express*, 11 November 1963: 8). The Tory MPs are being crushed by the hordes of young people, desperately looking to the Beatles as potential saviours. The metaphor here is that the establishment is being crushed by the younger generation and therefore Cummings is deploying metaphor - whether consciously or not - to frame a growing desperation that Macmillan's government is out of touch and that the future, here personified by the four Beatles, has the inevitability of progress. It should be noted that we can see in Cummings' cartoon, along with examples from his peers such as Jak (*Evening Standard*, 14 December 1963: 10) and Franklin (*Daily Mirror*, 31 December 1963: 4) [figs 4.5-6] that the influence of the pocket cartoon is plain to see, with the increased focus on the caption and non-elite characters, something that will be discussed further in the case studies.

The second Lancaster cartoon [fig 4.7] again features a popular group, but this time it is the Rolling Stones. Published three and a half years after the first example, the pocket cartoon is now a fertile ground not just to discuss topical and political news, but to engage with the seismic cultural changes of 1960s Britain. The image is completely devoid of metaphor and is heavily metonymically signed. It features two characters, one a late middle-aged man and the other a young woman. The former is drawn wearing a suit which seems to be made of tweed, thereby immediately creating a metonymic signifier of establishment. It is interesting to note that the three cartoons used here to discuss metonymy date from a period (1963-1969) when great social upheaval was, in part at least, signified by the attitude to the wearing of clothing, and its relation to 'traditionally defined norms' (Kutulas, 2012: 167). The first example used the monks' habits to create a strong juxtaposition with the modernity of the Beatle haircut; and in the second example we see Lancaster noting the changing perception of the suit. By 1967 men's fashion had moved away from the suit (the Beatles, for example, had dispensed with theirs in favour of a more youth-centric style) and therefore a chasm had opened up between the generations. The semiotic signifier of the suit has therefore shifted significantly over a short period of time and this is reflected in pocket cartoons as it has become a quick visual reference for something/someone who is establishment and stands in visual opposition to the youth. It is a key example of shifting signifiers and the way in which the same item (in this case the men's suit) can signify something very different over what was a short period of time. Here, Lancaster uses visual metonymy to place the male character in a specific social stratum, which brings with it a reader expectation of particular attitudes and even political leaning.

The young woman is not just differentiated from the man by her age and sex, but also by the style of her clothing. She wears a tight fitting jumper, along

with very short mini skirt and fishnet tights. These work together to create an overall metonymic signifier not just of her age, but more importantly of her attitudes. The reader is guided by the cartoonist to interpret her as a member of the youth culture with the attitudes and outlook that implies. Therefore, before we even read the caption, the cartoon has set up a series of oppositions: male/female, young/old, establishment/youth culture, elite/popular; all of which has been achieved through metonymy. This in turn helps formulate reader expectation. We can see that the man is speaking and the young woman reacting with a shocked expression; therefore as viewers we read the image and can assume that the caption will be, in some way at least, a societal comment which is set within the context of the now established generation gap. The caption reads 'If you ask me it won't be the *Daily Express* or General de Gaulle who'll keep us out of Europe, but the Rolling Stones!' (*Daily Express*, 14 April 1967, 1). This is a particularly interesting example of Lancaster's work as he has developed the pocket cartoon to such a sophisticated platform that he is confident in using the meta reference to his own newspaper and in effect simultaneously commenting on the *Daily Express*'s editorial line and satirising it. Britain had already attempted to gain entry to the Common Market and Harold Wilson's Labour government was in the process of a second attempt (which would again prove unsuccessful on 27 November of that year). The *Express* had campaigned against the plan, and the French President was opposed to it, something which could (and did) prove ample opportunity for comment from editorial and pocket cartoonists. However, through the use of metonymy and the multimodal blend of image and language, the cartoon brings in popular culture to create a further dimension to Lancaster's political and social commentary. The Rolling Stones' reputation for bad behaviour made them to an extent a symbol of modern Britain and its refusal to adhere to the standards of its older generation. Therefore the cartoon, through both the visual and the caption, essentially

expresses the fact that the societal rift is not just between the young and the old, but between the establishment and the popular. Indeed, Lancaster takes this one step further by suggesting that the popular has ascended to a position of primacy as it may be the key factor in a decision that affects the whole country. He does this by the satiric notion of a rock band affecting a political outcome, but also by a sly acknowledgement that the popular is triumphing over the establishment, something that was born out of an era in which John Lennon could claim the Beatles 'were bigger than Jesus and [Hugh] Cudlipp was starting to act as if he was bigger than the Beatles' (Horrie, 2003: 103).

Perhaps the ultimate example of the use of metonymy in the pocket cartoon comes from a cartoon published in the penultimate month of the decade in which the very point of the cartoon is the metonymically signified use of clothing [fig 4.8]. Lancaster, whose cartoons regularly reflect modern dress and fashions, draws half a dozen or so men all in identical attire of corporate suits, including ties and hats. There is no difference at all between the clothing worn, but what is especially interesting here is that he draws every single one of the men with identical faces. That is, not only is he metonymically signifying sex, age, and class with clothing but he is demonstrating how this group of people has transmogrified into not just a hegemony of dress, but of *identity*. The identical characters with whom Lancaster presents his readers have become metonymically signified to such a complete degree that their identities have merged to become more than the social shorthand of 'businessmen' or 'establishment' but are now signalled to have become homogenised without any latent trace of individuality, in essence the ultimate expression of a redundant establishment. This is further expressed through the caption which reads 'As I see it, the genetic breakthrough may well mean the end of the sturdy individualist' (*Daily Express,* 26 November

1969: 1). As in the second example, Lancaster uses the meta reference of his own cartoon characters commenting on their own appearance and what it metonymically signifies to the viewer/reader. It should also be noted that there is a clear temporal dimension to the pocket cartoon in the sense that the joke would have not worked in the early days of the pocket cartoon when it was taken for granted that the majority of men wore suits. The seismic shift in society and its values that the 1960s both brought to fruition and expanded upon meant that the suit had become a recognised semiotic signifier for the somewhat dull, unfashionable city worker, and by extension the establishment and old order.

Conclusion

Ever since its inception in the first days of 1939 through to the end of the 1960s (and beyond) the pocket cartoon has shifted the emphasis of the topical news and/or political cartoon away from its reliance on metaphor to the sophisticated, and yet easy to understand, use of metonymy. This has foregrounded the primacy of the caption and the inherent use of humour to create a popular yet sophisticated platform to comment on news and society within and sometimes beyond the editorial line of the newspaper in which they appear. By developing the role of metonymy in the pocket cartoon Lancaster demonstrated from 1939, and especially through the 1960s, that this 'visual shorthand' is a powerful tool which has both enhanced and developed the power of the pocket cartoon. Using metonymy to reflect societal changes is something that also appears in editorial cartoons, but within the pocket cartoon it works in tandem with the caption to ridicule, satirise and comment on a

society in which the rise of the popular has become the dominant trend, something which the following chapters will examine in detail.

Chapter 5 - The Arrival of the Pocket Cartoon

The First Year: 1939

As we will see when we study the first week's worth of what would be in excess of 10,000 cartoons, the seeds of Lancaster's defining style are already evident.

His very first cartoon [fig 5.1] is laden with the symbolism of the occasion. It features an ageing military man festooned with medals. Whether intentional or not, Lancaster features a Blimp-style character either as a nod to David Low, the dominant cartoonist of the day, or as a sign that change is in the air. Drawn just after the announcement of the New Year's honours, the caption reads: 'No, I asked them to leave me out this year. There comes a time when any additional honour is merely an added burden' (*Daily Express*, 3 January 1939: 4). The following day's cartoon features what appears to be a self-caricature, setting out even at such an early stage, the class of character who would so often populate his work.

However, it is just four days in to the *Daily Express*'s use of the new pocket cartoon that we can see an example of the format's powerful impact. On Friday 6 January 1939 the newspaper published both a pocket cartoon and its regular editorial cartoon by Strube. If we take the opportunity to examine them side by side it becomes highly instructive to consider the differences between the established cartoon form and the innovation of the pocket cartoon. During the 1930s the *Daily Express* had advocated appeasement towards Germany, as well as printing a number of headlines which could be viewed as anti-Semitic,

including a March 1933 headline, 'Judea declares war on Germany: Jews of all the world unite in action'. Of course it is important to note that unlike Lord Rothermere's friendship with Hitler, Lord Beaverbrook's motivation could be seen not to be sympathetic to Hitler, but rather to have its roots in his desire for isolationism. This in turn can be linked to the *Express*'s desire to be 'relentlessly cheerful and optimistic…at a time when economic and political storm clouds were gathering over Europe' (Williams, 2010; 154). As the decade drew to a close, this transmuted into something that was tantamount to self-denial. On 2 January 1939, the day before Lancaster's first cartoon, the paper's leader page featured an editorial which was headlined 'This is why you can sleep soundly in 1939' and which began with the unequivocal statement 'There will be no Great War in Europe in 1939' (*Daily Express,* 2 January 1939: 10). This had been the newspaper's line for most of the decade, and as has already been noted, unlike Low's work in the *Evening Standard*, Beaverbrook did not encourage divergence from this editorial line in the *Express*. Four days later, the editorial cartoon [fig 5.2] uses Roosevelt's radio speech as its topic. Strube has an arm emerging from a giant radio and a fist banging on a table, around which sit nine men. The cartoon employs the long-established editorial cartoon trope of labelling people with names such as Hate, Aggression, and Lawlessness. The arm is labelled Roosevelt's Speech. It is certainly not a poor cartoon, nor is it atypical for its time. However, the image of the thumping fist is perhaps unintentionally revealing as it can be seen to encapsulate the didactic nature of the editorial cartoon as a genre.

When we compare it with the pocket cartoon [fig 5.3] from the same day, the difference in style is clear, but it is the marked difference in content that is most revealing. Lancaster's cartoon is simply drawn, the church metonymically signified by just an outline; but it is the content that holds the greatest impact. Two men dressed in black stand over a hole in the ground, the caption reads 'No

perhaps they won't be much use now as air raid shelters in the next war, but they'll come in very handy as cemeteries in the next peace' (*Daily Express,* 6 January 1939: 6). It is an extraordinary cartoon in the sense that it completely goes against the paper's editorial line by implying that in whichever way the coming conflict is semantically identified it is nevertheless coming all the same. Just four days in to his role as pocket cartoonist, Osbert Lancaster can be seen to be both creating and defining the parameters of what the new form can achieve. The importance of this should not be understated, as Lancaster was working in an environment in which striking a note contrary to the proprietor's position and which countered what the cartoonist called 'the unhealthy optimism which still remained the corner-stone of editorial policy' (Lancaster, 1967: 152) was extremely difficult. The cartoonist negotiated this situation in which the *Daily Express* 'stoutly maintained day after day that there would be no war in Europe and any 'unkind and possibly aggravating jokes about the Fuhrer and his minions, was rigorously taboo' (Lancaster, 1967: 152) by approaching the topic, as in the above example, in a way that did not explicitly counter the editorial line while subtly undermining it. This was to become a recurring theme with Lancaster's early cartoons which continued to anticipate war, such as when a town planner says '…if it comes to war these houses may be bombed before we've had time to knock them down and build flats' (*Daily Express,* 14 January 1939: 6) [fig 5.4]; and with the depiction of a tank [fig 5.5] adorned with the slogan Stop Me and Buy One, to which the tank driver says 'Don't blame me! It's all a clever idea of the camouflage department' (*Daily Express,* 19 May 1939: 6).

It is also instructive to look at the placement of the pocket cartoons throughout their first months in the newspaper. Although there is no direct evidence of this, it would seem unlikely that the first cartoons were arbitrarily placed within William Hickey's gossip column. Hickey was the pen name of Tom Driberg, who has been credited with inventing the modern gossip column (Kynaston, 2007:

141). The column was named after eighteenth century ‘diarist and rake’ (Wheen, 1990: 81) William Hickey, although it has been suggested that the *Express’s* frequent use of pseudonyms such as Hickey, Beachcomber, and Cross-bencher was in fact a ploy by Beaverbrook to ensure if a successful columnist left the newspaper ‘he cannot take elsewhere…the readership’ (Driberg, 1956: 219). The William Hickey column soon moved away from society gossip ‘towards political and social issues’ (Wheen, 1990; 83). This made it the ideal host within the pages of the *Express* for the new pocket cartoon. The fact that Driberg was a ‘committed Marxist and devout Anglo-Catholic, Beaverbrook columnist and Labour MP…equally at ease in high life and low, a champion of the proletariat with the manners of a patrician’ (Boston, 1989: 115) seems apposite when we consider how Lancaster’s work was so full of contradiction, and yet found significant popularity on a newspaper which ‘predicated on a middle-brow sensibility to which it assumed the working classes aspired’ (Conboy, 2002; 126). These contradictions were mirrored in Driberg and his output which was shifting from being a mouthpiece for Beaverbrook by namechecking his society friends, to the author of a column which was consistently varied. In an example from 6 January 1939, the Hickey column includes a discussion on the pros and cons of writing the per cent sign versus spelling it out, before finishing, just as Lancaster’s cartoons were already beginning to do, with a distinct sting in the tail, describing how an airline is still publicising its services with a photograph of a plane which crashed the previous November with the loss of five lives. Lancaster was beginning to achieve the same effect in cartoons such as one [fig 5.6] in which two establishment figures are watching a particularly violent boxing match with the caption: ‘Goodness gracious! In ten minutes’ time I’m due to address a pacifist meeting at the Albert Hall’ (*Daily Express*, 27 February 1939: 6).

Not all cartoons were structured this way; Lancaster’s lack of overt political stance allows him to mock all levels of class, including that of his own. Indeed,

this can be seen to be one of the reasons the cartoons became so successful. The *Daily Express's* target audience was the aspirational upper-lower and middle-class and therefore any humour directed at their so-called social betters would have been likely to be well received. A cartoon [fig 5.7] showing a well-to-do woman saying to a government official 'Of course, I should love to put up hundreds of children, but, you see, I have my dogs to think of' (*Daily Express,* 30 January 1939: 6) acts once again on a number of levels. It obviously satirises the kind of woman who puts her dogs before people, but more importantly acts as a comment on the possibility of mass evacuation of children from urban areas, something that contradicts the paper's 'no war this year' stance. The woman here represents the Establishment and while the point of the cartoon seems to be her relationship with her pets, it could be argued that her utterance is based on an assumption that there will be no war and therefore no need to give serious consideration to the evacuation of children. That is, the pocket cartoon is both satirising a social type and making a much more far-reaching point. This is particularly significant, as the development of a narrative across a number of cartoons is something that had been achieved in editorial cartoons by repeated representations of political elites, such as frequent appearances of a Prime Minister. However in the pocket cartoon it is not just the possibility of regular characters as Lancaster would introduce with the Littlehamptons, but the foregrounding of critical themes such as the already mentioned air raid shelters as graves and the dog lover's refusal to engage with the question of why children would need to be evacuated to her home.

War Declared

The outbreak of war can be seen to have both directly and indirectly influenced the quick growth and popularity of Lancaster's work. Anthony Powell commended Lancaster's impact on home front morale, writing that he 'kept people going by his own high spirits and wit' (Knox, 2008: 203). This is, in fact, one of the key innovations Lancaster introduced to visual satire in newspapers. As the first weeks of the war progressed editorial cartoonists continued to employ metaphor based tropes such as the Nazi fist crashing down, whereas the pocket cartoon employed what can be seen to become one of its defining tropes: the ability to laugh at and make fun of what are often very serious subjects. Even at 'the time of greatest danger' in the first years of the war, Lancaster made great use of the concerns about German parachutists dropping in disguise into England such as the cartoon [fig 5.8] published in the week before the first Christmas of the war in which Lancaster had drawn two German paratroopers dressed as Father Christmas. One says to the other 'I suppose, Heinrich, that the credulous English *do* still believe in Santa Clause' (*Daily Express,* 19 December 1939: 4). Of course, other cartoonists had laughed at Germans. Low had been particularly good at this in the run up to the war, an example of which is his cartoon showing Stalin as a ventriloquist's dummy on Hitler's lap, but there is a subtle, yet important change here that would characterise Lancaster's work for the next forty years. His cartoons laugh at their subject, as do editorial cartoons, but in addition to this they break new ground by subtly, that is by implication, laughing at the readers. There was a genuine fear at this time of fifth columnists[17] infiltrating British society, but what Lancaster does is invert this fear via the visual construct of taking disguise to an extreme degree. He also taps into this fear, and uses a

[17] Those who were secretly working to aid the enemy.

type of humour that has its roots in vaudevillian tropes of cross dressing, adding a sense of the ridiculous to the image. Even though the caption is often more important than the image, the drawing here adds to the humourous element and in doing so lessens the idea of the paratroopers as objects of fear, as well as laughing at our paranoia.

The Inversion of Influence - How Editorial Cartoons were Influenced by Pocket Cartoons

Lancaster's pocket cartoons were becoming more and more popular during the first half of the 1940s, making 'Osbert a national figure' by 'defiantly facing adversity with good humour…though small in size, their contribution to national morale was enormous' (Boston, 1989; 127). However, just as the war was coming to an end and the nation was about to go to the polls, Lancaster was called away by the British government to work in Greece and he and pocket cartoons were therefore temporarily absent from the mainstream press. This led to what now looks like a historical abbreviation; that is, that just as the pocket cartoon was establishing itself as a new form of visual satire Lancaster's work disappeared from the *Express*. Initially it was replaced by a 'guest' pocket cartoon, but these too soon disappeared so that by the time parliament was dissolved visual satire had reverted to be the sole province of editorial cartoons.

However, it would be a mistake to assume that this meant a full return to the style of editorial cartoons that had been the norm before Lancaster's work appeared. What is particularly interesting here is that when we look at the work of the major editorial cartoonists of the day, such as the *Daily Mirror's* Philip Zec, there is a noticeable shift in tone than can be attributed to the influence of

the pocket cartoon. To further appreciate this, we will next look at a period when newspaper cartoonists engaged with a specific event, the 1945 general election.

Case Studies

Chapter 6 – Case Study One: The 1945 General Election

Introduction

During the spring of 1945, as the war in Europe drew to a close, British politicians who had spent the past five years in a coalition government began to look forward to the end of military hostilities and the resumption of partisan politics, and with it the prospect of the first general election in a decade.

By the time Germany unconditionally surrendered on 8 May, there already existed an agreement between the main political parties that there would be 'no rushed election' (Pelling, 1980: 401). The Labour Party were particularly reticent about the prospect of an early election, due in part to a more accurate register of voters which was due to be available from October, but more significantly because they were concerned with the effect of Churchill's popularity. Conversely, Churchill was being advised to push for an early election, although there were concerns about holding an election before the end of fighting in Japan, with Labour leader Clement Attlee proposing the 'continuation of the coalition until the end of the Japanese War' (Pelling, 1980: 402). However, not all the Labour Party were of the same opinion and the executive chairman, Harold Laski, thought Attlee was showing Churchill too much respect and went as far as writing to the leader requesting he stand down. In the end, Churchill bowed to pressure from his own party and announced his resignation as leader of the coalition on 23 May, initiating a general election to take place on 5 July which would end 'the Conservative hegemony which had prevailed since 1918' (Addison, 1994: 279).

Political Context

The 1945 general election was one of the most significant of the twentieth century. The 'wide-ranging social and economic reforms' (Fielding, 1992: 623) which were introduced as a result of Labour's victory, and the sheer surprise of the result have understandably occupied and dominated critical thinking. However, the role of ordinary voters - or to be more specific - the roles of newspapers attempting to influence those ordinary voters - has received significantly less attention. Throughout the 1930s and into the War years, when we examine the form, content and attitude of popular newspapers, despite the extensive use of the visual utilised, most studies still continue to focus on the text of these newspapers (Addison, 1994; Beevor, 2012; Bingham, 2009; Burke, 1978).

It is interesting to note that the victory was not a surprise to all. Both the British Institute of Public Opinion and Mass-Observation accurately predicted Labour's victory. The Liberal newspaper the *News Chronicle* had published a Gallup poll giving Labour a six point lead, although it is instructive that the paper could not be said to have shown much confidence in the prediction as it 'ran the story as a low-key, single column' (Kynaston, 2007: 70), while the *Daily Express* continued to be 'optimistic for the Tories' (Pelling, 1980: 408). Yet, it is fair to say for most people the result was a shock. Some have seen the result as a culmination of Labour's rise, while others see Churchill's war success as not being enough to eclipse the disenchantment created by pre-War living standards presided over by Conservative administrations. People simply did not want to return to the 1930s. *The Times* considered Churchill's tactics were wrong in concentrating on 'the party fight' (Pelling, 1980: 410). Perhaps most prevalent was the general mood that after six long years, there was simply a desire for change. This general desire

for change, as there had been a Conservative majority since November 1931, is easy to understand, but we should also consider the significant gulf between opinion of Churchill himself and that of his party, who were still blamed for the failure to rearm, the derided Munich Agreement, and 1930s unemployment. It is certainly possible to argue that the Conservative party were all too aware of this if their election posters are any indication. One states ‘Confirm Your Confidence in Churchill’ without making any mention of the party of which he was leader. But it was within the pages, albeit limited due to paper rationing, of the popular press that calls for change found a focus of expression, even if some considered that one of the reasons many people vote in general elections is ‘because of the last-minute pressure put upon them by newspapers and radio’ (Orwell, 1945: 65).

The Army Bureau of Current Affairs, in response to worries about right-wing tendencies among the British army during the first years of the war set up training in politics to counterbalance this, as well as to educate soldiers about the political landscape. Critics of the system, including former Conservative minister of Education, R.A Butler have argued that it went too far and essentially introduced the soldiers to ‘left-wing influence’ (Pelling, 1980: 410). Possibly the most significant subject to which soldiers were introduced and discussed was the Beveridge Report which in essence was a proposal ‘to abolish poverty’ (Addison, 1994: 17) and outlined plans for all people of a working age to pay a weekly contribution in return for benefits to be paid for the sick, unemployed, retired or widowed. Despite this, many Conservatives have criticised the initiative, even claiming that the ABCA was ‘the only regiment with a general election among its battle honours’ (Thatcher, 1995: 22).

The fact that the Second World War was such a huge-scale conflict with both soldiers and those left at home ripped out of their familiar surroundings into ‘strange and alien worlds of dislocation’ (Fielding, 1992: 628) in which death or the loss of a partner was an ever-present reality understandably created a

generation who lived in a state of dichotomy between a desire for a return to the norm, and a wish for things not to be the same as they had before the war. This feeling was both reflected and informed by popular papers such as the *Daily Express*, and particularly the *Daily Mirror*. These were newspapers which were only too aware of the dangers of being perceived as too radical during war time following the closure of the *Daily Worker* on 21 January 1941 and the furore created by Philip Zec's 6 March 1942 price of petrol cartoon [fig 6.1], in which the government completely mis-read the cartoonist's meaning. The Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, described it as worthy of 'Goebbels at his best' (Zec, 2005; 79). Zec was horrified and protested that this had not been his intention. The *Daily Mirror* was threatened with closure, but an MI5 investigation concluded that Zec had no Nazi sympathies, and was in fact Jewish.

These papers certainly did not want any social change that would be considered too radical, they were after all commercial entities that depended on advertising, a certain level of government approval, and the loyalty of readers to remain a viable business concern. However, they did think change at some level was required and therefore used their pages to slowly, yet determinedly mount a campaign for one of the biggest shake ups in election history. How did they do this? There were, of course, leaders and columns which spoke of the need for change, for example to adopt the recommendations of the Beveridge Report, but what is often overlooked is the role the visual had in helping to create a mood for change, while providing commentary on the war and life on the home front.

As has been noted, the importance of the letters page was nothing new in the print media, but the 1930s and 1940s saw a significant shift in *how* letters pages were utilised. In the nineteenth century, newspapers such as the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* 'prided themselves on the influence of their letters pages both on government policy and their readers' (Conboy, 2017: 451). However, taking their inspiration from titles such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Tit-Bits*, the popular press

of the 1930s and 1940s saw their letters pages as a way to build a bond with readers that was bi-directional, and in tandem with a news cartoon which was often placed adjacent, helped to establish an editorial identity. As has been discussed, Lord Beaverbrook did this in the 1930s with everything from Strube's cartoons to the horoscope in his *Daily Express*. By the time of the mid-1940s, the use of the letters page had changed to something more reminiscent of a dialogue than a reinforcement of an already established identity. Both letters and cartoons as representations of the shift to a more popular form of the print media worked to establish loyalty, a key driver in a time when competition was so robust, in part at least because of the introduction of the Audit Bureau of Circulation in 1931, which enabled newspapers and their readers to identify which newspapers were the most successful.

The creation of loyalty through letters and cartoons was important because as sales figures were now being audited, newspapers had to offer content directed to and shaped by the expectations of a particular demographic in order to secure and retain reader loyalty, something which can be seen in the way in which they both received so much dominance in a time of paper rationing. This was particularly evident in the *Daily Mirror* which recognised the need to amend its political and demographic appeal as a result of a commercial imperative, and did this in part by adopting a 'class-based rhetoric' (Thomas, 2005: 23). That is, in order not just to survive, but to succeed, the *Mirror* knew it needed not just a unique voice, but the right kind of voice, something which they tried to capture by 'ventriloquiz[ing] the language of the working classes in their patterns of consumption' (Conboy, 2017: 455). The paper, which 'had previously been cautious for fear of alienating advertisers by being too identified with the less-affluent working class' (Thomas, 2005: 21), could now take advantage of the increased demand for news and entertainment by enhancing its multimodal content. Letters, of course, did this by giving this demographic a national

platform to air its opinions, but also by the use of topical cartoons that encapsulated the views of the paper's readers.

This ultimately led to a general feeling that the *Mirror* contributed to the shock election result, with even Tom Hopkinson, editor of the *Picture Post*, feeling that the most influential publication on the outcome of the 1945 general election was the *Daily Mirror*. The role of the press had developed during the Second World War and this was reflected in a drawing back from what George Orwell called 'sensational nonsense' (Orwell, 1944: 156) to a more personal and household-focused platform. This may well have been intentional, but it should also be noted that the need for sensationalist headlines was somewhat diminished by the true sensationalism of stories of the war.

There is a dichotomy here between the perceived influence the *Mirror* had on the 1945 general election and the low percentage of its readers who in a Mass Observation survey claimed to be interested in its news coverage. Indeed, it has been noted that 'The editorials in the *Daily Mirror*…are evidence only of what the editor wanted to say' (Addison, 1994: 15). So what drew readers to the *Mirror*? The *Mirror's* key strength in relation to its competitors was that it championed the visual, a fact even more pertinent when we consider that one of its key rivals, the *Herald* refused to carry any comic strips something which were part of the *Mirror's* visual-centric nexus.

The Soldiers' Paper

It is instructive here to undertake a brief quantitive study of the contents of the two largest selling newspapers, the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* during one week in June 1945. Taking as a sample the newspapers published between

Monday 4 and Saturday 9 June, the difference between the two titles is immediately apparent. Over the six days, the *Mirror* included 56 cartoons (news, strip and gag), while the *Express* published only six. This averages out at one a day for the *Express*, but 9 per day for the *Mirror*. The eight page tabloid *Mirror* includes a daily page which contains 6 strip cartoons, with the following page featuring an additional two (including *Jane*) with the back page the regular home for the pocket gag cartoon, *Useless Eustace*. As a sign of the importance of the visual to the *Mirror* and its readers, this cartoon almost always appears in the Stop Press/Latest News column, printed the wrong way around in order to facilitate its inclusion, in a time of paper rationing.

Even without having to contend with the absence of one of their main cartoonists, the *Mirror* at this time actually still has less news cartoons than the *Express*. The broadsheet features Strube cartoons on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday; a pocket cartoon on Wednesday and Thursday; and a Giles cartoon on Thursday. In comparison, the *Mirror* only has a Zec cartoon on Tuesday and Wednesday. The *Express* had no strip cartoons, whereas the *Mirror* had 8 a day, demonstrating an unrivalled commitment to graphic humour which built on a long tradition of championing the form, but contrasted with the more news-focused *Express*.

The publication of such a high number of cartoons was part of a strategy to deliberately target service personnel, along with factory workers many of whom would have been women, with an entertainment-centric package. By doing so the *Mirror* combined entertainment with a campaigning fervour for social equality. One of the ways in which it engendered a link with its readers was through its use of correspondence columns which helped cement a relationship between paper and readers.

However, even more so than through its letters pages, it is arguably the *Mirror's* pioneering use and commitment to the graphic side of journalism which contributed to its mass appeal. By 1948, the first Audit Bureau of Circulation report since the beginning of the war showed 12 per cent of its pages were taken up with comic strips. In comparison with the 17 per cent of readers who looked to its news coverage, between 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the *Mirror's* readers looked at the comic strip *Jane* during the day (Cudlipp, 1953: 69). A cartoon which put the strip into comic strip, the eponymous heroine had spent most of the war in various levels of undress, but in a way that perhaps sums up the *Mirror*'s embrace of the popular, she marked the cessation of hostilities in Europe with a VE Day strip in which she finally lost all of her clothes.

There can be little doubt that the *Daily Mirror* was very successful in its aim, and was rewarded with circulation figures of 3,700,000 which continued to close the gap on the *Daily Express* the country's top selling daily paper, which stood at 3,855,000 in 1948. Indeed, this may be one of the reasons that cartoons of the period took up so much print real estate when paper rationing was at its height. Their projection of the themes that were important to the newspaper's readers, especially in a time of war, made them stand out from other popular newspapers which carried less cartoons. This perceived bond between the newspaper and its readers, whether it was real or imagined, can help to explain why it was so successful at becoming the 'soldiers' paper' or 'the forces' favourite' (Greenslade, 2003: 3) and by extension the paper to whom many people credited the shock result of the 1945 general election.

Hugh Cudlipp attributed this success to the paper's 'new school of young journalists with an unorthodox outlook upon life' (Smith, 1975: 115). This, along with a combination of inclusivity, uncomplicated politics, and air of 'good sense' made the paper not just the favourite of the rank and file, but of those left behind - the wives, girlfriends and mothers - as well as those on the home front, including

thousands of women who worked in the factories vacated by men. This is evidenced by a Mass Observation File Report (1173: 1) from as early as 24 March 1942 which remarked that the *Daily Mirror* was the 'biggest source of opinion forming among service personnel' (Conboy, 2017).

Cartoon Representations of the General Election

This all coalesced in June 1945 when the *Daily Mirror* included strips which utilised a multimodal approach in which 'a pilot reads and writes in response to a letter from home' (Conboy, 2017: 462). In the run up to Polling Day these became a regular feature of the newspaper, spreading across the top of two pages. In an example from June 28 [fig 6.2], we see a soldier writing home: 'Dear Mary' it begins setting up a mode of discourse that would have been familiar to many of the paper's readers in which he begins by assuring his wife/girlfriend that everything is OK, and that they're 'getting cracking'. The multimodal form here adds a level of poignancy as the visual element shows the soldier on patrol and then in action in Japan in stark contrast to his mundane, if comforting words. However, he then goes on to discuss the upcoming election, asking how things are going. 'I haven't got a vote, but I know the sort of world we hoped for after this war is over - so vote for me!' The format this takes seems to be intended to create both a sense of familiarity that had become the staple of pocket cartoons with readers identifying with the ordinary people portrayed, in this case by using letters from troops to their loved ones, with the element of a strip cartoon familiar to the paper's readers in the form of the massively popular *Jane*, and finally, in a sense of distancing from any sense of political influence by the newspaper itself. That is, the *Mirror* is creating a false sense of dispassionate distance by essentially framing an editorial opinion as a letter and combining it with a visual

element. Of course at no point does the paper claim that the 'letter' is genuine, but equally at no point does it stress that it is the work of an artist, although it may well be that this was an example of letters being connected by the newspapers themselves to foreground the ideal relationship with their readers. There is almost an implication that even if the letter is a piece of fiction, it is in some way a summation of the feelings of soldiers still serving abroad. Whether we agree with this or not, there can be little doubt that these 'letters from home' formed part of a multimodal campaign which was essentially taking full advantage of an audience the paper had painstakingly constructed. The *Mirror* had revised its own identity and had become 'particularly effective during the war' (Greenslade, 2003: 3) and with it utilised the visual as well as the written to create a powerful bond between paper and reader, to directly influence the outcome of the 1945 general election.

On June 4, Churchill made what has become his most infamous election speech during a broadcast on the BBC in which he said a socialist Labour government 'would have to fall back on some form of Gestapo, no doubt very humanely in the first instance'. The *Daily Express* of the following day had the main headline 'Gestapo in Britain If Socialists Win' which while in quotation marks, still arguably gave the impression that it was fact, rather than a quote. The sub heading states 'They would dictate what to say and do, even where, to queue'. Interestingly the *Express* highlights what it clearly feels is an attack on the very essence of Britishness: queuing. Attlee responded the following day in a speech again broadcast on the BBC by saying that 'The voice we heard last night was that of Mr Churchill, but the mind was that of Lord Beaverbrook'. The *Daily Mirror's* page two editorial called Churchill 'one of the greatest speakers of all time' and predicted that his war speeches would 'go down in history', but then went on to contrast Churchill the war leader with Churchill the 'partisan' politician, as 'chief clap-trap manufacturer for the Conservative Party',

significantly refusing to be drawn into using the Conservative's nom de plume of the National Party. Mass Observation noted that 'It would be difficult to exaggerate the disappointment and genuine distress aroused by this speech' (Addison, 1994: 265). Yet as is so often the case, the most concise response came in the form of a cartoon. Above the *Daily Mirror's* editorial on the day following the *Express* ran its Gestapo headline was a Zec cartoon [fig 6.3] featuring a policeman, postman, and vicar all looking at a newspaper with details of Churchill's speech. The postman says 'Just fancy - we've been employed by the State for years without knowing that we've been hunted, persecuted, Gestapo-ridden slaves' (*Daily Mirror*, 6 June 1945: 4).

On 20 June 1945 the *Daily Express* led with the accusation that Labour Party chairman, Harold Laski in answering questions after a speech at Newark had argued for 'socialism even if it means violence'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Daily Mirror* made no mention of Laski's comments until the following day when Zec's cartoon [fig 6.4] contained an oblique reference to the events of the past few weeks by drawing a couple walking past a house where partly hidden hands were holding out fish on pieces of string with signs attached such as 'Avoid the Terror of the Gestapo' and 'Beware Revolution'. All the fish were marked 'Tory Red Herring'. However, despite the ridicule the *Mirror* poured on the Conservative's response to Laski's remarks, he issued a writ for libel but lost the action, facing £13,000 in costs. The year after Attlee wrote to him to say, 'a period of silence on your part would be welcome'. Not everyone agreed with the paper's stance, with Orwell considering it an attempt to 'drag the contest down to the level of 1931' and thought that it was 'simply one more demonstration of the inability of the big press lords to influence public opinion by direct means' (Orwell, 1945: 66).

Along with its 1945 manifesto claims that it stood for freedom of worship and speech, the Labour Party claimed that it stood for freedom of the press. Indeed,

the role of the *Daily Mirror* has been seen by some as pivotal in Labour's victory. This is partly down to a specific editorial strategy: it was 'deliberately targeted at service personnel' (Bromley, 1999: 105), and actively encouraged them to air their grievances, something which led to charges that the paper was pandering to the ranks by engendering a distrust of authority. Of course, the *Daily Mirror* was not the only pro-Labour newspaper; the *Daily Herald* and the *News Chronicle* also gave their support to Labour (Douglas, 1990), as did many of the key cartoonists of the time. David Low, James Friell, Vicky, and the *Mirror's* Philip Zec. Low came under constant pressure from Lord Beaverbrook,[18] then owner of Low's paper, to attack the Labour Party, in particular the socialist, Professor Harold Laski. Despite this pressure, Low consistently ridiculed Churchill while supporting the Labour Party. It is somewhat surprising that Low was missing from the pages of the *Evening Standard* for two weeks due to (according to the paper) his need for sea air (Benson, 2015). It is not unreasonable to surmise that the fact that he had continuously gone against Beaverbrook's editorial line may well have been a factor.

In the weeks preceding the general election, the popular press's cartoonists reflected the tensions in Westminster and the re-establishment of party politics which if they had never exactly lain dormant, had slumbered somewhat uneasily during the war. The *Daily Mail's* Illingworth captured this mood with a 5 June cartoon showing John Bull asleep while his liberties were curtailed. A letter published two days later commends the cartoon calling it a 'boon to the National Conservatives' (*Daily Mail,* 7 June 1945). The following week Illingworth depicted Churchill and one of his strongest supporters, Lord Beaverbrook suggesting that the war time restrictions and controls should be demolished, while Labour leader Attlee, Morrison and Bevan consider more 'restrictions and

[18] For a discussion of Low's missing weeks see, Benson 2015

controls' (Douglas, 1990: 271). Of course there is more to the cartoon than the caption 'How about knocking these things down now?' Churchill is depicted with his sleeves rolled up, mirroring Low's famous 'All behind you, Winston' (*Evening Standard*, 14 May 1940), holding a pneumatic drill signalling a man of action; someone who gets things done. Conversely Morrison is drawn in a manner which seems to portray him as a bespectacled schoolboy, he is looking at plans, while Churchill is ready to start to take control of the 'National Reconstruction Company'.

A fortnight later, Illingworth has Attlee and Morrison as prison guards, reflecting the common idea among Conservative supporters that a Labour government would lead to a loss of liberty for the population. Atleee holds a banner that lists Labour promises: 'Work for all! Regular meals! Free housing!' While Illingworth's caption reads: 'Everything but freedom!' Above the door are the words 'Governor Laski', part of the right of centre popular press's campaign against Labour's chairman. However, it is possible that this was a misstep on Illingworth's part as even readers of a Conservative supporting newspaper may have struggled to visualise Labour leaders, 'who had played a major part in the war' (Douglas, 1990: 272) against Germany as prison guards.

This argument that a Labour government would curtail freedom was rebuked not just in the *Daily Mirror's* columns and editorials, but also in the work of their cartoonist. In a cartoon captioned 'Your 'freedom' is in danger!' Zec draws the public in the form of a Gulliver type character, bound by ropes to the floor while being lectured by a Conservative supporter about the dangers to freedom. The message here is that the public is not free at all, but rather bound by the economy, the price of food, and poor housing. The man representing the Public was of an age to have been directly involved in the war, while the Conservative is old, representing the past.

What is particularly interesting is that Zec has the Conservative holding a placard that has the word Tory crossed out and replaced in the phrase Vote Tory with National. This was a common occurrence during the election campaign (Douglas, 1990) as the Churchill government commonly identified as 'National', a clear indication that they were trying to distance themselves from 'Conservative' or 'Tory'.

Another area in which the 1945 general election was unique was the time involved between Election Day and the results being announced. The long delay between Polling Day and the results being announced, due to the wait for troop votes to be counted, meant that the country entered a sort of extended limbo, following on from when Churchill dissolved the war coalition. During this extended wait, Strube's *Daily Express* cartoon published on 23 July built on the cartoon he had drawn a decade before which showed Hitler, Stalin and acts of terrorism pushing to gain access to the Little Man's garden, as a representation of the garden of England. In that cartoon, as has been discussed, Strube inverts Beaverbrook's wish for the *Express* to be an isolationist safe zone which helped keep the unpleasantness of the outside world at bay, by showing the garden fence metaphorically straining to keep out events in Europe. In his 1945 cartoon, Strube's depiction of the man in the street leaning on a garden folk staring at the ground with a bag of 'Parliament Seeds' which take '21 days to germinate', and which came from a ballot box in his wheelbarrow. Leaning over the fence a line of figures which includes Churchill, Attlee, Lord Beaverbrook, and Uncle Sam look on as the result of the election will affect them all. The inclusion of Beaverbrook, among political leaders, is instructive not of his importance to politics, but as owner of the *Daily Express*. It is possible to argue that Strube is noting that the main political news was that everyone was waiting for some political news.

When that news finally came, Vicky's 27 July cartoon in the *News Chronicle* looks not at Labour's victory as such, but rather the defeated Conservatives. Ernest Bevan sits at a desk in the Employment Exchange faced with a queue of Tory MPs who have lost their jobs, including the Caretakers Government's First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Ministers for National Insurance, Works, and Education.

One of the most prophetic cartoons in the run up to Polling Day was published in the *Daily Mirror* on 22 June. Zec's cartoon [fig 6.5] shows a pair of beavers vainly attempting to construct a dam with 'Scares, Stunts, Election Lies, and Tricks', which is being overwhelmed by the power of the current labelled 'The Determination of the People to Build a Better Britain'. The cartoon is interesting for two reasons: firstly, it forecasts an outcome to the election that at that point in time was still widely considered to be unlikely. Secondly, it is especially interesting for the way in which it combines metaphor, the dominant trope of editorial cartoons, with metonymy something which, as discussed in Chapter Four, Osbert Lancaster had been developing as a key feature of the pocket cartoon. The metaphor is easy to interpret. The brook that cannot hold back the inadequate attempt to dam it gives way, just as the Conservatives' unsubtle and underdeveloped attempts to block socialist progress cannot be held back as the country's voters will prove on Polling Day. It is essentially a typical partisan newspaper cartoon, the roots of which can easily be traced back to the days of Gillray and Cruickshank. However, it is in the use of metonymy that we can see both the influence of the new, and at the time on hiatus, pocket cartoon. Zec draws the two beavers with starched white collars and top hats, metonymic signifiers of their class and political allegiance. This device works on two fronts: it first helps the reader place the beavers within a visual lexicon as Tories; secondly, it helps formulate a second layer of meaning. That is, it is not just the dam of Conservative utterances that cannot hold back the tide of public opinion, but the desire for a

better Britain is washing away those who have been metonymically signified as relics of the past. The old order can no longer resist the power of change. This is particularly evident in the beaver to the right who is has desperately been attempting to hold on, but is now adrift and as the waters of change take him, his top hat which is acting as the ultimate metonymic signifier for a past era, is blown off his head and is about to be submerged in the rush and clamour for a better Britain. It is also surely no coincidence that the cartoon features an ineffectual beaver and brook, a sly nod to the proprietor of the *Daily Express.*

The 'Vote for Him' campaign can be seen as the summation and zenith of this move to create an inclusive platform in which the paper implemented everything it had learned and had applied it to its new focus on influencing the result of the election. The campaign dates from 25 June 1945 when the *Mirror* published a letter credited to a Mrs C. Gardiner of Essex, stating that she will 'vote for him'. Whether this was a genuine letter or not - it is possible it was written in-house as a way to launch the campaign - its impact cannot be denied. Drawing on the fear of a return to the years of unemployment and hardship before the war, the letter and subsequent campaign seems to have tapped into a national mood for change. The campaign was mirrored in the cartoons that paper carried on a daily basis. The *Daily Mirror* had always been keen to support and exploit visual elements within the paper. Indeed, editor Bartholomew had once been a cartoonist and had been very impressed by the use of graphic elements within the American tabloid press, such as the *New York Post*.

Perhaps the most important cartoon of the era was drawn by Philip Zec and published on 7 May 1945, the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany [fig 6.6]. A battle-scarred solider climbs a hill with the ravages of war behind him and holds out a wreath with the words 'Victory and Peace in Europe'. His fatigued and careworn face looks directly out from the drawing as the caption reads, 'Here you are! Don't lose it again!' It is undoubtedly a striking image, and one that

deserves its place at the Imperial War Museum (Zec, 2005). However, what is perhaps most interesting about this famous cartoon is not the significant impact it had on its first publication, but rather the fact it was reprinted to arguably an even greater effect. On Election Day, 5 July 1945, almost two months to the day since the paper first ran Zec's cartoon, the *Mirror* took the unprecedented step of republishing the same cartoon, only this time they published it on the front page, where it occupied around two thirds of the available space. The cartoon acts as a call to arms to voters and as a culmination of the newspaper's Vote for Him campaign, which was designed to encourage readers to vote Labour, or even Liberal, but most importantly *not* Conservative.

What is particularly interesting about this is not that a left of centre paper's visual content was anti-Conservative, but the influence politicians had over the actual content of the paper. Zec's politics were certainly left wing, but the extent to which he was directly influenced by the Labour Party may be more surprising. In the weeks before the election, there were 'frequent meetings between Zec and Labour politicians' (Zec, 2005: 143), during which it would be highly surprising if Zec's coverage of the campaign was not discussed. Indeed, it is more than likely that this was the sole reason for the meetings. What cannot be doubted is that the *Mirror's* decision to place the Zec cartoon on its front page worked. It was the perfect summation of their campaign and worked in a number of ways. It did not actively attack Churchill, which would have been a very dangerous tactic, instead it made the reader ask the question: who is it addressed to? It is quite clear that it was not addressed to the people who had fought the war as the soldier is a clear embodiment of not just the armed forces, but those who had remained on the home front who simply did not have the power to lose the peace. There was also the use of the word 'again'; the multimodal use of caption plus image creates the cartoon's strength. It is not a plea not to lose the peace per se, but rather not to lose it for a second time. The message is clear, the victory had been won despite

the incompetence of those charged with securing the peace after the First World War. The cartoon can therefore be seen as a criticism of previous administrations and the old order of Conservatism, dubbed the 'guilty men' (Addison, 1994: 112), who through a number of errors from the Versailles Treaty to the Munich agreement and the lack of foresight when it came to rearming, created the situation in which Britain had to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives in order to protect herself. Zec and the *Mirror* tap perfectly into the idea that despite all Churchill had done for the country, the party he represented should not be allowed back into power after the mistakes it had made in the previous decade.

When we take these facts into account it becomes clear that Zec's cartoon was the perfect front page at the perfect time. It reinforced the paper's left of centre beliefs and used an image originally intended to mark VE Day to inspire and motivate voters on Polling Day to vote for a future that would protect a world in which peace could be guaranteed. When the results were finally declared Bartholomew invited Zec to join him in a champagne celebration, thereby acknowledging his cartoonist's role in both the success of the paper and that of Labour's election victory (Zec, 2005).

Zec's issue, like millions of Labour voters and for that matter the politicians themselves, had never been with Churchill's wartime work. The result 'came as a distinct shock to most of the political world…which [were] convinced that Churchill's charisma would carry the day' (Addison, 1994: 14). Perhaps in the final analysis as Harold Macmillan stated 'it was not Churchill who lost the election, but the ghost of Neville Chamberlain' (Macmillan, 1979: 32). That is, despite all of Churchill's wartime success, the public's perception of the Conservative party had remained largely unchanged. This was summed up in Zec's 16 August cartoon [fig 6.7] which shows a man and woman standing on top of the world with a Victory Dawn lightening the sky. To the left, setting in the sky is Churchill's round head. The caption reads, 'Thank you for light in the

darkest hours' (*Daily Mirror,* 16 August 1945: 2), a clear acknowledgement of the former Prime Minister's pivotal role in wartime victory, while simultaneously marking the beginning of a new age.

It should be now clear that although pocket cartoons were absent from the pages of the national press in the run up to the 1945 general election, their influence was not. There is clear evidence in the work of cartoonists such as Zec that a number of key cartoons of the period demonstrated tropes introduced by Lancaster's work in the previous five years, including metonymy and a more humour-centric approach.

Conclusion

Zec's wartime cartoons, like those that appeared in other popular papers including the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* illustrate how newspapers forged closer relationships with their readers by tapping into popular moods, and even in times of severe paper rationing how editors foregrounded the use of the visual, something that was particularly evident in the 'soldiers' paper', the *Daily Mirror*.

In the discussion of the politics of print, critical attention has all too often focused on the verbal to the exclusion of the visual, especially with reference to cartoons which as we have seen can express topical events more lucidly. The cartoons we have looked at, along with many others, tried to influence the outcome of the UK 1945 general election through the long-established tropes of satirical visual language, along with elements borrowed from the developing pocket cartoon, and became a template for future graphic content in the popular press.

The cartoons of the Second World War, and especially those published in the run up to the 1945 general election, helped mark not just the victory of the Allies, but also the triumph of the visual as an essential element of the popular newspaper and today act as an underused resource in the study of both the evolution of the popular press and research into issues of editorial content, social class, and politics.

Chapter 7- Case Study Two:

The Suez Crisis as Represented in the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* July 1956 – January 1957

In this second case study I will look at the representation of the Suez Crisis in the two largest selling popular daily newspapers of the time: The *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express*. In the first section I will provide an overview of how the coverage developed over the course of the crisis and the ways in which the papers formulated and developed their respective editorial lines. I will then go on to focus on the use of cartoons and argue that the crisis saw the development of the pocket cartoon as one of the key elements in the move towards the popularisation of the British press.

Introduction

Sir Anthony Eden, the Conservative Prime Minister, viewed the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Colonel Nasser, President of Egypt, as an affront to Britain. This was partly because of the country's long history in the region, dating back to Disraeli's premiership, and the fact that even at the end of the Second World War, the canal had to all intents and purposes remained a British possession. Eden's anger was a feeling which seems to have been shared by a majority of the population, at least in the immediate aftermath. British newspapers were quick to articulate this from the establishment *Times* which

stated on 27 July that Nasser's actions were a 'threat to Western interests' (*The Times*, 27 July 1956: 5) to the popularist *Daily Mirror* dubbing him 'Grabber Nasser' *(Daily Mirror*, 27 July 1956: 1).

When news reached Eden of Nasser's nationalisation of the canal on the evening of 26 July, he was with, amongst others, Iraq's Prime Minister Nuri es Said and the Labour Leader Hugh Gaitskell. Perhaps unsurprisingly given Iraq's fractious relationship with Egypt, the Iraqis immediately called for a strong reaction. Gaitskell, mirroring most of the left supporting press (with the exception of the *Guardian*) in the immediate aftermath of the news, also called for quick action, albeit with the caveat that America should be involved.

The issue facing Eden was how his wish for a military intervention could be shown to be both justified and the only appropriate solution. In this presentation he was assisted, at least initially, by the genuine outcry and outrage of the public in what was seen as an attack on Britain and its empire. There was a widespread, if not universal, call for action to be taken. However, Eden was faced with a major problem. He was quickly told by his military leaders that any response would take weeks to organise, a situation compounded by the fact that British troops had left the canal only the previous month; therefore he had no choice but to wait. Because of this, he correctly anticipated that the initial outcry would wear off and many newspapers and their readers would have more time to digest the facts of the situation and in doing so the clamour for military action would subside. Eden therefore needed to manage the media in the hopes of maintaining this initial public outcry, while simultaneously being seen to hold the moral high ground.

To do this he devised what can be seen as a propaganda plan to control the narrative in order to facilitate his ultimate goal of military action and the

overthrow of Nasser, in what he believed and hoped would be deemed the national interest.

Eden continued to be haunted by the ghost of appeasement which infused his speeches with semantic links to the 1930s and then, lest anyone did not make the link, explicitly stated that the situation was exactly the same as had been encountered from Mussolini and Hitler. The *Mirror* reinforced the Prime Minister's rhetoric on 30 July, asking its readers whether they 'Remember[ed] Mussolini?' There was a palpable fear of repeating the mistakes of the 1930s and this seems to have been the prime narrative in the early days of the crisis. When the Prime Minister broadcast to the nation on 8 August, he adopted a conversational tone. 'The pattern is clear to many of us, my friends', he began with mode of language designed to be conversational, reminiscent of shared confidences; '…we all remember only too well what the cost can be of giving into fascism' he added. The hoped for result, we can assume, was one of resigned stoicism. The evidence from the newspapers was that at this point he may have been winning the propaganda battle, and indeed it has been suggested that if he had 'struck now, Eden might have won broad public support' (Sandbrook, 2006: 13).

This did not happen. There followed a delay which uncomfortably echoed the 'phony war' of late 1939, something Osbert Lancaster highlighted in a pocket cartoon featuring a couple dressed in evening wear with the woman observing 'the gossip-writers are quite right – this year the London season *has* recaptured that pre-war feeling!' (*Daily Express*, 1 August, 1956: 1). Lancaster is here mirroring the way politicians from both sides were using 1930s allusions to call for action, whether diplomatic or military, against Nasser. During the rest of August and into September, little seemed to be happening, certainly from the point of view of the public and newspapers. Eden therefore needed to manage press coverage so that the strength of the initial outcry could be maintained, but

this proved increasingly difficult. Suez was soon superseded on the front pages with an assortment of stories such as the *Daily Mirror's* 'Laker to Go To Australia' (28 August 1956: 1), based on the England cricketer's decision to play in the Ashes series; and the *Express's* 'A Plane Crashes into Cabbage Patch' (2 October 1956: 1). With the delay in action came a weakening of public support, and a growing sense of frustration that was reflected in press attention.

Despite this Eden was convinced that, when it came to it, the Americans would support Britain's intervention. It was a major misjudgement, but it was also bad luck. Timing worked against Eden with the 23 October Soviet invasion of Hungary making it difficult for the Americans to openly support the British, French, and Israeli military intervention, as did the imminent presidential election.

All of this was reflected in the shifting sands of public opinion. Back in August the *New York Times* reported that an opinion poll showed 50% of people in favour of military action (with 29% against). This dropped to 37% in favour on November 1, but interestingly climbed back to 49% by 25 November (Owen, 1957: 353).

The fluid stance of weakening and then increasing support was reflected in the Labour party, which was also suffering a shifting position, with leader Gaitskell moving from defiant support in the summer to complaining that Eden had violated the United Nation's charter.

Context: Suez and the Perceived Decline of Britain's World Role

This idea that Suez marked the end of Britain as a world power continues to be discussed (Lucas, 1991; Kyle, 2003). However, other critics have

challenged this standard interpretation[19]. What cannot be disputed is that it is through the pages of the British press, and especially in popular newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express*, that we can view how the crisis was *perceived*. The British were seen to have been demoted to a junior position in relation to the Americans, something which in fact could be dated back fifteen years, as could the inevitability of the decline of Empire to the 'irrecoverable offer of independence to India' (Darwin, 2009: 14).

An additional narrative has been a tendency to see the failure of Suez as a result of American lack of support or the negative influence of the Soviets and the unfortunate timing of their invasion of Hungary; however, it would be a mistake to see the failure of Suez to be down solely to foreign issues. Equally important is the effect of domestic concerns, as well as the way in which the press reacted not just to the initial stages of the crisis from Nasser's nationalisation of the canal to Eden's first responses, but how a number of newspapers shifted their stance during the months from July to November, including even the staunchly pro-Eden *Daily Express*.

In the first instance, following on directly from the nationalisation of the canal, much of the British press agreed with Eden's assertion that democracy was threatened and peace in the Middle East jeopardised by Nasser's actions, and was broadly in favour of a strong response. Perhaps the most outspoken in favour of strong intervention was the *Daily Express* who saw it as an attack on democracy. It should be noted that the press's reaction to the unfolding Suez crisis was not necessarily divided along political lines. The Cassandra column in the *Daily Mirror*, for example, recognised Eden's belief that Nasser's actions were reminiscent of Mussolini's in the 1930s and acknowledging the Prime Minister's history of non-appeasement, wanted assurances that he had not changed his

[19] See, for example, Darwin (2009), Peden (2012) and Tombs (2021)

position (*Daily Mirror*, 30 July 1956, :4). What this in essence highlights is that newspapers on the left and the right of the political spectrum, such as the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* respectively, shared the same demand for action, but for different reasons. That is, whereas the *Express* was supportive of the government and saw Nasser as a threat to Britain and its empire, the *Mirror* argued for decisive action *despite* what they saw as an ineffective government. That is not to say that there were not any dissenting voices in the early stages in late July. The *Tribune* and the *New Statesman* never wavered from a belief that the nationalisation was lawful, but these were minor voices in the sense that their circulations were very small, especially when compared with the *Mirror* and *Express* who both stood in excess of four million daily sales (the *Express* at 4,042,224; the *Mirror* at 4,649,696).

The *Daily Mirror* initially fell in to a point with Eden's attempts to align Nasser's actions with those of Mussolini. Their 28 July front page features a photograph of Nasser, in which he displays a remarkable resemblance to the Italian dictator. This use of a visual signifier is typical of the *Mirror*, as the paper that more than any other came to understand the importance of the visual, and like the cartoons it carried combined the picture with a caption, in this case the headline that cried 'Grabber Nasser', a sobriquet that it would continue to use over the coming weeks, along with the tagline 'The Suez Grab'. Indeed, in the early weeks of the crisis there is an impression that the *Mirror* was unsure how to react, something that was in least part due to a difference of opinion between Cecil King (the *Mirror*'s director) and Hugh Cudlipp (its editor).

In fact, one of the most notable aspects of British press coverage during the latter half of 1956 is the clear difference between July and August, and October and beyond. In just a matter of two to three months, there had been a significant shift in attitude in a number of newspapers. This became even starker as a result of the confusion created by Eden's lack of clear message. At one time he seemed

to be positioning himself as a peacekeeper, at another he was seen to be riding roughshod over the United Nations. This inability – or lack of desire – to 'define[d] the purpose of its policy' (Parmentier, 1980: 439) led to confusion as to what the purpose was behind Eden's plans. This in turn led to the *Daily Express*, arguably the staunchest of Eden's supporters, shifting from its support for a full occupation on 31 October, to contradicting itself just a week later when its 7 November editorial argued that following the ceasefire Britain's role was in fact to keep France and Israel apart. The *Express* also found itself alone in its lack of support for the United Nations, something that titles such as the *Mirror* were keen to champion. When to many people's surprise Canada voted against Britain, while the *Mirror* scored political points at the expense of Eden and his government, the *Express* handled the issue by simply making no reference whatsoever to it, a tactic it would repeat over the coming weeks and months with, as we will see, the exception of some of Lancaster's cartoons.

This reversal in attitude by a number of papers saw Egypt move from aggressor to victim, especially in the left of centre newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*, which demonstrated a complete turnaround in opinion between August and October. There was also a notable shift in a perception of Britain as a moral leader and the sense that the nationalisation was in some way an affront to Britain, to suspicions about its relationship with Israel, leading to a feeling of having lost the moral high ground. This was used by Labour supporting papers such as the *Daily Mirror* as an excuse to attack the government in general and Eden specifically. Of course, this change of direction did not come without its problems and the *Mirror* faced – as it had during the general election of 1945 and would again in its condemnation of the Iraq War – the problem of how it could at once 'oppose the war while maintaining a patriotic posture by supporting front-line troops' (Tulloch, 2007: 42), something that was particularly pertinent as the *Mirror* had been known as the 'soldier's paper'.

The *Mirror* endeavoured to address this issue by launching a campaign which ran over a period of months from September 1956 to January 1957 and only ended with Eden's resignation. One of the chief ways in which it constructed its campaign was by classifying the conflict as Eden's war, and presenting itself as campaigning *on behalf* of its readers. By personalising its attacks, it not only gained a clear target for its frustration and anger, but it politicised Suez along party lines, and therefore gained power and impact by utilising Labour's role as a powerful opposition. The *Mirror* ensured it was not just the news and comment pages which were the platform for the campaign, but also areas which traditionally fell into the 'entertainment' sections of the paper, including letters, some of which highlighted the boredom of soldiers during the long delay, features, and of course, through its use of cartoons.

The Long Delay

While the so-called long delay had been characterised by the *Mirror* as an example of Eden's ineptitude, it was in fact anticipated from the start as the Prime Minister was promptly made aware by his military advisers that any military intervention would require a considerable amount of time for planning. Therefore, anticipating the public's reaction, Eden understood the need to manage it as it was such an 'important factor' (Shaw, 1994: 275). However, it would be a mistake to try to find a causal link between newspapers' changing stance on the Suez crisis and their readers' opinion. It has been argued that newspapers which were critical of the government suffered a drop in readership, such as the claim that the *Daily Mirror* lost around between 70,000 and 80,000 readers (Edelman, 1966: 159). But as has already been stated, newspapers including the *Mirror* were initially supportive, if not always for the same reasons. For example, the *Observer*

and the *Mirror*, while strongly supportive of the United Nations, still agreed that under certain circumstances such as Nasser closing the canal, military action would be appropriate. However, there are subtle shifts here such as the August 14 *Mirror* leader which was headed 'No War Over Egypt', as their position was moving further and further from newspapers such as the *Express*, who the *Mirror* called 'sabre rattlers'. Conversely, the *Express* along with *The Times* and the *Mail*, continued to advocate military intervention and when troops landed in Cyprus to prepare for action, they championed the news. Eden had gone to the trouble of directly briefing both *The Times* and Arthur Christiansen, editor of the *Daily Express*, as he had identified them as key supporters. While *The Times* was seen as Britain's most prestigious newspaper, its effect on public opinion has been exaggerated (Shaw, 1994: 278) as its circulation stood at just 220,716 in 1956 as compared to the *Express's* 4,042,334. The shifting in editorial position has been challenged by some critics who have suggested that readers 'cheerfully accept editorial opinions opposite to their own' (Negrine, 1982: 9). Whether this is true or not, it would be a mistake to directly link a paper's decline in sales solely to its editorial position, as this overlooks the fact that newspapers, especially the popular press, are not just news providers, but a source of entertainment. Indeed, as has been previously noted, a 1948 survey demonstrated only 12% of *Mirror* readers read the news pages while almost 90% looked at the *Jane* cartoon.

However, it is certainly true that throughout 1956 the *Observer* was one of the leading critics of Eden and his handling of the Suez crisis, but claims that the paper 'paid in full for its stand on Suez' (Cockett, 1991: 10) fall into the trap of assigning more importance to editorial line than may well have been the case, especially when we consider the number of other newspapers which were at best unsure and at worst hostile to the government.

By September the *Mirror's* opposition had strengthened to the point that its front page featured an editorial from the *Guardian* on the deepening crisis. It developed this further on 4 September by utilising the visual to enhance and bolster their message. That day's front page had been completely redesigned to produce a landscape orientated wraparound broadsheet-style layout. This innovative use of page layout utilised a multimodal concept to deliver a visually striking commentary on Eden's government and its Suez policies by not just altering the format, but by transferring content from other platforms. This included a report from the *Daily Herald* on troop movements, and editorials from the *Economist, News Chronicle*, and *Observer*, all of whom were staunchly opposed to the government's handling of the crisis. This design feature was carried through to the back page which added excerpts from the Archbishop of Canterbury's address to TUC delegates, a *Guardian* editorial, and a speech by Labour MP John Strachey, something which has been seen as 'an orchestration of the official institutions of Labourism' (Tulloch, 2007: 56). At the bottom is a 'headline' in block capitals that reads, 'The Time Has Come for Eden to Tell the Nation' before a subheading poses the newspaper's questions: Is he planning a war with Egypt and if so, what conditions would he use military power? This use of page layout was designed to be visually arresting, but to also convey a message *beyond* the actual content; bringing together other newspapers along with public figures helps codify a sense of unity. In doing so the *Mirror* is utilising the multimodal lessons it had learned from its use of cartoons to achieve a consistent package to add gravitas to its editorial line.

Propaganda

At the core of the presentation of the Suez crisis in the print media is the question of who was manipulating who; that is, did the whole episode demonstrate Eden's complete lack of appreciation of how the media and public opinion would react to his government's actions, or was he in fact a skilled exponent of propaganda (at least in part) who successfully managed the media to ensure his message was communicated? Shaw certainly believes the latter and has written extensively about Eden's use of propaganda during the Suez crisis (Shaw, 1994; 1996). His main thesis is that Eden understood the importance of getting the press on his side, and that meant relying on Conservative supporting papers to communicate his messages while keeping the left of centre press in the dark as to his true intentions. If we momentarily accept this as the case, it would certainly be possible to offer an argument that the newspapers' respective cartoonists backed up the editorial stance of their papers. However, this rather binary argument misses many of the subtleties of the period between July 1956 and January 1957 during which the UK print media not just changed its position, but as we will see in the work of their cartoonists, often swayed between different outlooks.

There is, however, no doubt that Eden and his government *attempted* to manage the press and its output, just as all governments have done during times of conflict (and continue to do so). It obviously makes political sense for a government to at least endeavour to influence newspapers' opinions, and in times of war this need is heightened. However, what is particularly notable about the relationship between Eden, the press, and by extension its cartoonists, is that the government not only wanted to maintain support and morale, but use newspapers

as a smokescreen to obscure what its actual motives were in fighting the war in the first place.

At the centre of Eden's issue was the gap between the perceived ramifications of Nasser's actions and the fact that the nationalisation of the canal was in fact legal. That is, in terms of international law, Nasser had done nothing wrong. This posed Eden a major problem the end result of which was that he needed to promote a military response. There were a number of reasons for this. Nasser's actions were seen as a challenge to Britain and its claims on the canal; Eden had a genuine loathing of appeasement; and the Prime Minister's first twelve months in office had attracted criticism from the very newspapers he had hoped to count on for what they perceived as indecision. His government also found itself having to deal with a number of issues, such as rising inflation and resulting worsening economic climate. This led to criticism of Eden's leadership; something which became more intense as the new Labour leader, Hugh Gaitskell, was gaining support. Eden found himself, just six months after the successful May 1955 general election, having to insist that he was not going to resign. As pressure on his position grew in the New Year, he gave a speech attacking the press, which unsurprisingly led to further attacks. When Nasser nationalised the canal, Eden's anger must have been tempered with the realisation that this was the opportunity to define his premiership. He held serious concerns about Nasser's relationship with the Soviets, particularly following the signing of an arms deal between Egypt and the Soviets the previous autumn (Britain and America had refused to sell them arms) and therefore worries about future access to the canal. All of this combined to suggest that Nasser's nationalisation of the canal was the perfect excuse to remove him and his regime in order that one more sympathetic to Britain could be installed.

What is particularly interesting is not that this happened, but the way in which his messages were interpreted and communicated by the UK print media,

especially the popular press wherein messages are not just conveyed directly through news reports and editorials, but especially in the case of newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* through the visual.

Suez and Cartoons

As both of these newspapers had come to understand the importance of the visual realm in not just entertaining readers, but in communicating with them, it is instructive to examine how the news cartoon was used to both mirror a paper's editorial identity, but also act as a conduit for a sign system for differing views. Shaw quotes social psychologist Kimball Young's definition of propaganda:

> 'the more or less deliberately planned systematic use of symbols…through suggestion and related psychological techniques, with a view to altering and controlling opinions, ideas and values, and ultimately…changing overt actions along predetermined lines' (Shaw, 1996: 2).

This definition is particularly appropriate to the work of the newspapers' cartoonists, as it lies at the core of how editorial, and increasingly pocket cartoons engaged with both subject and at the same time the newspaper's readers. Of course, news cartoons do not just have one purpose. Arguably more than the written word, they perform as a bifurcate nexus in which entertainment and political motive combine. They do this by mirroring this two level intent with a multimodal construct of image and text in which Young's 'planned and systematic use of symbols' provide the cartoonist with not just a conduit to bolster an editorial line, but the opportunity to offer more than one interpretation, or at the least the possibility of more than monocentric readings. As has been discussed in the chapter on metaphor and metonymy, pocket cartoons use semiotic signifiers to suggest and indicate certain key points such as dress to help a reader place a character or opinion within its social and class context. However, in the

case of many of the cartoons published during this period we identify an inner conflict which lies at the heart of many newspapers' responses to Eden's handling of the Suez Crisis and their response whether intentional or not, to the government's propaganda machine.

While it has been argued that the press fulfilled its role during the Suez crisis of holding government to account and not being swayed by Eden (Negrine, 1982; Kyle, 1991) the reality is somewhat more uneven and inconsistent. Although it is certainly true that the calls for Eden's resignation were widespread by the end of the year, it would be a mistake to conclude that the print media maintained a united line, rather the history of the press coverage of the crisis is one of changing minds and shifting points of view. It is tempting to offer a narrative in which the Tory press supported Eden and the Labour-supporting press challenged and criticised his actions. However, this does not hold up to close scrutiny. When the news broke of Nasser's actions Tory papers were shocked, angry, and defiant. The *Daily Express's* editorial declared it was 'a time to resist', while the *Daily Telegraph* compared Nasser with Hitler. The 1 August *Times* linked Nasser with 1930s dictators. However, the Labour supporting *Daily Herald* cried 'No more Adolf Hitlers!' (Shaw, 1991: 23). In fact, while registering alarm and even anger at the actions of Nasser, the *Daily Express* cloaked within this threats to Eden that he should act without delay, something the Prime Minister knew to be impossible. Lord Beaverbrook had told Christiansen to ensure all his papers supported Eden (Christiansen, 1961: 282) and this certainly seemed to be case, on the surface at least.

While much of Eden's propaganda exercise was focused on the Tory press, there was relatively little he could do to control Labour supporting newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*. Then the country's largest selling newspaper, the *Mirror* which had played such a pivotal role in Labour's historic 1945 general election victory and yet was surprisingly muted in the immediate aftermath of

Nasser's renationalisation of the canal. As we have seen up until 14 August the paper offered no great opposition to Eden's actions, displaying a general ambivalence as if it was unsure of where its readers stood. However after this date, there is a significant change in attitude.

There is little doubt that Eden's propaganda campaign had some initial success, with the legality of Nasser's action seldom mentioned. In this we can see how propaganda is not necessarily about lies, but rather more often misdirection. During the necessary, if frustrating, delay for the military to be ready Eden knew that he had to be seen to be work towards a diplomatic resolution, which needed to include liaising with the Americans. This was where the press would be vital as a conduit to public opinion. On 27 July Eden addressed the House of Commons and was promised full support from Gaitskell, who added that he thought any plan should be referred to the United Nations. Eden was far from happy about this, as it was unlikely the UN would support unilateral military action. Indeed, this provided one of the initial schisms between left and right wing press. As early as August 10 Vicky's *Daily Mirror* cartoon had Eden being slightly surprised that the UN was still in existence, despite the institution's commitment for all its members to settle their disputes by peaceful means. Eden did agree to a conference in London for all interested parties, but meanwhile continued with military preparations for action.

When Parliament began its summer recess in early August, the *Mirror's* front page featured a Vicky cartoon noting that it had risen for the summer and would meet again on October 23 with the headline booming 'Back in 3 Months!' (*Daily Mirror*, 3 August 1956). This may seem an easy target for an opposition-supporting newspaper; however, there are two things that are of particular interest. Firstly, the *Mirror* had chosen to give over two-thirds of its front page to a cartoon, demonstrating an understanding of the impact the visual can have to both literally and metaphorically illustrate a key editorial viewpoint, something

it had learned over a decade ago with its coverage of the 1945 General Election. Secondly, and even more illuminating, is the editorial which it prints beneath the cartoon in which it openly admits that 'Vicky often disagrees with the *Mirror* about politics. But today the *Mirror* agrees with Vicky' (*Daily Mirror*, 3 August, 1956). This demonstrates three important points: firstly in this specific instance it is the topic which is of such importance, that even divergent opinions have come together. Secondly, there is a tension between editorial identity and the role of the cartoonist, something that is brought into stark relief later in the year in Lancaster's pocket cartoons; and thirdly, the tension between Vicky and the *Mirror* was already evident.

In fact, this is a method that the *Mirror* will continue to use over the coming months in both its sharing of space with other newspapers and in its use of cartoons. It is a fascinating example of the paper's somewhat confused editorial position in the early stages of the crisis. Mirroring the combination of visual and text above it, the editorial straddles two critical standpoints. The main point of the cartoon [fig 7.1] – and the heading for the editorial – 'Ah, Well! Happy Holidays!', is a clear condemnation of Eden's government and the impending summer recess, highlighting not just the developing Suez situation but issues such as the motor industry crisis, inflation, Cyprus, and the cost of living. However, the editorial is highly critical of Nasser, calling him a 'jumped-up jackanapes'. The use of language here is important: the O.E.D defines 'jackanapes' as 'a cheeky or impertinent person; a tame monkey', going on to add 'perhaps a playful name of an ape; applied to a person whose behaviour resembled that of an ape'. There is an element of racism here that was emblematic of the time and that can be seen in a number of cartoon depictions of Nasser such as those by Cummings (*Daily Express*, 5 March, 1956) and Illingworth (*Daily Mail*, 4 April 1956). It could be argued that the *Mirror* had chosen this language to demonise Nasser and position him as the other, something its 'Grabber Nasser' phrase reinforces (used

again on that day's back page). The editorial then goes on to remind its readers that 'we've had it all before. Every time Hitler rattled his sabre on a Saturday the British Prime Minister was away fishing'. Here, over 15 years later, the paper is using the crisis as a stick with which to beat the Prime Minister while simultaneously attacking Nasser for his ape-like tendencies. This is summarised by the final line: 'He's only a dictator. And dictators don't take holidays when they're on the job.' It is instructive that this is just seven days after the news of Nasser's actions broke. Already the *Mirror* is positioning itself as pro-country, but anti-Eden. In the coming weeks this position would solidify to outright criticism.

If we contrast the *Daily Express* from the same day we can see the divergence of editorial line already evident. Being a broadsheet, the *Express*'s front page contained a much greater number of stories (over 12); however, none of these mention the recess at all. The paper leads on the 24 hour 'power talks' on Suez and also has a front page editorial on the unlikelihood of Nasser attending; as well as a report from foreign correspondent Sefton Delmer who had been expelled from Egypt for calling Nasser a 'Frightened Pharaoh', an allusion that had already made its way into cartoons such as Scott (*Daily Sketch*, 27 March 1956) and Gabriel *(Daily Worker*, 6 April 1956)[20]. In comparison with Vicky's direct attack on the government, the *Express's* two topical cartoons have their ire turned solely towards Nasser. Giles' editorial cartoon takes a more humorous approach with a family returning their peddle boat late and blaming Nasser for holding them up in the Canal. What is interesting here is that once again, the received wisdom of editorial cartoons being more 'serious' than their pocket contemporaries is shown to be in error. Whereas Giles' cartoon is gentle, almost whimsical, Lancaster's front page pocket cartoon [fig 7.2] exhibits one of the

[20] For further examples of Suez cartoons, see Benson (2006), *Suezcide*

pocket cartoon's key strengths: it contains a serious, biting satirical message hidden within the more established form of a 'gag' cartoon. Lancaster has a man speaking to his wife on a beach as the rain pours down. He says 'we can only hope that the Foreign Office has got a better crystal ball than the one on the Air Ministry roof' *(Daily Express*, 3 August 1956: 1). As well as managing the affairs of the Royal Air Force, the Air Ministry was also responsible for weather forecasting. On the surface, the cartoon seems to be one in a seemingly never ending line of jokes about the British weather. However, if we study the cartoon in more detail it becomes apparent that it has a deeper and more contentious meaning. Despite the *Express's* editorial line of supporting Eden, Lancaster's cartoon is a rare moment of dissent. The pocket cartoon manages to raise the issue of the fear that the Foreign Office is unsure of where the crisis will lead, but implicitly adds an extra level of concern that the Air Ministry (and by extension the Air Force) does not know what it is doing. This is not, of course, an attack on individuals but rather it rings a warning bell challenging the readiness of Eden to implement the action for which the paper's editorial line is calling. Situated on the front page, this demonstrates the power of the pocket cartoon to break with a monolithic editorial identity by stating a contrary outlook under the guise of humour. When viewed within the context of the front page's layout, it also highlights the importance of page design and the unique ability of the pocket cartoon to at once sit within a layout template and yet exist separately from other content.

This subtle distancing from the paper's editorial stance can be seen later in the month when Lancaster [fig 7.3] has an elderly woman on the phone saying 'Your poor uncle is so depressed, he keeps on referring to the Canal as some creek or other and says we are right up it without a paddle!' (*Daily Express*, 16 August 1956: 1).

The reach of newspaper cartoons was confirmed in late August when the *Daily Express* discovered that Nasser had been reprinting the paper's cartoons with captions that were pro-Nasser. Although the paper reported the story in a humorous way, including a note for the Income Tax people to say they have not received payment from Nasser, it does highlight the perceived impact of the visual in popular newspapers. Nasser did not have editorials and news stories re-written, but instead specifically chose cartoons as he intrinsically understood the way they could communicate a message succinctly. Lancaster understood this too; his front page cartoon [fig 7.4] that day featured an Egyptian merchant saying 'Nationalised postcards! Feelthier than ever!' Underneath the caption, Lancaster added a message: 'Alternative captions suitable for Middle Eastern papers available on demand' (*Daily Express*, 28 August 1956: 1). It was inevitable that the paper and its cartoonists would have fun with the story, but Lancaster's cartoon makes a key point in the study of pocket cartoons. While the image is important, it often serves merely as a platform, allowing one person to speak to another so that the caption can exist. In this way, pocket cartoons differ significantly from their editorial relations where the drawing is often all-important, a pertinent example would be Illingworth's *Punch* cartoon of Gaitskell and Eden as the incompatible two halves of a British lion (*Punch*, 19 September 1956). In the case of pocket cartoons, the caption is almost always all-important. Lancaster understands this, as he does not offer to provide different drawings, but rather different captions.

When Eden finally bowed to pressure and recalled Parliament, Vicky's *Daily Mirror* cartoon [fig 7.5] succinctly summed up the position the Prime Minister found himself in, showing him sitting in the chamber at Westminster saying 'Don't know what frightens me more, those opposite me or those behind me…' (*Daily Mirror*, 12 September 1956: 3).

Over the past month it had become increasingly apparent that the Americans were not going to sanction, let alone participate in, military action. This served to strengthen Gaitskell's preferred position of working with the UN towards a diplomatic solution. Despite the fact that Operation Musketeer (the codename of the military attack on Egypt) was well into the planning stage, by September Eden was feeling pressure not just from the opposition but from elements within his own party. The left wing press had by now coalesced its opinion about Suez and had the Prime Minister in their sights. That morning's *Daily Mirror* dedicated its first three pages to the recall of Parliament and led with the bold headline 'Public Opinion' *(Daily Mirror*, 12 September 1956: 1). This is revealing as it demonstrates how the paper was angling its coverage to position itself as the voice of the people, something that had been a core editorial stance since May 1945 when it had adopted the tagline 'Forward with the People'. The front page editorial explains how it is public opinion that matters, before then stating 'The Labour Party and the T.U.C. emphatically denounce the use of force except with the consent of the United Nations' (*Daily Mirror*, 12 September 1956). It proceeds to quote a poll published in the *News Chronicle* that claims four out of five voters believed the Suez dispute should be referred to the United Nations. This is an example of a number of left wing newspapers in concert to give the impression of a united front. On the double page spread across pages 2 and 3, under the headline 'The *Mirror* and Eden' the paper poses a number of questions which it then answers. These include 'Has the *Mirror* ever approved of Nasser's behaviour in this crisis?' (No) and 'Did the Mirror express a view on the use of force when the crisis first blew up?' (Yes). The piece then goes to say that along with the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Observer*, the *News Chronicle*, the *Economist*, *the New Statesman*, and the *Daily Herald* the paper has been 'violently attacked' for its views on the Suez crisis, while alluding to papers such as the *Daily Express, Daily Mail*, and *The Sunday Times* as being guilty of sabre-rattling and gun boat diplomacy.

Battle lines amongst the press have now been clearly drawn, as can be seen in the work of their respective cartoonists. On the same day that the *Mirror* presented what can be seen as a manifesto on its attitude to Eden and his government's Suez policies, the *Daily Express* approached the recall of parliament and Eden in a very different way. It should be expected that their attitude to the Conservative Prime Minister was different, and in general positive. However, what is notable is the way in which the paper engaged with that day's events. Its main story is about pilots being allowed to return from Suez, and no mention is made on the front page of the recall of Parliament. While choosing to ignore news that does not fit within a paper's editorial landscape was not new, the *Express* can be seen to be perfecting the technique. Additionally, a couple of features stand out when comparing the *Express's* coverage with that of the *Mirror*. Presented in the centre of the former's front page is the result of a poll with two questions. The first on satisfaction with Eden's performance and the second the government's. Both polls, in contrast to the poll quoted by the *Mirror*, show that 'a clear majority of the British people – and more than a month ago – approves of Sir Anthony Eden as head of government' (*Daily Express*, 12 September 1956). The *Express* uses visuals to increase the impact of the poll results; not only do they includes two graphs to illustrate the results, but they include a cartoon drawing *within the graph* of Eden [fig 7.6]. This use of visual intertextuality highlights the increasing use of images in the presentation of 'serious' news.

Lancaster's front page pocket cartoon is also interesting for the way it ignores the recall of Parliament and instead concentrates on the running story of riots at a cinema showings of *Rock Around the Clock*, something David Low touched on two days later when his *Guardian* cartoon had Nasser and Eden in a rowing boat trying to keep their balance with the caption 'Rock N Roll' (*Guardian*, 14 September 1956). It could be claimed that this is because pocket

cartoons often deal with stories beyond the Westminster bubble, which is certainly true; however, often what is most revealing is what cartoons *don't* cover. That is, absence of topic can be just as revealing about editorial identity than what is present. Inside the paper, the political cartoon [fig 7.6b] acts as a defence of Eden, once again using the trope of the other. Cummings draws Eden bound to a chair in an attic with an Egyptian approaching him carrying a dagger, a 'razor-slasher' climbing through a skylight, an American gangster with a gun, and a time bomb with a label saying 'with compliments of the T.U.C.' The message here is clear: Eden is under attack from a number of directions, including from home. A caption advises that the cartoonist will send two canal shares to any reader who provides the best solution for Eden's escape. This cartoon is then surrounded by six of Cummings' Eden cartoons, with the *Express*'s editorial stating that no other political cartoonist is 'more consistent, if controversial,' than Cummings. What this does is demonstrate that sometimes a newspaper's cartoons can have a cumulative effect, by working together whether this is intentional or not. The absence of criticism in Lancaster's pocket cartoon combined with the support for Eden in Cummings' work works to present a visual declaration of editorial identity and intent. The fact that this positive description of the Prime Minister is motivated by party politics is clear; however what is especially interesting here is how that allegiance manifests itself beyond the written word in the realm of the visual.

By 23 September, Eden had managed to turn calls for UN involvement to his advantage. Britain, along with France, referred the crisis to the United Nations Security Council. By doing so they hoped Nasser would be in breach of the resolution. However, despite this by the time of the Conservative party conference the following month, Eden was facing even more pressure. The *Daily Mirror* was in little doubt that Eden would face a tough time from his own party, leading that day with a story on the frustrations and troubles within the British

army who seemed to be in limbo. Vicky's cartoon [fig 7.7] showed a Tory delegate getting increasingly frustrated on hearing the names of 'Mr Bevan, Colonel Nasser, and Mr Dulles!' *(Daily Mirror*, 10 October, 1956: 3). The *Daily Express* led with a story claiming the US Secretary of State had pledged his support for Britain and France's UN resolution. There is no mention of the problems Eden will face at the party conference, apart from in Lancaster's pocket cartoon where a character worries that 'private members [will be] answering back the Chief Whip before you can say Llandudno!' (*Daily Express*, 10 October 1956: 1). It is interesting to note that this is the only time the conference is referenced anywhere on the paper's front page, showing that Lancaster could use the platform of the pocket cartoon to reference troubles the paper did not want to concede Eden was facing.

When military action finally began with Israeli paratroopers' attack on the Mitla Pass, soon followed by the British navy and RAF bombings, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* obviously led with news of the action. The *Mirror* has a front page editorial headed 'Eden's War', clearly suggesting that this is not a national conflict but rather the Prime Minister's. The editorial notes how the paper has repeatedly warned against military action, that there is no international authority, and most stinging of all says in an attack on the *Express* 'the *Mirror* has no shameful record of appeasement to live down' (*Daily Mirror*, 1 November 1956). The paper's editorial stance is clear, and Vicky's cartoon [fig 7.8] backs this up. Showing two stone pillars buckling (labelled 'British and French Vetoes' and 'Russian Vetoes') under the weight of military action. Under the roof which in danger of imminent collapse, is a baby in a cot with the words 'Hope for the future'. The caption reads 'and behold the babe wept' (an unattributed quote from the *King James Bible* Exodus 2:6). It is, in many ways, an archetypal editorial cartoon, and is certainly typical of Vicky's tendency to become morbid when faced with subjects such as war and famine (for example his 'Wandering Jew'

cartoon from the News Chronicle) (Davies and Ottaway, 1987: 80). However, it also suffers from an issue facing many editorial cartoons: the need for prior knowledge. The *Mirror* identified itself as going 'forward with the people' on its masthead, but was still publishing cartoons with biblical quotations as captions. This is a fascinating contrast to the *Express*. The *Mirror* as the 'soldiers' paper, with a working class – albeit aspirational – readership, was still playing host to the two hundred year old tropes of the editorial cartoon, while ignoring the pocket cartoon completely. In contrast the broadsheet *Express*, seen as right of centre and establishment based, had embraced not only the pocket cartoon itself, but the format's influence on its editorial cartoons.

On the same day as the *Mirror* published Vicky's cartoon, the *Express's* two editorial cartoons (Lancaster was on holiday at the time) clearly demonstrate both the influence of form *and* content of the pocket cartoon. Giles uses what appears to be broad humour [fig 7.9] in a depiction of British soldiers disembarking on the dock in Egypt and looking at a propaganda poster of Egyptian Girl Fighters, with one soldier saying 'No one would ever convince my missus we were out there fighting them' (*Daily Express*, 1 November 1956: 6). The cartoon clearly employs humour reminiscent of the gag cartoon, but with a topical news basis. However, it equally demonstrates one of the pocket cartoon's key features – that of pathos. After all, it depicts British soldiers a long way from home, about to go into a battle from which some of them will not return. A few pages later Cummings' editorial cartoon [fig 7.10], like Giles's, is published in portrait alignment, mirroring the pocket cartoon. In this case it is a clear hybrid, using the orientation of the pocket along with a simplified drawing style and a lot of white space, with the well-established trope of labelling a politician (this was a strategy that Strube was particularly fond of during the 1930s). Eden is depicted covered in labels above the caption 'The circumstances in which Mr Gaitskell would approve of Eden protecting our interests…'. The labels included 'with Col.

Nasser's permission; O.K. by Ike; Licenced by Mao; and 'with permission of Liberace'. The cartoons, just as Vicky's does, back up the paper's editorial line. However, Giles more pocket-like cartoon with its use of pathos underneath its broad humour, offers a somewhat darker interpretation of the news which is at odds with the paper's positive pro-Eden stance.

This inversion of expectation continues the following day with the entertainment-focused *Daily Mirror* publishing a more sombre cartoon than the broadsheet *Daily Express*. There are two reasons for this: firstly, the fact that the *Mirror* was in strong opposition to Eden and his government meant that it was less likely to appear flippant or even display humour; however, a lot of the explanation for this disparity between editorial identity and content is down to Vicky. His sombre editorial cartoon [fig 7.11] seems like a strange fit for the *Mirror*, which while a champion of the visual, mostly dedicates its cartoon content to the many strips it published every day. The *Express*, although publishing less cartoon material overall included gag cartoons, a back page sports cartoon, and two pocket cartoons all of which provided extensive platforms for the visualisation of humour.

At this point it may prove illuminating to look at a typical day to better understand the use of cartoons in the *Mirror* and the *Express*. Friday 2 November 1956 is a date chosen as the news of military action led both newspapers' front pages and contained much Suez related news.

Table 1: Total Number of Cartoons Used by Type

News	News	Gag	Gag	Strip*	Strip*	Spot	Spot
Mirror	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*
1	2	7	4	9	4	1	6

*Single and multi-panel

Table 2: Breakdown by Number of Pages**

Total	Total	% of pages	% of pages	% with	% with	% without	% without
Mirror	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*	*Mirror*	*Express*
18	16	90%	133%	40%	66%	60%	33%

***Daily Mirror* = 20 tabloid pages; *Daily Express* = 12 Broadsheet pages

The above tables look at cartoon images used in the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* on 2 November 1956, excluding images used within adverts.

The first point that strikes us when we examine the results is that although the *Daily Mirror* is often thought of as being a newspaper that championed the visual, there is very little difference between the total number of cartoons used, unlike the situation in 1945. It should also be noted that Lancaster was on holiday so the *Express* had no pocket cartoon, had he not been away there would have only be a difference of one cartoon between the papers. Of course, the *Express* was a larger (broadsheet) newspaper, although conversely it had 8 pages less than the tabloid *Mirror*. The *Mirror* can, unsurprisingly, be seen to privilege 'entertainment' cartoons (especially strips) over news cartoons with just Vicky's editorial cartoon against the *Express's* two (normally three) news-based cartoons. Both newspapers have a 'gag' cartoon section: the *Mirror's* 'Laughter' half page features around 6-8 cartoons, at this time often featuring a pre-*Andy Capp* Reg Smythe. The *Express* features four, still using the American sounding heading

‘Zanies’. The *Mirror* has over double the amount of strip cartoons, building on two decades of commitment to the form, although the *Express* has now established the pattern of including its most popular strip on the back page[21]. At this point the *Mirror* was home to the single panel *Useless Eustace* (which had run since 1935) and was included in the news pages; page 13 was filled with six strips (*Buck Ryan, Ruggles, Belinda, The Flutters, Garth*, and *Romeo Brown*); the letters page featured *Sooty*; and page 15 was the home of *Jane*.

The *Express* featured Cummings’ editorial and Ullyyett’s sports cartoon, normally along with Lancaster’s front page pocket cartoon all of which involved a level of humour largely absent from the *Mirror*, especially during Vicky’s tenure. Perhaps most revealing is the use of ‘spot’ cartoons; that is, cartoons which are single drawings usually without captions and placed within the text to add visual relief. The *Mirror* features just one, based on one of that day’s letters. By contrast the *Express* makes extensive use with six in total, many of which are drawn (and signed) by the paper’s editorial cartoonist, Cummings. From this we can conclude that the *Express’s* commitment to the visual was on a par with that of the *Mirror’s*. Indeed, when we look at the second table which includes percentage figures which take into account the different number of pages of each paper (if not the actual paper real estate) it is revealing to note that the numbers of cartoons per page is 90% for the *Mirror* although this is skewed by them having six strips on one page; while the *Express* has 133% with 16 cartoons over 12 pages. When we look at the spread of the cartoons, we can see that 40% of the Mirror’s pages have a cartoon, while it is 66% for the *Express*. The fact that two-thirds of the *Express’s* pages included a cartoon demonstrates the intrinsic role the visual plays within the newspaper even though these figures do not include the normally present front page pocket cartoon.

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[21] Barry Appleby’s *The Gambols* ran in the *Daily Express* 1950-1999

Arguably what is the single most interesting factor to come out of this sample is not just the number of cartoons used, but the subject of those cartoons. Out of the 18 cartoons featured in the *Daily Mirror*, only Vicky's editorial cartoon makes reference to the Suez crisis. All the others are either strip adventures or non-topical gags. While the strip cartoons would probably have been drawn weeks in advance, this does suggest that the *Mirror*, despite its fervent opposition to Eden and his government's policies, remained acutely aware that it was essentially an entertainment platform. By comparison, of the *Express's* 16 cartoons five were in some way related to Suez. That means just 6% of the *Mirror's* cartoons, but 31% of the *Express'*s were related to the biggest news story of the decade. While it is certainly correct that the *Express* carried fewer strips and therefore had more opportunity for topical cartoons, it is indicative of the newspaper's editorial identity that the spread of cartoons is significant. Even with the absence of Lancaster, the 2 November edition of the *Daily Express* feature an editorial cartoon, three spot cartoons drawn to illustrate news stories and articles on the crisis and a sports cartoon which used Suez and the Olympics. This wide range of cartoon sub-genres is a signifier of the paper's commitment to, and understanding of, the importance of the visual. What is particularly interesting is that while the *Mirror* had long understood the importance of the visual in an entertainment lexicon, during this period it is the *Express* which has identified that the value of cartoons does not need to be purely entertainment based, but that there is a cross-fertilisation with news.

America and the Soviets

While the British press was focused on Suez, the Soviets' ruthless action against Hungary had been somewhat neglected. It is interesting to note that

despite the Hungarian uprising having started on 23 October, no UN resolution was passed until 4 November. There is little doubt that the unfolding crisis in Egypt and the American presidential election gave Khrushchev the ideal opportunity to advance into Hungary with no intervention from the west. Within British popular newspapers, cartoonists had, perhaps understandably, mostly ignored the Soviets' actions. However, this began to change on 5 November when the *Express* led with the headline 'Hungary's Agony' and featured a Cummings cartoon showing a Soviet soldier having shot the UN resolution which had been intended to help Hungary.

The following day saw the debut of Artie Jackson's pocket cartoon [fig 7.12]. Obviously missing its main pocket cartoonist, the *Express* introduced a third pocket cartoon under the heading 'Artie'. In the first cartoon, Artie draws a man in an armchair with his wife looking on, in what was already a staple domestic trope of the pocket cartoon. The man is smoking a pipe, creating a plume of dense smoke. His wife says 'I just said would <u>you</u> mind ceasing fire?!' *(Daily Express*, 6 November 1956: 2). It is essentially a gag cartoon with a topical hook. However, the following day, now under the heading 'The Lighter Side', the Artie cartoon [fig 7.13] has two American tourists looking at a newspaper with Hungary and Suez headlines, the caption reads 'Gee, would ya know? There's an election on in the States!' (*Daily Express*, 7 November 1956). The cartoon could be interpreted in a number of ways. It could be a reference to the perceived lack of coverage in the British press; however, it may equally be interpreted as an attack on Eisenhower's lack of engagement with Suez and Hungary because of the upcoming presidential election. This demonstrates the power of the pocket cartoon and the way it can contain serious, even hostile content under the auspices of a 'humorous' cartoon. The *Daily Express* led not directly on the ceasefire, but rather on the British and French capturing Ismailia just before the deadline to cease hostilities. However the editorial cartoon did not

focus on Suez, but instead exhibits a return to established editorial tropes with Cummings drawing the Soviet Prime Minister emerging from a tank with a gloved puppet of Nasser above the caption 'The Real Enemy'. Cummings is following on from cartoonists such as Low who drew Mussolini on Hitler's knee as a ventriloquist's dummy (Seymour-Ure and Schoff, 1985:50). However, the cartoon also represents a significant change of focus. Cummings is saying that Nasser was just a puppet of the Soviets, and the real enemy is the Soviet Union. Not only is this moving focus onto a new enemy, but it can also be seen to justify Eden's actions in Egypt as part of the bigger Cold War with the Soviets along with allusions to the threat of Soviet intervention.

On the same day the *Daily Mirror* printed a front page editorial headed 'Back to Sanity' (*Daily Mirror*, 7 November 1956) in which it thanked the United Nations, the Labour Party, the American President, and public opinion in Britain. On page 3 it posed the question 'What About Hungary..?' The news story rather surprisingly refers to Eden challenging the Russian Premier, Marshal Bulganin in a much more statesman-like way compared to its front page. There is no editorial cartoon.

This division of focus continues over the coming days. The *Mirror* returns to Suez, leading with the humiliation of 'U.N. Tells Britain Quit Suez' (*Daily Mirror*, 8 November 1956). Conversely, the *Express* leads with 'West Blocks Russia' (*Daily Express*, 8 November 1956) below which they publish what looks like a rogue's gallery of the Kremlin 'big six'. For the third time in a week, the pocket cartoon [fig 7.14] receives a new heading. Now under the title of 'Comment by Archie', which is an acknowledgement of the pocket cartoon's serious intent as opposed to 'The Lighter Side' which is more appropriate for gag cartoons. The cartoon is based on garages receiving 10 per cent less petrol due to a break in Middle East supplies. The driver says 'Could I have 90 per cent of petrol?' Once again the pocket cartoon highlights its ability to make a subtle

point, in this case in line with the paper's editorial stance that if Eden had not been opposed at home and abroad petrol supplies could have been maintained.

However the *Express* and Eden's supporters, or the *Mirror* and his detractors framed the ceasefire, there was already a sense in the press that it had been a humiliating climb down and Britain's standing had been seriously dented. As the Cummings cartoon on 15 November showed, whether you backed Gaitskell or Eden the result was the same: the canal was closed, petrol was limited, and as he did not need to say, Nasser remained in place.

Petrol and the Fallout of Ceasefire

Following the ceasefire and Britain's acquiescence to American pressure, the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* continued to focus on the repercussions of Eden's Suez policies. The *Mirror* was in no doubt that the blame for the whole debacle was Eden's and they pursued a campaign first questioning his ability to lead, and then calling for his resignation. For the *Mirror* it was no longer a question of if Eden should go but when, as is illustrated by the front page splash 'When Should Eden Go? The Answer is Now!' (*Daily Mirror*, 12 November 1956). Meanwhile, the *Express* was ignoring Eden's plight and focusing instead on the Soviet invasion of Hungary and the potential consequences for Britain and its allies. While Vicky's cartoon that day is typically sombre, the *Express* can be seen to be completely side stepping any issues to do with Eden and his government and instead continuing its policy of focusing on the after effects of Suez, with what can be seen as an implication that if Britain had received the support of the Americans then the country would be in a better situation. Nowhere is this more evident than in its coverage of the petrol crisis. This is not only perceptible in the paper's news cartoons, but by this time in its supposedly non-

topical gag cartoons. One of that day's 'Zanies' [fig 7.15] has a man with his motorbike at a petrol station saying 'In view of the present situation, make it a whole pint' (*Daily Express*, 12 November 1956: 4). The reader would have been in no doubt what that 'situation' was, and who was really responsible. Two days later Cummings' editorial cartoon has Nasser as a judge with the U.N.O. in the dock, a neat summation of who the *Express* believed had come out of the crisis in a stronger position.

However, it is that day's front page pocket cartoon [fig 7.16] which is the more interesting. While Cummings' cartoon is set firmly within the editorial line of the paper, Lancaster appears once again to be pushing against the established editorial identity by having a wife say to her husband 'I think the P.M. does wonders! Never in the history of human transport has the Suez Canal been blocked to so many by so few so long!' (*Daily Express*, 14 November 1956: 1). What Lancaster does here is essentially split the caption into two. The first sentence seems to be soundly echoing the newspaper's editorial line in steadfastly supporting the Prime Minister; however, 'the P.M. does wonders' is so over the top that it could be seen as an ironic stab at the paper's editorial line. There can be no doubt with the second sentence which is clearly meant to not only be ironic, but is structured to make a comparison with Churchill's war success and specifically the Battle of Britain speech with Lancaster contrasting human conflict with human transport: 'never was so much owed by so many to so few' with 'the Canal being blocked to so many by so few'. The caption is heavy with bathos, something the pocket cartoon, along with pathos, had been developing as a key trope. It is therefore a damning condemnation of Eden's acquiescence to American pressure, placed on the front page of the newspaper that continued to be one of his strongest supporters. Lancaster's cartoon is a biting example of the power of the visual to subvert editorial identity in the form of a pocket cartoon. This is a line that Lancaster continued to pursue.

A few days later, once again on the front page [fig 7.17], his caption was 'If Eden's position is stronger than ever, and Nasser's position is stronger than ever, what on earth was the object of the exercise?' (*Daily Express*, 16 November 1956). It is an opinion that was shared by many in the press and beyond: the *Daily Herald*, for example, called Suez 'A squalid episode [that ended in] a pitiable climb-down' (*Daily Herald*, 7 November 1956). However, what is startling is that such an opinion would be given prominence is a staunchly pro-Eden newspaper. It raises the question how did Lancaster escape censure? It would be tempting to say that he was given free rein to express opinions that fell outside the editorial line, but this seems unlikely as there is little anywhere else in the newspaper that mirrors Lancaster's cartoons. The real reason may well be the format in which these opinions were framed. The pocket cartoon had, and one can certainly argue still has, a perception issue that can actually work in its favour. Editorial cartoons are often considered more significant (and are more significantly considered); indeed more worthy of study. Critical commentaries on newspaper cartoons almost always ignore the pocket cartoon (Seymour-Ure, 2003; Benson, 2006) and herein perhaps lies the format's power. Designed to primarily be funny, the pocket cartoon can subtly conceal attacks that are often contrary to their newspaper's editorial position, within what can appear to be a cosy domestic realm. Lancaster's characters are often husband and wife who are commenting on the news, as opposed to the editorial cartoon with its cast of contemporary politicians. This provided the cartoonist with the platform from which to take satire further than many of the editorial cartoonists would be allowed. Of course, Lancaster was in danger of alienating the paper's core audience, something of which he must surely have been aware. Indeed, the *Express's* letters page the following week had the headline 'Is Maudie "Left"?' and featured a letter from Cecily Carters of Oxford who writes 'As a great Admirer of Osbert Lancaster's Maudie Littlehampton, I suggest she stays in retirement until the crisis is over. It

is rather sad to see her becoming a tiresome Left-wing intellectual' (*Daily Express*, 20 November 1956).

The *Express's* commitment to the pocket cartoon can be seen not only in its privileging of Lancaster's work, but also in its use of gag cartoons. As has been stated both the *Express* and the *Mirror* contained a dedicated section for single panel gag cartoons ('Laughter' in the *Mirror* and 'Zanies' in the *Express*). However, there is a significant difference between the two. Whereas the *Mirror's* gag cartoons stay within the established format of the field with their non-topical jokes, the *Express* often featured humour cartoons with a topical subject matter. This can be seen as a result of the emergence of the pocket cartoon since some of the *Express's* 'Zanies' were in fact pocket cartoons by subject as well as format. The *Daily Express's* understanding of the importance of the topical pocket cartoon was demonstrated not just by the introduction of a third pocket cartoonist but by the way in which he was introduced. Under the headline 'A New Name to follow regularly in Zanies' (*Daily Express*, 16 November 1956) the paper announced that 'A brilliant and individualistic new cartoonist joins…the *Express* [fig 7.18]. You can't miss his style'. The cartoonist was Rowell Friers, who would later be known for his work on the Irish 'troubles'. Friers' very first cartoon is Suez related, and it is interesting to note that the *Express* chooses the term 'individualistic' to describe his work, and by doing so help reinforce the editorial positioning of the pocket cartoon. The choice of word seems to indicate someone who does not necessarily follow the editorial direction, as much as signify a particular drawing style. Bringing topical subjects into the realm of the gag cartoons brings a new dimension to the *Express* and shows that, unlike the *Mirror*, the *Express* was using a more multimodal approach of blending entertainment and news within its 'humorous' cartoons. In essence this demonstrates a developing understanding of the cross-fertilisation between two apparently diverse lexicons of news commentary and entertainment, something they

continued to do, for example, on 21 November with a gag cartoon which had a camel in a puddle saying ‘I was on one of the ships they need to block the Canal!’ (*Daily Express*, 21 November 1956: 9). The *Daily Mirror’s* cartoons keep this divide intact with clear indicators as to which is which but the *Daily Express* during the Suez crisis has begun to blur the line between what would once have been strictly bifurcate elements of a newspaper’s output.

The following week the result of the mental and physical strain Eden had been under finally resulted in the next big turn in the press’s coverage of Suez. The *Daily Mirror* led with the bold headline ‘Eden Ill’ under which they quoted the official Downing Street statement that declared the Prime Minister to be ‘suffering from the effects of severe over-strain’ (*Daily Mirror*, 20 November 1956: 3). The *Daily Express* struck the more sympathetic note with the rather tame ‘Eden Told to Rest’ (*Daily Express*, 20 November 1956). There is a sense of both papers demonstrating a level of respect for the position of the Prime Minister that would diminish over the coming years, as will be seen in the following Case Study. Over the rest of the year, the story that dominates the papers and especially their cartoonists’ output is that of petrol, or the lack of it. A week later Vicky used the standard editorial cartoon trope of metaphor showing a large American Cadillac driving past a small car, labelled GB, with Eden trying to secure a lift (*Daily Mirror*, 27 November 1956). Editorially, the same day’s *Express* makes an interesting choice in its two main headlines. The lead item is about ‘Hostages for Nasser’, a story about him holding Jewish men, women and children. This is another lead that is part of the paper’s continuing attempt to position Nasser as an untrustworthy usurper, the subtext clearly being that Eden and the Conservatives had been right in their actions and that what happened was not a climb-down or admittance of defeat but rather characterised them as the victims of a Labour and American tactics. This story was juxtaposed with a piece headed ‘Petrol Shock’. Working together the stories both inform and express the

paper's editorial line while offering the subtext that all these issues – Nasser's treatment of Jews and petrol rationing – would have been avoidable had Eden been allowed to pursue his Suez objectives. This is further reinforced by another page one story which is headed 'Ike cold-shoulders Britain over Suez' and describes how the American president has sent Britain 'to Coventry'. This is supported by Lancaster's front page cartoon [fig 7.19] which satirises the American's paranoia over Africa by having him tell a trader to 'go tell Ali Baba that we know he's working for British Intelligence' (*Daily Express*, 27 November 1956). A second pocket cartoon [fig 7.20] on the following page by Artie has a museum attendant warning a visitor who has been studying an Egyptian mummy that she better 'take a good look at it – [it] might be expelled any day!' These two pocket cartoons along with the pair of lead stories work together to form and entrench a narrative based on the after-effects of Eden's scuppered Suez plan. Placed adjacent to the Artie cartoon is a Cummings illustration of Eden [fig 7.21] showing half of his moustache weighed down by tariffs, his ambitions in effect weighted down by actions of others, placing the Prime Minister in the role of victim whose plans are being frustrated by others. Also on the same page, the *Express's* editorial criticises 'foolish newspapers and hysterical politicians in Britain [who] pretend that this country weakened UNO by her action at Port Said'. Again on the same page, Giles' editorial cartoon tackles a completely different subject: the call for MPs to take up the cause of nudists. It could, of course, be argued that by failing to address the maelstrom of criticism against Eden and his government, Giles is simply reflecting the paper's editorial line with what is essentially a piece of misdirection. However, what is especially interesting is that the cartoon is headed 'Nothing to do with Nasser' and in the caption below, before it explains the story to which it refers, Giles writes that his cartoon's topic is yesterday's 'Neatest Nothing-to-do-with-Nasser story' of the previous day. This raises the possibility that he is either noting that readers may have had enough or Nasser, but also could be a satirical swipe at the paper's

editorial line. These examples help illustrate the *Express's* development of a multimodal approach to defining its key messages and brand by employing informed layout choices, and juxtaposing cartoons and stories to create a harmonious visual and textual construct which both overtly and covertly reinforces an editorial line.

However, it was not long before both the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* returned to fully and explicitly engaging with the fallout of Suez. Two days later the *Mirror's* front page featured a full length headline that read 'Was the *Mirror* Right to Tell the Harsh Truth?' (*Daily Mirror*, 29 November 1956). This was then followed up with a full page three splash reprinting excerpts from editorials dating back to September. Across on page two, Vicky's editorial cartoon depicts Eden and Tory backbenchers as anti-American and anti-UN. The *Express's* front page cartoon uses the previous method of concentrating on the fuel shortage as does one of that day's Zanies. However, below this at the bottom of the page runs the strapline 'Whose fault we didn't finish off the Suez job?' (*Daily Express* 29 November 1956). This directs readers to page six where the Air Chief Marshal, a military reporter, and a roving reporter all give their opinions on the question. It is interesting to note that unlike the *Mirror's* coverage, there is scope here for a difference of opinion. While the Air Marshall blames the RAF having one hand tied behind its back; and the military reporter singles out Eden's over ruling of generals, the roving reporter – a 'Middle East expert' – blames bad judgement on the organisation of the landings. The Foreign Office and Cabinet are singled out for criticism, in essence stating that Eden was not just under pressure from outside his party but also from within.

Despite this return to the ongoing political fallout of Suez, the *Daily Express* could not resist frequently referencing the petrol story. By the end of November, the editorial line seemed to be centred on moving the news agenda on for two main reasons. Firstly, there a clear case of audience identification and the

formation of a narrative that foregrounded the continuing petrol shortage; that is, the understanding that the petrol shortage was a universal story in the sense that it affected the majority of the population and would therefore be interesting to a large section of readers. However, the second reason, as has been already stated, is one of essentially misdirection. What makes this particularly interesting is that there is a conflict in terms of what has been called 'differentiation' (Conboy and Steel, 2008: 651). That is, newspapers' desire to create specific readerships by a unified approach to content and production, and by creating content and packaging in a certain way, newspapers formulate an identity that is not just easily recognisable on its own terms, but is also identifiable by comparison with other newspapers. The *Daily Mirror* was a tabloid while the *Daily Express* was a broadsheet paper and there are clear differences in format. However, it is also their content that is different. In the case of the petrol shortage it may be imagined that the 'differentiation' will be reduced as it is a story that will affect readers of both newspapers. In fact, this was not the case. While the two newspapers certainly gave the petrol crisis their full attention, through both news and features as well as cartoons, the format and privileging was markedly different. For example, looking at both papers on the last day of November we can quickly identity two opposing narratives. The *Daily Mir*ror leads with 'Suez – Britain Decides: We Quit' (*Daily Mirror*, 30 November 1956) with the copy stating that Britain is withdrawing 'without any guarantee as to the future of the Canal'. The subtext here is that the government has not only been responsible for the crisis, but is weak and exhibiting a lack of direction, which signified a waning of British imperial power.

Conversely, the *Daily Express* leads with a story on the situation in Turkey which helps shift attention from the fallout from Suez, juxtaposed with which is another petrol story, in this case using an infographic to display the maximum allowance. However, it is when we examine the cartoons used in both papers that

day that the ‘differentiation’ becomes even more apparent. The *Daily Mirror’s* Vicky cartoon works to retain focus on the government with a weary looking Conservative left holding the baby that is ‘Eden’s Policy’ while somewhat unconvincingly reassuring the holidaying/recuperating Prime Minister that ‘baby’s fine’. The gag cartoons make no reference to the petrol crisis. The *Express* pursues a notably different editorial line through the combined power of its cartoons. The front page pocket cartoon addresses the government’s proposed £100,000 grant for ITV (*Daily Express*, 30 November 1956), thereby completely sidestepping the withdrawal from Suez. Beyond this there is one dominating topic. The page two pocket cartoon has a genie coming out of a bottle with the first wish being for ‘oil’. Two pages later one of the day’s four ‘Zanies’ features a boy on a child’s scooter next to a man propelling his motorbike by using his foot as it is out of fuel. The day’s main editorial cartoon [fig 7.21b] features a Giles drawing of an American couple sending a Gasoline truck to friends in Britain as their Christmas gift. The dominance of the petrol narrative is therefore evident in the *Express’s* use of multimodal content, with the two strands of written word and the visual often ‘blending’ together, as can be seen on the page with Giles’ cartoon. The cartoon is not separated from the text below it by the usual layout line. The article, headed ‘The Petrol Panic’ and the cartoon therefore inhabit the same space, creating a symbiotic meld of the written and the visual, which helps engender a sense of cross fertilisation and appearance of a unified narrative. Additionally, this leads to a sophisticated editorial construction of an alternative reading of the need to focus on Suez, thus attempting to counter negative coverage of Eden’s government.

Another continuing strand to this displacement narrative is the blame the *Express* bestows on America. As December began, the Express led with news that ‘U.S Oil Is On The Way’ (*Daily Express*, 1 December 1956), but then immediately stated ‘BUT – the cost will be £800,000 a day’ and by doing so

clearly implied that America was not just responsible for curtailing Eden's Suez mission, and the proceeding fuel crisis, but that they were in fact profiteering from the resulting situation. The Lancaster pocket cartoon below has a stern looking woman asking a greetings card shop assistant if she could have a Christmas card to send to America '…with plenty of holy and not too much about goodwill!' This is juxtaposed with a story, a day later that the *Mirror*, about the withdrawal from Suez. According to the *Express* this is being done to 'ease the growing Middle East crisis'. Surrounded by the text of the story, Lancaster's cartoon is used to reinforce the paper's editorial line that Suez was not a Conservative-led failure, but rather an example of self-interested American intervention. This is in stark opposition to the same day's *Daily Mirror* with what at an initial viewing is 'A fascinating competition YOU CAN WIN – 3 Weeks in Jamaica!' (*Daily Mirror*, 1 December 1956). Taking up over a third of the front page, the text explains that the *Mirror* will fly the winner there and back and will stay in a luxurious hotel. To enter, the reader must write in with their views on the Suez Crisis and how they would 'repair our alliance with America, improve relationships within the Commonwealth, and restore a sense of unity in our own country'. This is an innovative, if not especially subtle, attack on Eden's recuperation in Jamaica, which the paper is implying is more of a holiday, while Britain's relationship with America suffered.

In direct opposition to the *Express's* anti-American position, it suits the *Mirror's* editorial stance to frame America as the voice of sense and source of helpful intervention. Whereas the *Express* leads with the cost of the oil America is sending, the *Mirror* has a headline 'Ike Orders: Rush Oil to Britain'. The active verb 'rush' here implies the American president is coming to Britain's rescue in what has been a self-inflicted crisis. Finally on the front page, alongside the holiday offer and the oil story, is a quote from Harold Wilson, the Labour Shadow Chancellor, stating that Eden should 'Return or Resign'.

This three-pronged front page attack on Eden and the Conservatives is supported by all three of Vicky's cartoons on page three [fig 7.22]. Under the 'Saturday Satire' heading, the first cartoon engages with a topic that at first appears to be in line with the Express's cartoons, as it features a petrol pump attendant reflecting on the fuel shortage. However, in a corner there is a poster that states 'Conservative Freedom Works', a phrase that originated in the party's 1955 General Election Manifesto in which the word 'freedom' was used thirteen times. The poster adds an extra dimension to the cartoon which features a bowler hatted man in an expensive car, clear metonymic signifiers for a Conservative, being told that 'You put 'em in, you get 'em out'. The other two cartoons are interesting in that they are in both form and content pocket cartoons, something for which Vicky was certainly not known. The two cartoons take up the same space as the one cartoon above it, being pocket in size. However, it is their content that moves them away from Vicky's usual editorial style into what resembles Lancaster's work for the *Daily Express*. The first contains two women – possibly a mother and daughter – who resemble to a degree Lancaster's Littlehamptons. Over coffee, the younger woman says that 'there's one consolation, there won't be all that oil pollution on the beaches next summer'. It is interesting to note that Vicky feels there is no need to use any editorial signalling as to the subject of the cartoon. The same is true of the third – and second pocket – cartoon, in which a younger woman with a baby on her knee says 'Baby has just said his first word: crisis!' In many ways this is a quintessential pocket cartoon. Its use of a domestic scene, featuring 'ordinary' people commenting on the news of the day, and using humour as a conduit for political satire, utilises the key pocket cartoon tropes and motifs in the manner Lancaster had introduced at the *Daily Express*. These cartoons work because they are more direct and easier to understand without an understanding of literary and biblical allusions than Vicky's editorial cartoons, and because they fit better into the developing identity of the *Mirror* as it continued to develop the symbiotic dialogue with its readers. This expansion of

a cultural trend of entertainment-centric popular press in the *Daily Mirror* and other 'popular' newspapers led to what was often an uncomfortable relationship between Vicky and the *Mirror's* editorial line.

Unhappy with the developing style of the *Mirror* with its eye catching popularist headlines and worried that the political classes did not read the paper, Vicky left two years later in 1958. Throughout the Suez crisis Vicky's cartoons can often seem too ponderous and erudite when juxtaposed with other content. Indeed, following Vicky's departure the most prominent cartoon was often *Andy Capp*. It was not until 1959 that the paper engaged another editorial cartoonist who was told not to be as serious as his predecessor. Vicky's Saturday cartoons were a move in a direction that was a much better fit with the paper's editorial identity, but was not one the cartoonist was comfortable pursuing. In this way, we can see Vicky as the archetypal editorial cartoonist: serious and Westminster-focused. His work not only stood in stark comparison with that of Lancaster, but more significantly with his peers on the *Daily Express*, Cummings and Giles who both had incorporated an element of the pocket cartoonists' humour into their editorial work.

This opposition can be clearly seen a few days later when Vicky's cartoon [fig 7.23] featured 15 soldiers approaching a cliff edge with placards with slogans such as 'Suez Rebels' and 'Last Ditchers'. The caption reads 'But those behind cried 'Forward!' And those behind cried 'Back!'' (*Daily Mirror*, 4 December 1956 p.2). This is a quote from the Whig politician Thomas Babington Macaulay's 1842 poem *Horatius*, originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* and then collected in the following year's *Critical and Historical Essays*. The poem is part of a series celebrating the heroism of Ancient Rome. The use of this poem as a caption once again illustrates a key feature of editorial cartoons: the assumption that readers share the same series of references and knowledge. It is debatable whether the typical *Daily Mirror* reader would have fully understood

the literary allusion, thereby illustrating Vicky's frustration with his choice of employer. Cartoons in the same day's *Daily Express* demonstrate a much stronger engagement with the popularising tendencies of both the *Mirror* and the *Express*. Lancaster's page one cartoon [fig 7.24] features a vicar trying to get some petrol by asking the attendant whether he could 'spare a foolish virgin half-a-gallon?' (*Daily Express*, 4 December 1956). However, it is when we compare Vicky's cartoon to the work of Cummings and Giles that we can best see the disengagement with the Mirror's popularising agenda that permeates Vicky's work. The *Express* reprints part of the previous day's Cummings cartoon [fig 7.25] that featured a naked Eden and Selwyn Lloyd calling the American president to ask for him to send them '*something' (Daily Express*, 3 December 1956: 6). Giles' cartoon expands this use of humour with another petrol themed cartoon which relies in this instance on a visual gag for its full effect. All three deal directly or indirectly with the fuel crisis, but do so by privileging humour as it is a central element of the entertainment-centric popular press of the period, standing in stark contrast to Vicky's work which increasingly seemed to be anchored in a pre-pocket cartoon era.

The Return of Eden

The final stage of the press coverage of the repercussions from Suez can be seen to have begun on 14 December with Eden's return. The *Daily Mirror* promoted that day's Vicky cartoon to the front page [fig 7.26]. Taking up the majority of page one, the cartoon shows a deeply tanned Prime Minister arriving back at a Downing Street which is falling to pieces. He asks 'Anything been happening in my absence?' (*Daily Mirror*, 14 December 1956: 1). The understanding of the multimodal utilisation of page layout is evident not just in

the privileging of the cartoon as the main element on the front page, but in the use of metaphor and visual metonymy. The state of Downing Street is, of course, a metaphor for what the paper sees as the state of Eden's Conservative government. However, what is particularly interesting is the way in which Vicky has utilised and transposed one of the key tropes of the pocket cartoon: metonymy. Eden's tanned face implies that he has been abroad, although the cartoonist cannot resist the impulsion to use an editorial cartoon motif in the labelled bags at the Prime Minister's feet. It is a complex assimilation of two distinct styles, whether conscious or not, that demonstrates the influence the pocket cartoon was now having over the much more established form of visual satire. An understanding of the potential of creative page layout is also evident in the juxtaposition of the main story on page one with page two's only story. This covers a paratrooper whose wedding was delayed because of his deployment to Suez and his subsequent injuries. Although the story contains no direct mention of Eden, the juxtaposition with the previous page's news of the Prime Minister's return places the two men in stark contrast. One who, the paper continues to imply, has been holidaying abroad while the other has been wounded and kept away from his new bride by the Eden's policies. It is political attack not by direct editorial comment, but by the formation of a multimodal vocabulary. This can be seen as the realisation of the possibilities of adopting American design combined with the increasing sophistication of the popular press.

This modernisation of both content and layout was not only utilised in this manner, it was also used to negatively create an illusion of absence. That is, page layout using the American style of many crossheads and stories, as employed by the *Daily Express* with its numerous stories (over 15 different stories on that day's front page) works to create an illusion that if there is any story that justifies inclusion, it must be there and therefore by extension, if a story is not featured it must not be worthy of inclusion. In this way, the *Express* appears to completely

ignore Eden's return. However, in what is an astonishing example of subverting the paper's editorial line, Lancaster's front page pocket cartoon [fig 7.27] directly engages with the return of the Prime Minister. In a cartoon featuring Eden's plane returning to England, Lancaster not only addresses the news story the *Express* seems to have gone out of its way to ignore, but employs one of the pocket cartoon's key tropes of pathos to comment on Eden's return. As the plane is coming into land, a woman says 'I honestly don't think I can take that brave little smile as he steps out on the tarmac' (*Daily Express*, 14 December 1956: 1). It is in a number of ways an astonishing cartoon. Firstly, the very fact that it was published raises questions as to what level of editorial intervention Lancaster faced. With hindsight, it is difficult to explain, especially when we study the use of editorial cartoons. It may of course be that Christiansen and Beaverbrook simply endured Lancaster's breaks from editorial line. Lancaster himself said 'Lord Beaverbrook, who never in twenty years made any attempt by limit or pressure to curb the free expression of his cartoonist's opinions, no matter how manifestly they failed to coincide with his own' (Lancaster, 1961: 6). However, there is another explanation which is also at the heart of academic lack of serious analysis of the visual: Beaverbrook simply did not consider the pocket cartoon as important as its editorial sibling and therefore the restraints which were placed on the latter were not considered necessary as they were considered The irony, of course, was that Lancaster's work appeared regularly on the front page in a prime position. Secondly, the method used is, while not a direct condemnation, acts as a powerful summation of the Prime Minister's standing. The language used is instructive: 'brave little face' is reminiscent of the language used to describe a child. This child-like phrase is in some ways more impactful than a direct attack from a left-wing newspaper, as it assigns to Eden the characteristics of someone who is pitiful, weak, and vulnerable. Finally, perhaps the most damning element of the pocket cartoon is that nowhere does it mention Eden's name. Lancaster assumes, despite the fact that in none of the *Express*'s 15 front page stories is the

Prime Minister's name mentioned once, that the reader will be able to identify the cartoon's subject. It is a sobering admission, via the pocket cartoon trope of pathos, that the head of government is weakened to the level of pity. The end is not only inevitable, but can be seen as a merciful release.

By the following day the *Express* could no longer ignore the story of the Prime Minister's return. The use of the sub heading 'Reinvigorated' can be seen as wishful thinking, especially with the insistence that Eden was 'Absolutely fit' *(Daily Express*, 15 December 1956: 1). Once again this is undermined by the adjacent Lancaster cartoon, which shows rats deserting the aeroplane that had brought Eden home. The cumulative effect of Lancaster's pocket cartoons was to create a feeling that stands in stark contrast with the situation at the end of the Second World War when the iconography of Churchill as a political leader was seen as a boon to the Conservatives, whereas the party itself was in trouble. By the end of 1956, Eden was being portrayed – even on the front page of the *Daily Express* – as weak and powerless.

Conclusion

The inevitable finally happened in the second week of 1957. On 10th January, the *Daily Express* led with the headline 'Eden Resigns' *(Daily Express*, 10 January 1957). Broadly supportive to the end, the paper's front page included what amounted to a doctor's note explaining 'why he must go'. There was no Lancaster cartoon that day, although there had been the day before and the cartoonist would return the day after. There is no evidence to explain his absence, but it may well have been that Christiansen and Beaverbrook were uncertain as to how the paper should frame the news of the Prime Minister's resignation. Indeed, that day's paper shows little sign of its usual confidence in employing the

visual as part of its multimodal news and entertainment paradigm. The only news cartoon of the day is Cummings' rather uncertain take on Eden, showing him in front of a cracked number ten saying 'It just came to pieces in my hands' (ibid. p4). The cartoon is placed next to an article headed 'Who Can Put No.10 Together Again?' and can therefore be seen as more a visual accompaniment than an actual comment, in effect symbolising the *Express's* inability to form a narrative around events. *The Daily Mirror*, unsurprisingly, had no such content or even layout problems. Building on the line that Lancaster's cartoons had taken, the *Mirror* did not so much attack as sympathise with the departed Prime Minister, framing his resignation as 'Eden's Tragedy' (*Daily Mirror*, 10 January 1957: 1). The sub-headline makes this clear: 'Today he is a lonely and a sick man'; gone is the paper's anger over the Suez crisis. That day's Vicky cartoon [fig 7.28] once again uses a literary reference to cover the story, with Eden drawn as an actor with the words 'The Rest is Silence' (ibid. p3). Contrary to the previous year's quote from Macaulay's poem, and as an acknowledgement that not all of the paper's readers would understand the cartoon without it, underneath the caption in block capitals is printed 'Hamlet's Last Words'. It is a more significant point than at first appears to be the case; Vicky's time on the *Mirror* was coming to an end and as the paper continued on its popularising axis, cartoons that demanded of the reader a certain level of classical and literary knowledge would gradually be replaced by more accessible and humour-based material.

The following day saw the news that Harold Macmillan, the former Foreign Secretary, had been appointed the new Prime Minister. The *Daily Express* immediately returned to humour, with Lancaster returning to the front page with a cartoon [fig 7.29] featuring Maudie Littlehampton commenting 'at least he had the guts to admit he was at the end of his tether, which is more than one can say of some people we know' (*Daily Express,* 11 January 1957). Once again, Lancaster does not directly refer to Eden, and frames his resignation as a

dignified, almost noble, reaction to the situation. Artie's page two pocket cartoon has a removal lorry outside Downing Street with the caption 'Quickest bit of moving we've had for ages'. With these two pocket cartoons the *Daily Express* marked the end of Eden's tenure, exposed the folly of Britain's attempts to maintain the illusion of 'parity with the United States' (Darwin, 2009: 606), and heralded the beginnings of a new era that would end in another crisis of a very different kind in which the pocket cartoon would finally emerge as one of the ultimate expressions of the popularisation of the press.

Chapter 8 - Case Study Three:

The Profumo Affair as Represented in the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* March - September 1963

Introduction

When the poet Philip Larkin declared that 'life was never better [than] between the end of the Chatterley ban and the Beatles' first LP' (Larkin, 1974: 38) he was alluding to the time of one, if not *the*, political scandal of the twentieth century. Indeed, it was in the very month that the aforementioned *Please, Please Me* was released that arguably the single most pivotal moment of what became known as the Profumo Affair occurred. On Friday 22 March 1963 the Secretary of State for War, John Profumo, stood up in front of parliament and assured the House that there had been no impropriety between Christine Keeler and himself. It was a lie that would ultimately end in the ruin of his career, the suicide of one of the main protagonists, and ultimately the resignation of the Prime Minster and arguably the fall of the government.

The Profumo Affair, in the way it highlighted a decline in deference in society and changing attitudes to elites, especially in relation to debate about what constitutes the 'public interest' (Petley, 2013: xiv) can be viewed therefore as a pivotal moment not just in the birth of the 1960s, but also in the development of the popular press and its topical news cartoons. To fully understand this, it is important to place the affair in the context of both the political and social climates of the time. Although just a few years after the 1956 Suez Crisis, a study of the

popular press coverage of the Profumo Affair demonstrates a significant change in both newspapers' and by extension readers' attitudes to elites and their audiences to such an extent that it has been identified not just as a political, but as a 'media and cultural event…which began as a political scandal [and] became a cultural phenomenon' (Farmer, 2017: 452).

The Chatterley Trial

Larkin's identification of the Chatterley trial is more than just a poetic conceit, it is in fact an event which forms the foundation for the coverage of the Profumo Affair three years later. In August 1960 the book publisher Penguin was prosecuted under the previous year's Obscene Publications Act for its publication of D.H. Lawrence's 1929 novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, due to the book's use of the word 'fuck' and its sex scenes. Introduced by Roy Jenkins, the act sought to limit the public's exposure to material deemed 'obscene'. Of course, the problem here was not just how such a term could be defined, but *who* defined the term. That is, what the Chatterley trial demonstrated was a fracturing of the general population's acquiescence to have their popular culture curated for them by social elites. It is certainly possible to see the trial as part of a progression in the diminishing deference to those in power that can be traced back to Labour's 1945 election victory, through the perceived shame of the Suez Crisis and its interpretation as a 'turning point in Britain's post-war attempt to remain a great power' (Darwin, 2009: 605), and onwards to the Profumo Affair, as well as a moment in which the country 're-examined [itself] through questions of sexual identity' (Swanson, 1994: 55). This change in moral and social perceptions was best seen through the evolving nature of the country's popular press and the way in which it both communicated and commented on the trial, particularly in the

way it foregrounded a developing shift from deference to a willingness to ridicule elites.

With hindsight, it may seem that the prosecution was doomed to failure, but during the trial itself there was a palpable sense of two increasingly disparate social groups, particularly evident in the perception that people were being told what was good for them by a class that was increasingly out of touch. The infamous question posed by chief prosecutor, Mervyn Griffith-Jones to the jurors asking whether 'they would be happy for their wives and servants to read such a book' (Carpenter, 2000: 6) was illuminating on a number of fronts. It, of course, seemed to assume that people had servants, but it also ignored the fact that three of the dozen jurors were in fact women. In that one sentence we can identify the increasing feeling that elites were out of touch and patronising. When the trial concluded with Penguin's victory, the initial print run of 200,000 sold out in a day. When the book was reprinted it included a dedication to 'the twelve jurors, three women and nine men, who returned a verdict of 'not guilty'...'. A Giles cartoon [fig 8.1] showed a long queue disappearing around the corner outside a bookshop waiting for it to open. The caption read 'All of a sudden we've become a literary-minded, puritanical, culture-seeking nation...' (*Daily Express*, 3 November 1960: 8). As an illustration of the degree of the societal changes of the early 1960s, it is worth noting that just three years earlier the editor of *Punch* was fired for 'trying to print a mildly facetious poem about the Queen's choice of...school for Prince Charles' (Carpenter, 2002: 5). Like the Monarchy, deference still reigned. The Chatterley trial helped illustrate the change in this and attitudes to so-called social betters in general. In addition to the large sales of Lawrence's novel, the trial verdict led indirectly to a large increase in the *number* of titles in print in paperback, going from 5866 in 1960 to 14,000 in 1965 (Marnham, 1982: 15). This was a clear demonstration of the ever-expanding march of the popular, which in turn contributed to changing attitudes to privacy,

as seen in the shift in salacious articles about Diana Dors in the *News of the World* in 1960, which led to the Press Council describing it as ‘a disgrace to British journalism’ (Engel, 1996: 235), to the coverage of Elizabeth Taylor’s affair with Richard Burton that received extensive press coverage, at least in part because of the actress’s willingness to engage with the press and allowing the affair ‘to play out in full view of the media’ (Farmer. 2017: 454), to the Profumo scandal in which the War Minister’s ‘actions broke down the separation of public from private’ (Swanson, 1994: 56).

How Timothy Birdsall Further Developed the Pocket Cartoon

While cartoons (and caricature) had long been a ‘means of including a wider audience in political debate’ (Conboy, 2002: 59) it was within this atmosphere of a dissipation in what was considered private and an increasing willingness to challenge authority amidst an era still characterised by ‘Old boys [with their] buckets of surplus whitewash in Whitehall’ (*Daily Mirror*, 3 July 1963: 2) that the irreverent satire boom was born. In essence a return to a period of attitudes to those in authority of the pre-Victorian era (as exemplified by the works of Gillray and his contemporaries), the so-called satire boom of the early 1960s was formulated in a multimodal campaign in which newspaper and magazine text, illustrations, and television formed a symbiotic nexus to create a new movement whose core aim was to not just that of the Fourth Estate to hold the powerful to account, but to do so by mockery and a palpable lack of respect. The trident of written, topical cartoon, and television created a powerful weapon that both contributed to and was fuelled by the decline in deference to social elites.

In print this was exemplified by the October 1961 launch of *Private Eye* which was originally intended to challenge the more stately *Punch*. Initially issued on orange paper and sold in fashionable restaurants and cafes 'where bearded CND men gathered to listen to folk-songs' (Ingrams, 1971: 8) within six months the magazine has achieved sales in excess of 15,000. By the following year, at a time when television satire was making political waves, the staff felt they needed to go to even greater lengths to shock people, something that led to Randolph Churchill suing the magazine for libel, thus initiating a decades-long battle between the magazine and the courts. Of added visual interest, while featuring much written satire, the magazine championed the work of cartoonists including co-founder Willie Rushton, and perhaps most interesting within the context of the multimodal construction of the pocket and topical cartoon, Timothy Birdsall (1936-1963).

After graduating from Cambridge, Birdsall immediately secured a job drawing the front page pocket cartoon for *The Sunday Times.* Titled the 'Little Cartoon' Birdsall's work for the weekly paper between 1960 and 1962 is certainly influenced by Lancaster's pocket cartoons; however, there are also clear signs of the medium being developed further. Birdsall's work takes Lancaster's concise drawing style and takes it a step further by creating characters with even simpler lines, especially when drawing backgrounds such as trees and fences which while retaining their metonymic signifying status, can often appear almost abstract. This is particularly interesting when we consider that in 1963 when Birdsall had left *The Sunday Times* to take up position of political cartoonist on the *Spectator* and contribute regularly to *Private Eye*, his style became much more detailed as the size of his work increased. That is, Birdsall's pocket cartoons were not necessarily a reflection of the cartoonist's style, but an acknowledgement of the power of the medium. His adaption and development of the form of the pocket cartoon reflects what, by the early 1960s, was now an established weapon in

newspapers' and magazines' armoury. Since Lancaster had introduced the pocket cartoon in 1939, this flow of successful popular initiatives being adopted by the quality press had become well established through its use of photographs, headlines and celebrity news, *The Sunday Times* being a case in point. Pocket cartoons also featured regularly in *Private Eye*, as well as other politically-engaged publications such as the *Spectator*[22].

Birdsall's work engaged fully with the key tropes of the pocket cartoon including the aforementioned use of metonymy and pathos. In a cartoon [fig 8.2] from the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, his pocket cartoon features a schoolboy asking his friend 'What are you going to be if you grow up?' (Frayn and Gascoigne, 1964: 9). The caption is, of course, the archetypical combination of humour and deep pathos that Lancaster had pioneered. The horror and fear of a potential nuclear conflict is further engaged with via the simple, almost childlike, innocence of the background. Despite a contemporary observer stating that in Birdsall's pocket cartoons 'the joke usually had to be a verbal one; the drawing...was comparatively unimportant' (Gascoigne, 1964: 5), the importance of the bifurcate nature of pocket cartoons should not be underestimated; in fact, this is the source of their power. The 'unimportant' drawing actually supports the impact of the caption, something that we can see from the earliest of Lancaster's *Daily Express* cartoons. Although, as previously discussed, there is no doubt that one of the key innovations of the pocket cartoon is the primacy of the caption, especially in comparison with the editorial cartoon, it would be a mistake to discount the drawing as unimportant. As we have covered in the metaphor and metonymy chapter, the use of visual signifiers in the pocket cartoon is a key, if secondary, element is their power to convey sometimes complex themes through a multimodal combination of the visual and text. Birdsall may be better known

[22] Including major regional newspapers such as Sheffield's *Morning Telegraph* which ran a pocket cartoon on its front page from the late 1950s until its closure in 1986

today for his complex and detailed work for the *Spectator*, but this is more of a reflection of the general academic failure to engage with the pocket cartoon than their actual worth. It should also be noted that the very fact that a 'serious' broadsheet newspaper such as *The Sunday Times* choose to run pocket cartoons on its front page, demonstrates a recognition of the importance of the visual not just to the popular press, but to newspapers in general.

***That Was The Week That Was* and the Satire Boom**

It can be argued that Birdsall's ultimate contribution to the manifestation of the visual as a key tool in the development of the popular press in Britain actually occurred beyond the pages of newspapers and magazines. In what is a solidification of the multimodal paradigm and clear expression of the foregrounding of the popular, Birdsall took his topical cartoons onto the screens of the nation's television sets. In 1962 the late night television satire programme *That Was The Week That Was* (*TW3*) began its initial run and was an immediate success. Setting its sights on what had long been, if not taboo then frowned upon, topics such as royalty and religion (and of course politics) the TV show attracted large viewing figures to the degree that 'pubs experienced a large downturn in sales' (Carpenter, 2000: 1) and helped launch a number of careers, including that of David Frost. Amongst the sketches and satiric songs, was a segment called 'Sketch Club'. In this Birdsall drew live and created a cartoon with just a marker pen and a large piece of paper, the camera watching the composition over his shoulder. Of course, the demands of time meant that the cartoon could not be overly detailed, yet Birdsall's technique reflected the style of his pocket cartoons, rather than his more detailed editorial work, demonstrating an innate understanding of how the pocket cartoon style sat perfectly with the immediacy

of live television. In one episode Birdsall's calls his section 'How to Draw Your Own Political Cartoon' (*TW3*, 24 November 1962) in which Birdsall drew a cartoon featuring a loose sketch of Macmillan while simultaneously satirising newspaper editors and the attitude to their cartoonists, thereby foregrounding the centrality of the topical cartoon in the emerging era of print, visual, and televisual satire, as well as the way in which newspapers during this period existed in an environment in which different areas of media 'cross-referenced each other' (Hampton, 2020: 155).

The very first episode of *TW3* opened with Millicent Martin singing live to camera a song about the week's news, with lines such as 'At Brussels Ted Heath has the world at his feet, He got tariff reductions on kangaroo meat' (*TW3*, 24 November 1962). The song was 'illustrated with newspaper headlines and photos from the week's news' (Carpenter, 2002: 216) which literally illustrated the symbiotic relationship of the newspaper medium with the new satiric television programme.

It is instructive to note that *Private Eye* and *TW3* shared both writers and cartoonists. In many ways, we can see this as the ultimate expression of the intrinsically multimodal form of the pocket cartoon, with the merging of newspaper and magazine cartoons with the visual platform of television, not just in the use of live cartoon drawing as has been discussed, but also in the symbiotic link between platforms such as *Private Eye*, the *Spectator*, *The Sunday Times*, and *TW3,* something which helped create the much/over-used term 'The Satire Boom'. While there was undoubtedly a significant increase in the amount of satire (from *Beyond the Fringe* via *Private Eye* to *TW3*), it should be noted that a lot of the participants worked across some, or all, of these outlets including cartoonists Willie Rushton and Timothy Birdsall, and writers Christopher Booker, Richard Ingrams, and Peter Cook. It could therefore be argued that the Profumo Affair would not have been such a high profile event had it occurred just a few years

earlier. However, it surfaced in what was a perfect satire storm with *Private Eye* and *TW3* providing a two-pronged attack that simply had not existed only two years earlier. The daily newspapers of 1963 found themselves in uncertain waters for two key reasons. There first was the advent of *Private Eye* in 1961, which while only having a small percentage of the circulation of the national papers such as the *Mirror* which reached 4,779,000 in July 1963 (*Daily Mirror*, 3 July 1963:1), was already hitting above its weight by becoming a thorn in the side of elites such as Randolph Churchill and the current Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan; secondly, there was what can be seen as the final strands of deference resulting from the Vassall Affair.

John Vassall was a civil servant who had in 1962 been revealed as a spy, as well as rumoured homosexual links with Tam Galbraith, Civil Lord of the Admiralty. There followed the prosecution and subsequent jailing of two journalists (from the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Sketch*) who refused to reveal their sources. This can be seen to have led to the reluctance of newspapers to reveal details they had in their possession of the burgeoning Profumo Affair for a fear of being put into the same position as they had found themselves in with Vassall, while simultaneously creating a situation where a number of British newspapers were 'gunning for Macmillan' (Farmer, 2017: 454). It was therefore left to *Private Eye* to be the first to publish hints of the stories that were circulating around Fleet Street about Profumo. On 22 March 1963, under the heading 'Idle Talk' the magazine ran a piece about a West Indian man sentenced at the Old Bailey for being in 'possession of a water pistol' along with a Harley Street doctor who had 'more than half the Cabinet on his list of patients' (*Private Eye*, 22 March 1963). While these were hints only, they were the first shots in the popular press's engagement with what became known as the Profumo Affair. In fact, one of the first clear examples of print media and television using the same source for a satire-based attack can be seen in the coverage of 'the sexual innuendoes in

some innocuous letters between [Vassall] and his superior' (Carpenter, 2000: 253) which had begun 'My dear Vassall'. A Birdsall cartoon [fig 8.3] from *Private Eye* has two men speaking: the first says, 'If you visited Mr. Vassall's flat you would have noticed...his unnatural tendencies' to which the second man replies 'No dear, he seemed perfectly normal to me' (*Private Eye*, 23 April 1963). *TW3* featured a sketch in which a senior official was reading a letter and commenting 'Good. None of that 'dear'' before questioning the use of the word 'pursuant' as it may have 'an erotic penumbra' (*TW3*, 20 April 1963).

Still somewhat wary of publishing direct comment on the growing rumours surrounding Profumo, *Private Eye* followed up its Idle Talk column with a double page Birdsall spread [fig 8.3] with the title 'The Last Days of Macmillan' in which the Prime Minister was drawn as a Roman emperor lying by a swimming pool surrounded by naked girls, next to Juvenile as the court satyr flanked by *Daily Mail* columnists. The reference to Profumo and the events at Cliveden would have been obvious to those in the know, but only to them. However, the 'Per Wardua ad Astor' motto above the pool, which was a pun on 'per ardua ad astra' (through adversity to the stars) was seen by Stephen Ward as a clear indication that the magazine knew the full details of what had happened. They did not, but when Ward went to the offices of *Private Eye* to say 'I see you know everything' they asked him to 'refresh their memories' (Marnham, 1982: 63) and thus were the first publication to have the rumours confirmed. It is instructive to note that the medium that led to this confession was visual, demonstrating the power of the cartoon to not only comment on, but imply. Birdsall's depiction of the Prime Minister as Roman emperor and placed within the context of the decline and fall of an empire, utilises the long-established editorial cartoon trope of symbolism and metaphor, as well as the deployment of classical references to deflect criticism as pioneered by Cave's *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731-1922). This is significant because it demonstrates how the lines between editorial and

pocket cartoons were becoming increasingly blurred. As we have seen, from the time of the 1940s cartoonists such as Cummings, Giles and occasionally Vicky were using some pocket cartoons tropes such as metonymy in their editorial work. What we can see in the cartoons of 1963 and beyond is cartoonists such as Birdsall producing both pocket and editorial cartoons. Further to this, there is a cross-fertilisation between the two forms as seen in the double page 'The Last Days of Macmillan' that can be viewed a composite work of visual iconography in which clear use of symbolism, along with the long-established motif of lettering and signs, is merged with the pocket cartoons use of metonymy (bowler hats for government ministers) and humour (the geese of Via Fleeta asking if they have written any good rumours lately). It is a remarkable piece of work that acts as a summary of the development of the popular newspaper cartoon up to that date, employing a myriad of techniques both established and innovative to not only comment on the declining fortunes of the government, but to also use humour and different drawing styles that can be seen in the juxtaposition of the Macmillan illustration which contains a great deal of detail with the geese who are drawn in a more simplistic style resonant of Birdsall's pocket cartoon work. Bringing both the styles and formats of editorial and pocket cartoons together in one piece creates both a multimodal canvas, as well as demonstrating a developing understanding of the importance of layout. The illustrations, both editorial and pocket, are placed within the text which creates a fluid presentation, particularly when combined with the captions and speech of the characters, which in turn amalgamates these disparate elements to achieve a sense of cohesion in text, visual, satire, comment, and even prediction that *Private Eye* helped introduce in 1961 and used to great effect during the Profumo Affair, something that helped increase sales figures to 85,000 (Marnham, 1982: 90).

Birdsall's illustrations also signified a further breaking down of deference towards elites in one specific way: his work does not necessarily judge, but rather

creates a tableau for the enjoyment of readers. That is, the Last Days of Macmillan is not just related to the function and the appeal of the popular press, but it is a device by which the reader can derive amusement from the decay and decline of the age of deference by *using* elites as a form of entertainment. The topical cartoon has shifted significantly from its role of comment to one of an entertainment focused platform. The reader is placed in a position to enjoy the spectacle and situated as a voyeur looking behind what would even recently have been a closed off realm to revel in the spectacle of lust and decadence of the old guard, in essence moving to a point where 'an elite found itself the butt of mockery from its own people' (Tombs, 2021: 31). This shift from the Chatterley trial via Profumo to the age of the Beatles and the triumph of the popular imbues Birdsall's work, something that the cartoonist would almost certainly have built upon had he not died so young. However, what is particularly interesting is how the societal shift was reflected not just in the work of the young bloods of the satire boom and the pages of *Private Eye*, but in the work of established cartoonists such as Lancaster.

Innuendo by Juxtaposition – Layout and the Pocket Cartoon

With this in mind, and considering that the Profumo Affair was in effect the peak of the so-called satire boom, at a time when 'scandal followed scandal' (Walker, 1978: 165) it is particularly interesting to consider how the popular press used cartoons to engage with the developing story. The first rumblings in the national popular press began on Friday 15 March, 1963. The *Daily Express* led with 'War Minister Shock' above a story detailing Profumo's offer of resignation 'for personal reasons'. The story demonstrates the developing sophistication of the *Express's* understanding of layout. Above the main headline, the word

Profumo is printed in bold and underlined. This essentially acts as a signifier to readers that the paper is indicating that the story is not existing in isolation, but that they foresee it running into the future and that there is more to know. Underneath the headline the *Express*'s layout options are fully utilised. The broadsheet contains eight columns and the paper uses a combination of single, double, and triple to foreground the story. The first two columns feature a photograph of Profumo and his wife, the film actress Valerie Dobson; the third column features the text of the story in which the *Express* (as with other newspapers) is careful to avoid anything that could result in the paper being sued. It does not give any reason for his offered resignation, but rather notes that 'there has been speculation about Mr. Profumo's future among M.P.s for several weeks', and later includes a quote from Profumo stating 'there is no reason why I should [resign]' (*Daily Express,* 15 March 1963: 1). What is particularly important here is that the paper makes no direct mention of his affair, which is still a secret from the public; however, across three columns the paper prints a large photograph of Christine Keeler under the heading 'Vanished: Old Bailey Witness'. Below the picture is a short paragraph noting her disappearance from the trial and a link to 'Photonews Dossier' on page five. There is no direct correlation whatsoever between the two stories, but anyone picking up the paper would see the 'War Minister Shock' headline and the large photograph of Keeler. It was a daring use of the visual to make an implicit link between the two events, but at the same time offered the newspaper the opportunity to deny any such link was being made. The page five dossier contains two single columns, one double, and one triple column photographs of the missing witness, the latter showing a naked Keeler with just a towel covering her. Again, no direct link to Profumo is made, but the front page had already achieved its aim of innuendo by juxtaposition.

What is especially noteworthy is that the same day's *Daily Mirror* uses what is essentially exactly the same technique. While the paper's lead story is about the then ongoing fallout from the spy John Vassall's story, the main two photographs are of Profumo and his wife, juxtaposed with a large picture of Keeler above the headline 'The Vanished Model'. This use of juxtaposition by both newspapers clearly demonstrates their understanding of the power of the visual, as the impact would have been considerably lessened had they just set two stories without images next to one another. This exploitation of the visual did not go unnoticed and attracted some criticism, not least from Lord Denning's inquiry. However, the *Express* claimed that 'this juxtaposition of stories was utter chance' (Davenport-Hines, 2013: 272). In fact, the popular press had become past masters at insinuation, something that was particularly prevalent at this time when they 'ran coverage of John Profumo's political engagements in ways that insinuated there was trouble in his private life' (Mort, 2010: 316).

The following day, the *Express* took its use of visual juxtaposition a step further when its front page contained another story and photograph about Keeler, but this time with a Lancaster pocket cartoon [fig 8.4] which seems designed to offer both ambiguity and for those in the know, direct reference to the secret of Profumo's affair. Featuring Maudie and a friend, the caption reads: '...nowadays one daren't even hazard a guess in case it turns out to be true, libellous or contempt of court!' (*Daily Express*, 16 March 1963: 1). What is especially notable about this cartoon is that it does not directly refer to any story from that day's paper, as would have usually been the case with a pocket cartoon. Indeed, the front page of the Daily Express contains 20 stories, with subjects ranging from a teachers' march on Downing Street to a plane crash. Of the 20 stories the only one that relates to a court case is that about Christine Keeler. Lancaster himself had been a visitor to Cliveden and knew Profumo as well as being familiar with many of his friends and colleagues. One therefore is led to ask what would

contemporary readers have made of the cartoon, and it is highly likely that they would have made the link to the case in which Keeler was a witness.

This, of course, would have been Lancaster's intent and the newspaper was utilising its multimodal approach to content to forge a link that it could deny was present, but was also laying the groundwork for if the story became public. Lancaster's Maudie is here a cipher for the newspaper itself, and therefore is not only used to make an indirect link with Keeler, but acts as a form of meta-language to refer to the situation the newspaper, along with other titles, found itself in with their fear of Profumo suing for libel. What we can see here is an example of how the pocket cartoon is a more capable platform than the traditional editorial cartoon to engage with subtle referencing of points that cannot be explicitly stated. This is, in fact, one of its key features, something that Lancaster was developing from the pocket cartoons early days and is certainly present by the time of the Suez crisis. By the 1960s, pocket cartoonists had recognised the potential of their work not just to utilise humour - or gags - to laugh at and satirise contemporary news stories, but to subtly provide comment on news and topics that was not to be found elsewhere, whether that be for fear of libel or contempt of court, or that it contradicts editorial line. In this example, Lancaster is referring to a story that the public in general would have been completely ignorant of, but in doing so was creating a link that used the combination of the visual and the text to construct an implied meaning. Conversely, the editorial cartoons simply did not have subtlety as part of their armoury. We can see this in Franklin's *Mirror* cartoon (*Daily Mirror*, 18 March, 1963: 5) in which his subject is arms production illustrated through a Vicky-esque dark cartoon with 'starving Africans' and a quote from the Book of Common Prayer [fig 8.5]. Although the subject matter is different, it bears no connection with any of the *Mirror's* front page stories and is completely detached from the emerging Profumo Affair, whereas the same day's front page included another Keeler headline under which

a cryptic reference to the model being friends with ‘millionaires, film stars and top people in show business - and the professions’ (*Daily Mirror*, 18 March, 1963: 1).

Lancaster continued to utilise his pocket cartoons to allude to Christine Keeler, even when there were no linked front page stories. A few days on and the Keeler/Profumo stories continued to remain in the background, but this did not stop the popular press obliquely referencing them. The *Express* featured an update on her continued non-appearance at the Old Bailey under the headline ‘Silent’ (*Daily Express*, 21 March 1963: 10) while Lancaster’s front page cartoon [fig 8.6] has a man saying ‘how could we pursue this poor, defenceless girl and force her to give evidence - she’s not a journalist!’ (*Daily Express*, 21 March 1963:1). Here, the cartoon has two aims. Firstly, it is referencing the two journalists who had been sent to jail for refusing to reveal their sources; but more significantly, the pocket cartoon once again alludes to Christine Keeler, *without naming her.* The fact that Lancaster feels that his audience will know to whom he is referring without naming her, shows that arguably the biggest story in the country at the moment is one that the papers cannot directly mention, all of which was about to change.

The *Daily Express* the day after includes the first explicit references to what would become the Profumo Affair. Under the headline ‘MPs Speak on Model’, the lead story marks a significant shift in the coverage of Christine Keeler from the witness in an Old Bailey trial to being linked with a Government Minister. The story reports how under parliamentary privilege, George Wigg, a Labour MP, had stated ‘There is not a MP in this House, and I don’t believe there is a person in the public gallery, who in the last few days has not heard rumour upon rumour that involved a member of the Government front bench.’ (*Daily Express*, 22 March 1963: 1). Significantly, he then goes on to state that the Press have got as close as they could, in essence acknowledging the subtle way papers

such as the *Express* and the *Mirror* had used different techniques to point towards the developing, if yet unrevealed, scandal. It is also interesting to note that Lancaster's front page cartoon has a different subject (the actor Richard Burton); this, of course, may simply be the cartoonist's choice, but it is worth considering that Lancaster didn't *need* to reference Profumo or Keeler as the paper was now in a position to make more explicit references, such as in the way the front page article - continued on page two - the newspaper notes that MPs have asked about Christine Keeler and quotes Barbara Castle who wonders whether there is a question of public interest behind the press interest in Keeler. Castle would have been fully aware of the rumours circulating around Westminster, and she is pushing as hard as she dare towards revealing Profumo as the man involved. Of course, all of this is in a Conservative-supporting newspaper, a sign of how difficult it was becoming for even the right of centre popular press to ignore the developing scandal.

The *Daily Mirror*, by contrast, had no such qualms. Their headline from the same day read 'Minister and Model - Probe Demand by MPs'. Whereas the *Express* had around 20 articles on its front page, the *Mirror* (although, of course a tabloid) had only one story, which it began by openly stating that 'rumours of a link between a Tory Minister and the missing Old Bailey witness Christine Keeler were mentioned in the House of Commons last night (*Daily Mirror*, 22 March 1963: 1), and although the story is continued on the last page, Profumo remains unnamed.

This changes the following day in the wake of Profumo's address to the Commons denying any impropriety with Keeler. The *Daily Express* tried to put a more positive spin on the emerging story with a from page photograph of Profumo and his wife dancing 'cheek to cheek' (*Daily Express*, 23 March, 1963:1) next to a story which speaks of the MP spending a relaxing day following his Commons statement. Now that a (allegedly lack of) connection has been

established, the *Express* takes content juxtaposing a step further. A second story relating to Keeler being located in Spain is placed *within* the lead Profumo story, forming a both literal and metaphoric link between the two. This is then taken a step further by the adjacent Lancaster cartoon which once again employs subtle suggestion, by the caption '...the Tory image is rapidly acquiring a rather more robust look', an allusion to both the stories opposite and the story still to fully emerge. This combination of page layout, design, and placement combine to foreground the *Express*'s multimodal approach to storytelling, something that is clearly evident even in a newspaper that it supportive of the government. What is particularly noteworthy is that the *Mirror*, which obviously is trying to make as much political capital out of the story as possible, is actually hampered in its lack of a pocket cartoonist. For the week beginning Monday 19th March, Franklin's *Mirror* cartoons dealt with issues including money worries (19th); mountain climbing (20th); an army camp row (21st); and GPO rates (22nd). There was not a single allusion, let alone reference, to the developing Profumo/Keeler story is for the simple reason *that there could not be,* because the long-established editorial cartoon simply does not have the tools, or for that matter the tradition, to enable it to engage with topics that require allusion and suggestion. It is a broad brush format (figuratively as well as literarily) in which it uses a satiric hammer to hit its targets, whereas the pocket cartoon can be much more subtle, and therefore surprisingly effective at getting to the core of complicated and emerging stories.

George Smiley to the editorial's James Bond, the pocket cartoon's ability to work on multiple levels gives the newspapers in which it appears an extra level of comment and attack. We see this often in Lancaster's work, and the aforementioned cartoon is a perfect example of the format's power. If we study its visual construction we can see the way in which metonymy is once again utilised for a subtle, yet powerful impact. The drawing initially appears simple,

as the confines of space demand. However, it would be a mistake to conclude that this means the characters are mere ciphers or vessels for the caption. There is much more occurring here. The cartoon features, in essence, just two women. A younger one who is standing up, and an older lady who is sitting in a chair with an open newspaper in her hands. Of course, the faces of the two women, as relatively straight forward as they are drawn, still offer us a guide to their relative ages. However, Lancaster also uses other visual clues: as there is only one chair present, we can deduce that a choice has been made of who sits in it. This decision has been made based on age, something that is backed up by the simple, but still metonymically significant illustration of clothing: the younger woman in a fitted dress, the older wearing pearls and twinset. Additionally, it is the older woman who is imparting the news, acting in effect as one whose wisdom is a conduit for her commentary. This use of visual metonymy sets up the readers' expectations, which the caption then builds upon. In referring to the Tory image as 'robust' Lancaster is choosing his language with care and intent. Robust, of course, means strong, but it also is linked at the synonym level with ideas of being energetic, vigorous, and healthy; as well as coarse, or crude and ribald. The use of 'robust' shows how Lancaster links the cartoon not just to the Profumo/Keeler affair in terms of implication and suggestion, but also to the wider decline in deference that can be seen to have originated during the Suez crisis and become established in the wake of the Chatterley trial and the satire boom. There is a feeling that the paper's readers are sharing a knowing wink at the antics of the rich and powerful, albeit it via implication and suggestion.

‘Profumo Quits!’ – Read All About It

Over the next two and a half months, the Profumo story took a back seat to other news, such as Dr Beeching’s cuts to the railways, and simmered away with Fleet Street still wary of Profumo’s fortune and the threat of being sued. The coverage of Keeler now returned to her disappearance from the Old Bailey trial and her subsequent stay and return from Spain. Lancaster would occasionally refer to Keeler (*Daily Express*, 27 March 1963: 1) but these made no link with Profumo. This pause in coverage came to an abrupt end with the papers of 6 June, when the major story that John Profumo had resigned was broken. That day’s *Express* led with ‘Profumo Quits: I Lied’ followed by ‘His denial of impropriety with Christine Keeler was untrue’. The story makes the first implicit link with Profumo, Keeler, and Eugene Ivanov the Russian attaché/spy - the triangle that would give the Profumo Affair its notoriety. The paper’s coverage continues on page 2, 4 (‘Profumo bomb explodes’), 5, and 8. It is a mark of the perceived importance of the story that the Conservative-supporting newspaper dedicated so much space to its coverage. The *Mirror*, of course, would have no such reservations. It too led with ‘Profumo Quits’, but it foregrounded the word ‘lie’, using it twice in headlines. Its coverage took up pages 1, 16, 17, and the back page.

The following day the cartoonists got their turn. Lancaster’s front page pocket cartoon [fig 8.7] is an interesting inversion from the cartoon studied in detail from 23 March 1963. In this cartoon, the figure of the older lady is repeated, again seated with a newspaper in her hand. However, this time it is not a younger woman but a man who stands next to her. The woman says ‘ I assume that this Dr. Ward is one of those rascally Liberals’ (*Daily Express*, June 7 1963: 1). Once again the cartoon works on a number of levels. At first it seems to be a joke at the

expense of Dr. Ward and his lifestyle, however the use of the word 'rascally' is as important as 'robust' was back in March. Rascal has overtones of the rogue or scoundrel, an old-fashioned phrase that is used to satirise and ridicule not just Dr. Ward, who just the year before had been 'an intermediary in the Cuban missile crisis' (*The Sunday Times*, 2 February 2020: 5), but by association Profumo. Lancaster, despite being acquainted with the Cliveden set and having visited Lord Astor's home (Davenport-Hines, 2013: 83), is exhibiting a lack of deference to a government minister that would have been far less common just a few years before (and certainly before Suez) in what is a subtle attack, but an attack all the same. On that day's editorial page, Cummings can at last fully engage with the year's biggest story. His cartoon has a ship marked S.S. Tory floundering on rocks as it heads for a mermaid/siren in the shape of Christine Keeler. These two cartoons demonstrate very different approaches to a major news story, and it is interesting to note that the political heavyweight of the editorial cartoon uses an unambiguous message, while the 'humorous' pocket cartoon is laden with meaning and subtle inference. The *Mirror* of the same day continued to foreground the word 'lie' and now starts to frame the story with the security angle, something which helped it keep the story on the front page over the coming months. Under the headline 'The Unanswered Questions' the paper's front page poses questions such as 'Did the Security Services KNOW about the relationship between Mr. Profumo and Miss Keeler?' (*Daily Mirror*, 7 June 1963:1). The *Mirror's* Profumo Affair narrative is one that was one born out of previous spy scandals, although in this case it is certainly possible to argue that this was one of its least significant elements. However, the cartoonists were more concerned (or celebrating) the immediate effect the story would have on the government. The front page had declared that the news had 'rocked the Macmillan Government', thereby at once distancing the newspaper from the MP's behaviour - it is *Macmillan's* Government, not *ours* - and leaving its readers in little doubt of the potential damage the revelations could cause. The cartoons supports this

line with Franklin [fig 8.8] drawing a grenadier whose fur cap has the words 'Tory general election parade dress' being splattered with mud by a tank with Profumo written on the front and the embattled War Minister saying 'Oops! Sorry, Sir' (*Daily Mirror*, 7 June 1963: 7).

Cummings continued along this line in the following day's *Express*, with a cartoon [fig 8.9] showing Britannia doing the can-can exposing fishnet tights with notes reading 'Scandals!' and 'Resignations' next to a family whose parents are shielding their children's eyes from the spectacle (*Daily Express*, 8 June, 1963: 8). Monday saw no let up with the *Express* leading with 'Tories in a Ferment' under which the lead article notes that the Prime Minister is returning to London from holiday, in what is a remarkable similarity to the situation Eden found himself in during the 1956 crisis. Once again, Cummings does not hold back, despite the paper's political allegiances, something which has led to his work being described as occupying a 'simple, moral universe...and a merciless one' (Walker, 1978: 162). He shows Macmillan as Humpty Dumpty [fig 8.10] cracking as he crashes to the ground from a wall which bricks spell out the word 'Profumo' (*Daily Express*, June 10: 8). That day's *Mirror* makes this historical link explicit by opening its front page lead saying the Prime Minister 'faces the biggest political crisis since...six years ago' (*Daily Mirror*, 10 June 1963, 1), and by Cassandra's column which calls the scandal 'one of the greatest chain-reactions of the century' in which the British Government is in danger of being overthrown' by a scandal 'that has everything - political power, sex, violence and espionage' (*Daily Express*, June 7 1963: 6). Franklin continues the attack in a cartoon that portrays Profumo as the recipient of the Order of the Mud-Bath for 'extinguishing service to both himself and the Tory Government' (*Daily Mirror,* 10 June 1963: 7).

As the shockwaves of the unfolding crisis began to be felt, Lancaster reflects the feelings of many on the right of the political divide (and quite

possibly himself) by a cartoon [fig 8.11] featuring a young woman speaking to a rather bemused older lady saying 'You must face the fact...the Cliveden Set has rather changed its character since your day.' (*Daily Express*, 11 June 1963: 1). The cartoon seems to reflect the rather punch drunk atmosphere of the *Express* in the way it cannot avoid covering a story that is clearly very harmful to the political party it backs. This sense of editorial panic is further reflected in the same day's editorial cartoon [fig 8.12] in which Giles draws a large room with a chandelier under which a butler begins to say 'Ladies and Gentleman, Miss Chris...' only for all the men in the room to throw themselves through the window to avoid being linked with the imminent arrival of Keeler (*Daily Express*, 11 June 1963: 8). The visual elements of the paper's coverage are being embedded within stories to foreground the multimodal nature of its layout and design, an example being two pages further on from Giles' cartoon in which a piece of political commentary by Henry Fairlie on Macmillan's response to the crisis has an (uncredited) Cummings spot illustration of the Prime Minister holding two long daggers as an allusion to the Tories night of the long knives (ibid. p.10). The *Mirror*, rather surprisingly, went for what is a somewhat melancholy lead with the headline 'The Empty Chair at the War Office...' above a large photograph of Profumo's unoccupied desk (*Daily Mirror*, 11 June 1963: 1).

Profumo, Profumo, Profumo – Blanket Coverage Across the Political Divide

Of course, the main reason that the *Express* cannot employ the tactic it often used during the Suez crisis of simply ignoring news that was harmful to the Tory government was that its readers would not stand for such a tactic. The Profumo Affair had grabbed the public interest even more than the then recent

scandal around the divorce case of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll in which the Duke accused his wife of infidelity with 88 men and as evidence produced a series of Polaroids of his naked wife, including the infamous fellatio picture with the 'headless man'. In fact, Lancaster references this earlier (although still very recent) scandal in his front page pocket cartoon. As with Giles the previous day, Lancaster [fig 8.13] uses the metonymic signifier of the chandelier to denote high society, and has a woman in a ball gown say to a man in black tie, '...how fickle the public is - why now not a single person has an unkind word to spare for those poor Argylls!' (*Daily Express*, 12 June 1963: 1). The implication being that all the salacious gossip and criticism of the Argylls has now been superseded by the Profumo Affair. That day's front page of the *Express* features not just the lead story about the latest developments, but also two other stories centring around the scandal ('Profumo Stays in a Castle' and 'I Shall Give the Facts').[23] The *Express* is doing what popular newspapers do best, giving their readers more of what they have already been given. Of course, this is not to say that its coverage is the same as that of a newspaper such as the *Mirror*. While both papers cover Macmillan's cabinet meeting, the *Express* has the sombre headline 'Two-Hour Inquest' while the *Mirror* has the more emotive 'Crisis Talks By Cabinet' (*Daily Mirror*, 12 June 1963: 1) above a lead that states 'Macmillan called a surprise "council of war" yesterday on the Profumo scandal'.

The *Mirror* fully understood not just how the scandal could be weaponised for political impact, but also how it was the perfect story for its readers given its political stance and its 'relationship to a specific demographic' (Cudlipp, 1953: 121). This is reflected not just in the sheer volume of coverage it gave to the story all under the masthead 'The Profumo Scandal: day by day all the news and comment', but in its use of visual. That day's front page has a photograph of the

[23] Along with news that the cartoonist Timothy Birdsall had died

Prime Minister in academic robes, which is an instructive choice as it is loaded with metonymic significance. It would have been much more usual to show Macmillan in normal clothes, but by foregrounding this particular photograph the *Mirror* is placing him not just a member of the parliamentary elite, but as a member of an establishment far removed from that of the majority of the newspaper's audience. It has a distancing effect which helps place Macmillan as other. It is part of a two-pronged attack which on the one hand places the Prime Minister as an elite, and on the other as a source for ridicule, as can be seen in Franklin's editorial cartoon which has Macmillan with two bombs down his trousers and one on his head while a fuse leads away to a detonator with the words 'Profumo Debate' (*Daily* Mirror, 12 June 1963: 7).

The *Express* could hardly disagree that the fallout from the scandal was now threatening the Government so Macmillan's position was far from secure, leading to what the paper called a 'Cabinet Revolt' (*Daily Express*, 13 June 1963:1) in which Enoch Powell led a group which was challenging their own leader. As Franklin had alluded to with his senator cartoon the previous day, Lancaster's pocket cartoon could not avoid the potential wounds inflicted on the Prime Minister. His cartoon is interesting for a number of points, the first of which is the way in which it demonstrated the cross-fertilisation of the editorial and pocket cartoon that had occurred by the early 1960s. As we have seen, since at least the 1945 General Election there is evidence that the editorial cartoon was developing to incorporate elements of the pocket cartoon within its armoury. This nexus of influences can now been seen to be working in a bidirectional manner, with Lancaster confident enough in the newer form to use some of the tropes of the editorial cartoon. A clear example of this is the cartoon [8.14] which is juxtaposed with the 'Cabinet Revolt' lead story, in which an actress is on stage reciting a line based on Shakespeare's *Macbeth.* Lady Macbeth's line, 'Here's the smell of blood still. All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little

hand' (Act 5, Scene 1) is amended to 'All the Profumos of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand' (*Daily* Express, 13 June 1963: 1). It is a clever play on words, which assumes that the paper's readers will recognise the literary allusion, as well as being an indication of the aspirational reader Beaverbrook had been so keen to attract ever since the 1930s. It also combines editorial cartoonists' fondness for literary references with the pocket cartoon's brevity and use of a gag. The reader would be left in little doubt as to its meaning: the scandal has seriously affected the Government and the damage to its reputation was in danger of proving fatal. Indeed, the *Mirror* could smell blood. Their headline, under the 'Profumo Scandal' masthead quoted the Bishop of Southwark saying there was the 'Smell of Corruption and Evil Practices in High Places' (*Daily Mirror*, 13 June 1963:1) and was juxtaposed with 'The Pressure on Macmillan Grows', thereby making a direct collation between the two.

Franklin's cartoon [fig 8.15] reverts to traditional tropes with a 'Papering the parlour' caption below a drawing of three people trying to paper over the 'Tory Crack Up', and therefore contributing to the paper's overall editorial position. While this is a rather straight forward use of editorial trope and the allusion would have been easily understood, Lancaster was continuing to develop his pocket cartoon tropes and just one day after his Macbeth reference, he was reaching even further back into classical literature with a cartoon [fig 8.16] that alludes initially to the Roman poet Horace's Ode 3.2 (Valor), but which may have been recognised by more people as the title of the Wilfred Owen poem *Dulce et Decorum est* which was published posthumously in 1920 and translates as 'How sweet and honourable it is to die for one's country'. Lancaster has a woman saying to a man outside Conservative Central Office 'Cheer up...always remember "Dulce et decorum est Profumo mori."' (*Daily Express*, 14 June 1963: 1), essentially changing 'to die for one's country', to 'die for Profumo', an acknowledgement of the impact the scandal is having on the Conservatives.

Youth Culture and the Battle for Morality

There is also a developing schism between the elites and the younger generation which can be seen in attitudes to the scandal. The concept of 'youth' as a 'metaphor for social change' (Hall, 1975: 242) is present in both papers by 1963 and would become more prominent as the decade progressed. In fact, the Profumo scandal can be seen as a conflict in which the elite and by extension the older generation (Profumo, Astor, Macmillan and their contemporaries) were pitched against an emerging youth culture which was symbolised by Christine Keeler (just 21 in 1963) and the imminent explosion of a new generation who were to play a pivotal role in popular culture and its representation in the popular press (such as the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Vidal Sassoon, Mary Quant, Terrence Stamp, David Bailey, Jean Shrimpton, and Julie Christie) as well as the replacement of issues such as affluence and its association with elites with those of socioeconomic shifts in which affluence was no longer specifically class based, but was now something to which young people could aspire and achieve, not through social standing (and inherited wealth) but by talent and the mere fact of being young, something that was reflected in the *Daily Mirror* being increasingly predicated on the rise of affluent youth at this point (Smith, 1975: 160). It is therefore possible to argue that the Profumo affair was more than a political scandal, but was in fact both a symptom of and an instigator of a new youth dominated culture, something Lancaster would reflect in cartoons referencing everything from popular music to topless bikinis, much of which was channelled through the conduit of the recurring upper-class characters Littlehamptons and their bemusement and acceptance of the changing mores of society.

Therefore, while younger people, especially the new generations of *Express* and *Mirror* readers, seem quite happy to find titillation and amusement in the crisis as reflected in newspaper coverage, the older generation of elites as exemplified by the Bishop of Southwark and Lord Hailsham who frame the scandal as symptomatic of a decline in standards or ‘a national moral issues’ (*Daily Express*, 14 June 1963: 1); that is, of course, a perceived decline in morals amongst all people and therefore, the subtext seems to be, politicians are not different from all of society. This argument could be further extended to say that it is society’s fault and politicians are victims of their times, as the cartoonists in the popular press are saying on a daily basis this is not the case. What had changed is not the behaviour of politicians and elites, but the willingness of the popular press to expose this behaviour, something that in an age when they are no longer ‘the most important channel of information about contemporary life’ (Bingham, 2004: 3) as they had been in the inter-war years, was a clear opportunity to out-sensationalise competing media such as television. It is now the libel courts, not a deference to elites, which is all that keeps these details out of the newspapers.

Nowhere is this better exemplified that in the Profumo scandal from the point when the MP admitted lying, and therefore removed any possibility of a libel action, the popular press *on both sides of the political divide,* maximised the extent and impact of their coverage. As Giles’ cartoon [fig 8.17] from the same day says, ‘the whole nation’s on the subject of morals’ (*Daily Express*, 14 June 1963: 10). The *Mirror* uses Hailsham’s ‘outburst’ as their page one lead, including a number of quotes such as ‘I cannot believe a man in his position could behave like this’ and ‘I cannot imagine a greater blow to biblical morality’ (*Daily Mirror*, 14 June 1963: 1). Inside the paper, there is more: ‘Profumo’s morals are a public issue’ and ‘a squalid affair...with a woman of easy virtue’ (p.13). This outpouring of (self)righteous moralising seems to have not had the desired effect. Rather than shaming the press and the public into a sombre reflection on their

attitude to the morality of their politicians, they continued to exhibit a lack of deference through their engagement with humour, as exemplified in the work of popular newspaper cartoonists. Lancaster's response [fig 8.18] typifies this when he has a woman speaking to another woman who is wearing sunglasses, 'I KNOW the sun's gone in - it's just that I can't stand the intolerable brilliance of Lord Hailsham's halo' (*Daily Express*, 15 June 1963: 1). It is possible to argue that nowhere is the decline in deference to elites better articulated than in this one cartoon. Using the unique properties of the pocket cartoon, Lancaster manages to combine joke, social commentary, and even a lingering sense of pathos around not just a topical news story, but the way in which society at large was changing so rapidly in the early 1960s.

Around this time the *Banbury Guardian* (owned by Labour MP, Woodrow Wyatt) carried out a survey of hundreds of people and found 95% condemned Profumo for lying, however 'the minority who condemned his morality were mostly middle-aged or elderly' (Davenport-Hines, 2013: 297). While certain members of the elite tried to frame the scandal in terms of morals, the press at large (and by extension the public) were increasingly interested in the security angle, which was adding to a growing sense of those in power being out of touch and no longer worthy of deference. The *Mirror* led their front page with 'Ivanov and Christine: Shock Letter' which began 'A sensational letter about alleged Russian attempts to get atomic secrets out of former War Minister John Profumo' (*Daily Mirror*, 15 June 1963:1). However, there is little doubt that the popular press and especially the titles on the left of the political spectrum were less interested in issues of morality and more in the political repercussions. We can see an example of this in the *Mirror's* front page story with the headline 'Operation Whitewash' in which while again noting Lord Hailsham's contention that the Profumo scandal was a moral issue, they note that it was not 'the whole British public [who] had been caught in bed with Miss Keeler' and that Rab

Butler, the former Home Secretary, was arguing that rather than a moral issue he thought 'it is a Party (or at any rate, a political) issue and not a national issue' (*Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963: 1). This issue of morality, and its link with conflict between the classes and the young and middle-aged, was further expanded upon by Hugh Cudlipp the following week when he argued that it was Whitehall Mandarins who had 'torpedoed Macmillan's hopes of leading the Tories into the next election' (*Sunday Mirror*, 23 June 1963: 6). This position is backed up by a Franklin cartoon [fig 8.19] in which he portrays Macmillan pirouetting around a stage festooned with man traps labelled 'High explosive questions' to the caption 'Dance, ballerina, dance' (*Daily Mirror*, 17 June 1963: 5), a reference to the contemporary popular song demonstrating again the blending of popular references within visual satire of the time. In fact, this blending of popular culture references is part of a developing integration that, as we have discussed, had been happening since the 1930s and by the early 1960s was broadening even further to include fashion, film, and particularly music. This went hand in hand with the decrease in deference that had been evident from at least the Suez crisis, and was being exemplified by Lancaster's attitude to the moralising Lord Hailsham, which we can see as not just an attack on an individual but on an entire way of thinking.

This can be seen in another pocket cartoon [fig 8.20] that engages directly with Hailsham and his attitude which the *Express* is framing as increasingly outdated. A couple are caught in a lightning storm with rain lashing down, the caption reads 'I wouldn't be a bit surprised to learn that Lord Hailsham has been evoking the Wrath of God' (*Daily Express*, 19 June 1963: 1). What is particularly noteworthy about this cartoon is the way in which Lancaster has used metonymy to socially place the couple: the man is wearing top hat and tails and the woman a hat and smart dress, thereby placing them in the upper echelons of society. This adds an extra level of meaning to the cartoon. On one level the cartoon ridicules

Hailsham's attitudes to the Profumo scandal and the country's perceived lack of morals; however, because of the use of metonymy there is a question whether the elites featured actually *believe* that he could be responsible for the weather and therefore has some direct link to the Almighty. This extra dimension of satire widens the target of the cartoon beyond Hailsham to elites in general, something the paper can be seen to also have done in its coverage of the moral dimension to the Profumo scandal, for example in the same issue it reports on Lord Shawcross who is quoted as saying the 'great mass of British people, in high places or low, are good, moral, honest, decent people' and that the 'miserable Profumo affair' is a 'party issue' (*Daily Express*, 19 June 1963: 6). This desire - or need - to either defend or criticise the morality of the nation can be seem to arise out of a fear of the advance of the popular and the way in which elites are becoming increasingly side-lined and in the way Lancaster, and by extension the *Express*, is demonstrating an innate understanding of key societal shifts and are using the medium of the popular to visualise these ideas, while simultaneously demonstrating that the Profumo scandal was not so much a moral crisis, but rather a platform on which to foreground the use of humour in the entertainment-centric popular press, a long way from the 'educational ideal' (Hampton, 2004: 76) of a previous era.

Of course, it was not just Lancaster who was engaging with this alleged moral conflict; Giles' work was particularly good at this (as we have already seen), not least because of all the editorial cartoonists working at the time, he demonstrated the biggest influence of the key tropes of the pocket cartoon, particularly humour and pathos. In the same issue, his cartoon [fig 8.21] shows a planning committee for a village fete and a woman in sturdy tweed, opposite a smiling vicar, thumping the table while exclaiming 'We most certainly will <u>not</u> ask her to open the fete' (*Daily* Express, 19 June 1963: 8). Drawn with the expanded level of detail of the editorial cartoon, and set in a quintessential

English country garden, with the church as representative of the state in the background, the cartoon acts as a hybrid between the editorial and pocket genres. While the drawing has the detail of the editorial cartoon, it foregoes metaphor for metonymy in the way the church is partly shown, but still works to identify not just place but also the fact that it is a church fete. The walled garden suggest wealth or at least social standing and the clothing of those around the table is conservative and traditional. The tweed-wearing woman is demonstrating outrage, in essence standing for establishment moral outrage, but the impact of the cartoon is derived from two factors. Firstly, of course, is the caption. This is the whole point of the cartoon; however, like Lancaster's pocket cartoon there is more at work here than may at first appear to be the case. Of particular note is the stress in the sentence. Giles places this on the word 'not', rather on what may have been the more obvious 'her'. In essence, Giles is demonstrating that there *is no need* to emphasise the subject of the cartoon. The Profumo scandal, and Christine Keeler in particular, have become so ubiquitous that she can be referred to as just 'her'; in addition to this, it can be argued that Keeler has moved beyond an individual and is now representative of societal changes. Secondary, and more subtly, Giles' cartoon has particular impact because of the small, but significant, detail of the vicar smiling. The implication is that it is he who has suggested having Keeler open the fete. This undercuts the notion of moral outrage exemplified by the Bishop of Southwark and Lord Hailsham and utilises humour to ridicule the starched formality of a rapidly disappearing era. If Keeler would be welcome in the very heart of respectable England, the country garden of a vicarage, then does the demonisation of someone such as the model signal not just an old fashioned attitude to mortality, but the impending triumph of the popular over the elite establishment?

Perhaps this significant change in deference, morality, and the way in which the popular press engaged with these issues can best be summarised by

Lancaster's pocket cartoon [fig 8.22] from the following weekend. It manages to push new ground for cartoons, the front page of *Express*, and Lancaster himself. In a cartoon that would certainly not have been published just a few years earlier, Lancaster has a woman holding a newspaper. This in itself is significant as he is showing the newspaper as the conduit for societal changes, as borne out by the headlines in the paper: 'Whips! Whips!' screams the front page, while another page has 'Masks! Says Mandy'. The caption reads 'Honestly, darling, I do think that National Kinky Week has gone on quite long enough!' (*Daily Express*, 22 June 1963: 1). In essence this is a meta cartoon; that is, a cartoon not just about the news, but about how newspapers and their cartoonists have been covering the year's main story. The enthusiasm with which the popular press has covered the Profumo scandal has not occurred in a vacuum, as discussed already, and it would be a mistake to consider the press as agenda setting, but rather to see it through a commercial prism and understand that at its core the press, and in a way particularly the popular press, is first and foremost a commercial entity. Circulation and advertising means profits and security and for this reason newspapers are unlikely to follow an editorial line that estranges their readers; but perhaps even more significantly in simple terms, they give their readers what they think their readers want. What this means in practical terms can be seen in the shift from the Suez crisis to the Profumo Affair.

The decline in deference as demonstrated by key events from the Lady Chatterley trial to the coverage of the Argylls' divorce case, is reflected in what the popular press feels confident in publishing. Of course, this applies to the news stories they cover, but more importantly it applies to *how* they are covered. While sometimes difficult to quantify there is a shift in tone, but more significantly as part of that tone there is the use of humour. Ridicule and satire have always been part of the editorial cartoonists' armoury, but during the late 1950s and into the 1960s, the willingness to laugh explicitly at elites has evolved and therefore

become subsumed within a field that could remain commercially competitive, as demonstrated by the *News of the World* whose circulation as a result of its Profumo coverage increased by a quarter of a million copies (Thomas, 2005: 39). That is, the readers *would accept* the increased level of ridicule and the decline in deference because it reflected changes within society. This, of course had long been the essence of popular journalism. As a platform, popular journalism as exemplified by newspapers such as the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* continued to perform their roles in gathering and disseminating information, but they fully understood the importance of entertaining and informing. It is the latter two roles which form the central strategy of the popular press during the Profumo scandal: the papers informed their readers by giving them the latest news, background and comment on Profumo, but they did so in an entertaining way. The two are not mutually exclusive, they are in fact intrinsically linked and this is especially evident in the topical news cartoons. Lancaster's 'Kinky Week' cartoon can therefore be seen to be an archetypical example of the way in which the popular press targets its product to its audience, and the sophisticated way in which it does not instigate developments in society but both reflects and provides a conduit for that development to be articulated.

During the Profumo scandal Lancaster proved consistently adroit in reflecting these changes and acknowledging an understanding of what the public and by extension the readers of the popular press were interested in and fulfilling those needs. On a day in which the *Express's* front page stories included Lord Denning gathering evidence for his report, evidence from Dr Ward, and an American airman being questioned about his relationship with Christine Keeler, Lancaster's cartoon [fig 8.23] has Maudie Littlehampton saying to another woman '...it's going to take a lot more than a few sinister innuendos from Lord Poole to revive my flagging interest in you-know-what!' (*Daily Express*, 25 June 1963: 1). Yet again, Lancaster is demonstrating the sophistication of the pocket

cartoon by combining more than one meaning. The cartoon could, of course, be treated at face value as Maudie is tiring of the press coverage of the scandal. However, Lord Poole who was co-chairman of the Conservative Party and was on record as saying that the Profumo Affair was 'a security risk' (*International Herald Tribune*, June 8 2013: 10), was damaging to the electoral chance of the Tories and it could be seen as Maudie, as a symbol of the elites, arguing in vain that the press (and particularly the *Express*) should move on as the scandal was in danger of winning next year's General Election for Labour. In the same day's *Mirror*, Franklin [fig 8.24] has Macmillan pushing away Harold Wilson's bloodhound with a note around its collar reading 'Demanded Profumo Inquiry' (*Daily Mirror*, 25 June 1963: 5) which makes the same point as Lancaster, but in a less nuanced way. The *Mirror* cartoon is a direct attack, whereas Lancaster's is both attack and defence, something to which the pocket cartoon is well suited. As was the case during Suez, Lancaster is obviously well aware of his paper's editorial line, and yet is capable of offering different opinions, sometimes in the same cartoon. In this case, both Lancaster and Franklin are aware that the initial shock and salacious nature of their story which sold many copies of their respective newspapers was now developing into an issue that could affect the outcome of the following year's General Election. While Franklin could go on the outright attack, Lancaster was in a more problematic position and had to balance the *Express's* editorial line with the need to entertain its readers. The potential subtleties of the pocket cartoon were the perfect platform through which this could be achieved.

The Popular Press and Societal Change

In fact, the issues facing Lancaster were symptomatic of those facing the popular press in general. On the one hand it is easy to see the changing nature and content of the topical news cartoon as a reflection of key societal changes; however, it could also be argued that the role of the popular press was not just to reflect changes but inspire them. Stuart Hall argued that the press performs 'a significant role as a social educator' (Hall, 1975: 11). Acknowledging that the press reflects changes in society, Hall argues that there is an element of active interpretation. In other words, the press puts its own slant on the changes it observes and offers an interpretation of those events. This, to a point, is as we have seen true. However, it would be a mistake to suggest that the popular press initiates or creates a platform for societal shifts; but rather it is through their pages that we see these movements reported and foregrounded based on the respective newspapers' political and to an extent social position. We should not confuse the role of the popular press in reporting – and to an extent framing – news stories (whether this be something such as the Suez crisis or an overall decline in deference in society) with that of actively *creating* news. Of course, newspapers have their own political agenda to pursue, as the *Mirror* clearly did during the Profumo scandal, yet they did not either create the scandal in the first place or even create a climate within which the scandal could occur. Their role was to not only report and frame the key facts of the story, but to do so in a manner that reflected the societal changes with which it was both contemporarily and historically associated. These changes were not of the making of the popular press, although the papers undoubtedly benefitted from these changes in the way in which they were *allowed by their readers* to publish increasingly salacious stories, and in doing so built on the foundations set in the 1930s by constantly pushing at the boundaries of what their readers would accept in terms of 'the

pursuit of sensation [and making] sexual content more explicit' (Bingham and Conboy, 2015: 13).

When the Profumo crisis temporary slid down the news agenda, for example when Dr. Ward's trial was in recess at the beginning of July, the cartoonists from the popular press were all too aware of the impact this had on their output. Giles managed to cleverly subvert this lack of new detail with another example of his editorial cartoon [fig 8.25] morphing into the pocket genre, both in form and in content. While still much larger than Lancaster's single column work, Giles' cartoon takes up four columns, but is portrait in orientation giving it the look of an enlarged pocket cartoon rather than his usual landscape editorial lay out (*Daily Express*, 2 July 1963: 6). It is in its content that we can see the developing symbiotic nature of Giles' editorial work, with its clear link to the pocket cartoon's main tropes of humour and brevity of composition. Featuring a woman in a dressing gown with her husband still asleep in bed the caption reads 'I suppose the frantic gallop to be first down for the papers will be resumed by the gentleman of the house when the case resumes'. The hold the Profumo scandal still exerted over the readers of the popular press (and beyond) was illustrated by the fact Giles felt no need to clarify to which case his cartoon referred. It satirises the fact that salacious details published in the press were proving very popular with its readers, and it could well be argued, at least one of its key protagonists.

While, obviously, Profumo and to a lesser extent Keeler were receiving more attention than they would have linked, Marilyn ('Mandy') Rice-Davis was more than happy to be photographed, speak to the press, and most significantly understand her place in the history of scandals involving public persons. On the same day Giles was satirising the public's appetite for scandal, the *Mirror* had Rice-Davis on the front page with a story about her catching a plane at London Airport. Stopping for half an hour to speak with the press and pose for

photographs, she said ‘I am notorious. I will go down in history as another Lady Hamilton’ (*Daily Mirror*, 2 July 1963: 1). The story fulfils two purposes: it keeps the Profumo scandal on the front page, even though there is no new news, something which the *Mirror* as a Labour supporting paper would of course been eager to do; but more revealing is the second purpose. It helps place the scandal within an historical context. Rice-Davis is finding an historical parallel with the case of Lady Hamilton, who was born into a poor Chelsea family but rose to fame (or notoriety) by becoming Lord Nelson’s lover while married to a British diplomat, before being sent to prison for debt. However, by linking the Profumo scandal with the earlier nineteenth century story, the paper foregrounds the fact that sex scandals are nothing new, but rather it is simply just the latest in a long line of such scandals. This, of course, raises an important question: if this is the case, why is the Profumo scandal creating so much interest? The answer is it is not necessarily what has happened, *but the way in which it is reported*. That is, Rice-Davis has identified that the importance of the scandal is how the popular press and their readers have both been informed by, and have reacted to the newspaper coverage, as well as displaying an innate understanding of the way the popular press had ‘commodified’ (Mort, 2010: 325) both Keeler and to a lesser degree herself.

The Profumo scandal is not necessarily the most serious scandal of its time, but it is the scandal which has received not just the most coverage, but the most relatively graphic and explicit coverage in a modern popular newspaper, as exemplified in the aforementioned Lancaster ‘National Kinky Week’ cartoon. This can be seen in a later cartoon [fig 8.26] that utilises one of the pocket cartoon’s key tropes, that of reversal. In this cartoon, Lancaster has an auctioneer with a portrait of Lady Hamilton saying ‘What offers for the Mandy Rice-Davis of the 18th century?’ (*Daily Express*, 5 July 1963:1).

It is also something that may have significantly contributed to the *Mirror's* continuing success, with an increase during June of 100,000 daily readers. This led to what was then an 'all-time record for any British newspaper' of 4,779,000 daily sales (*Daily Mirror*, 3 July 1963: 1). While the *Mirror* was understandably keen to boast of its record-breaking sales, the following day's *Express* responded with the front page story of how many inches of display advertising it had carried over the previous 12 months. While this may at first seem to be a strange topic for a front page story, especially following the *Mirror's* triumphant sales announcement, it is in fact indicative of one of the key themes of this study, that newspapers are commercial entities. The *Express* not only understands this, it is keen to share this news with its readers. Reflecting the *Daily Mirror*'s language from the day before, it proclaims that it is an all-time record for the newspaper' and revealingly that 'the strength of a newspaper is reflected in its ability to sell to the public' (*Daily Express*, 4 July 1963: 1). This, in essence, is the paper not just admitting, but boasting of the importance of advertising to its business model, and by extension is a mark of its success. For the aspirational readers of the *Express*, this shared profitability and standing works to solidly the image of the paper and its readers working together to achieve their goals. Of course, it is also implied that the reason the *Express* succeeds in securing so much advertising is that it is successful in providing the content that proves popular with its readers and that, by extension, over the past few months that coverage has been dominated by Profumo. The salacious nature of the scandal and the way in which it have been reported has clearly not had a negative effect on advertisers, who understand that the more copies a paper sells the better for their profit lines. Profumo has been good for business and regardless of those who have felt it is a sign of the decline in deference and morals among society, it has quite simply been *popular*. This situation is summed up by Lancaster's pocket cartoon [fig 8.27], placed three columns away from the advertising story, in which a newspaper seller calls 'Feelthy papers' (ibid. p.1). This is, in a number of

important ways, linked to one of Lancaster's cartoons [fig 7.4] discussed in the Suez Crisis case study, in which an Egyptian street seller is calling 'Feelthy postcards'. In the Suez cartoon, Lancaster's focus for ridicule is Nasser's regime, seven years later it is the change in what newspaper could and would publish. It is an interesting point to ask whether the cartoon is criticising the coverage of his own and other popular papers, or whether he is in fact acknowledging that it is these very stories that make the papers so successful. The understanding of what sells is shown by that day's lead story which concerns Dr. Ward's release from jail on bail, and the fact that there is a new development in the Profumo scandal is reflected by the *Express* covering the story over four pages.

The commencement of Dr. Ward's Old Bailey trial was marked by the *Daily Mirror* foregrounding the visual with a large photograph of the osteopath which took up two-thirds of its front page which was a still from a film Ward had made while out on bail. Describing Ward as 'a friend of Christine Keeler' it notes that 'more than 100 journalists will pack the court' (*Daily Mirror*, 22 July 1963:1). The public's interest in the trial was reflected in extensive coverage, with the *Express* leading, as well as dedicating a further two full pages. Giles, in pocket cartoon mode again [fig 8.28], has a woman leaving an exhibition of Stephen Ward paintings saying 'If you want to see some fun join me while I ask my husband how come he never mentioned he had been done in oils by Mandy Rice-Davis' (*Daily Express*, 23 July 1963: 6).

Conclusion

In a year that was rich in strong news stories, from the Argylls' divorce case, via the Philby spy saga, to the Great Train Robbery, the power of the

Profumo scandal is evident in the sheer amount of coverage, but also the length of time the story kept retuning to the front pages. Giles acknowledges the cyclical nature of the year's news with a cartoon [fig 8.29] published on the day Stephen Ward's guilty verdict was announced and the osteopath lay dying in hospital. Showing a younger boy looking at a magazine his mother says 'First it was Liz Taylor, then you-know-who, then Mandy Rice-Davis, then Liz Taylor again' (*Daily Express*, 1 August 1963: 10). There was no need to identify 'you-know-who', particularly as the news of Ward's verdict and him being taken to hospital returned the Profumo scandal to the front pages once again. The *Daily Express*'s front page featured photographs of Lord Astor, Mandy Rice-Davis, Profumo, along with a photograph of Stephen Ward unconscious on a stretcher. Pages eight and nine were dedicated to a trial report and news of Ward being taken to hospital along with a photograph of Christine Keeler. The *Daily Mirror* followed suit, but chose to feature a photograph of the unconscious Ward on the front page with the bold single word headline 'Guilty' (*Daily Mirror*, 1 August 1963: 1). Over the coming days both the *Express* and the *Mirror* maintained their front page coverage of the fallout from the Profumo scandal with a series of almost diary-like headlines such as 'If Ward Dies' (*Daily Express*, 2 August 1963: 1) 'Ward Much Weaker' (*Daily Mirror*, 2 August 1963: 1), 'Ward is Weakening' (*Daily Express*, 3 August 1963:1), 'Ward's Heart Weakens' (*Daily Mirror*, 3 August 1963:1) and finally 'Ward Dies Almost Broke' (*Daily Mirror*, 5 August 1963:1).

Throughout this period, the popular press continued to utilise the visual and especially cartoons to enhance their coverage with a multimodal approach that at once tapped into the entertainment ethos of the popular press, as well as combining aspirational outlook with a key sense of commercial imperatives. Just over a month later, when the news broke that Christine Keeler had been arrested, Lancaster's pocket cartoon [fig 8.30] summed up many people's feelings with Maudie's husband looking shocked by how the Profumo affair was concluding.

Maudie says, in answer to her husband's expression, 'My sentiments exactly' (*Daily Express*, 7 September 1963:1).

Chapter 9: How the Four Aims were Achieved

Aim 1 – To show how the origins of the pocket cartoon lie in the development of the British popular press

As outlined in Chapter Two, this thesis demonstrated how the origins of the pocket cartoon lie in the British popular press by charting the development of the country's popular newspapers. While part of this development is driven by technical advances in printing, this chapter argued that the more significant move is one towards a realisation of the importance of engaging with readership by representing their concerns and in doing so creating a symbiotic relationship between newspaper and readers. In tracing the history of the popular and the gestation of the newspaper, the chapter traces the roots of the popularisation of the British press to the seventeenth century when newspapers such as the *London Gazette* began to look at the layout of their page(s), using two columns printed on a single page. This was inspired by the realisation that readers would not have to turn the page to read all the content, thus creating an enhanced reader experience. This thesis argues that this is an early example of typography and layout being used to formulate a reader experience that engendered brand loyalty. Page layout, as can be seen as a developing theme throughout this thesis, is one of the key tools employed by newspapers to create impact and lure readers from rival publications. This became particularly prevalent in the twentieth century with the Americanisation of the British popular press and the *Daily Mirror*'s innovative use of mastheads and layouts as described in the Suez case study.

In a period of less than ten years, the launch of the *Daily Mail, Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* essentially heralded the era of the 'popularisation of mass culture' (Conboy, 2002: 95). In the 1930s the innovations and influence of New Journalism (and publications such as *Tit-Bits*) were fully incorporated with a divergence of content which added to news stories, competitions, readers' letters, and an increasing use of cartoons to create a complete entertainment package.

Aim 2 – To examine the origins of topical newspaper and magazine cartoons from 1655 to 1939 as a precursor of the pocket cartoon

In Chapter Three, this thesis examined the development and the role of the pocket cartoon by tracing its ancestry the from seventeenth century. One of this chapter's key arguments is that it is a mistake to see the pocket cartoon as something that emerged fully formed in 1939. In actuality, the pocket cartoon has a history and development that is just as long as that of the editorial cartoon which can be seen to date at the least from the era of Hogarth, and in fact even earlier. The roots of what became the pocket cartoon date back to the emergence of print in the seventeenth century and a time when there was a significant break with the era of folk culture. The development of humour in relation to politics was nothing new, but the ability to print illustrations and distribute them as prints meant that a much wider audience was created which demonstrated a hunger for the ridicule, scatology, and scathing attacks which this new innovation allowed. Hogarth's visual satire set a template for what was to become the editorial cartoon with its use of symbolism and metaphor. However, humour was only one tool of the visual satirist and was often not present at all (*Gin Lane* can hardly be classed as

humourous, for example). Political commentary remained its key driver, as can be seen in Cruikshank's Peterloo woodcut *Massacre at St. Peter's*.

It was with the publication of *Punch* in 1841 that print journalism and visual satire formed their symbiotic relationship. Artists such as Tenniel and du Maurer used their cartoons to satirise current politics and politicians, yet they did so in a style that had moved away from the simplicity of illustrations seen in execution broadsides and chapbooks to a much more detailed form. This thesis has argued that while it is possible to characterise *Punch* as very much part of an ornate Victorian era, closer study reveals that this was not always the case. John Leech and then towards the final decade of the century Phil May utilised a less formal drawing style that is a key development in the history of the pocket cartoon in which the illustration was simplified to add greater focus on the caption. This equalisation in the importance of both text and visual created a multimodal symbiosis that would come to define both the pocket cartoon and the popular press in the twentieth century.

This thesis has therefore demonstrated how the development of the pocket cartoon stretches back into the seventeenth century and has created a timeline of influence with examples dating back at least to *Wee bee seaven* from 1655, through John Leech's work for *Punch* in the nineteenth century, Phil May's drawings which combine a lack of unnecessary detail with humour, and then Sidney Strube's Little Man cartoons in the 1930s. These links in the development of the form of the pocket cartoon have not been made by academic critics, and as such they hold the potential for significant further study. This work has addressed this development in detail, which should provide interest to the expanding field of study of the visual in the press.

When W.K. Haselden was appointed as the first staff cartoonist on a national daily paper in 1904, both technology and a growing embracement of

entertainment converged to create one of the defining features of British popular newspapers. This was solidified during the 1930s when cartoonists such as Low and Strube had achieved a significant level of popularity and influence. This thesis has argued that Strube's greatest contribution to the development of the pocket cartoon was in the introduction of his 'Little Man' who commented on the actions of politicians, inverting the established focus on elites. Lancaster would extend this significantly by his cartoons being largely devoid of caricatures and instead focusing on normal people, in the process helping to democratise visual humour and satire.

Throughout chapters Two and Three, it has been demonstrated that despite a significant study of the critical literature on histories of newspapers, the development of the press, and the use of visual satire and cartoons, the amount of scholarly interaction with the pocket cartoon is negligible at best. This applies not just to the development and history of newspaper cartoons, but also to the period following Lancaster's introduction of the new genre. These two chapters have demonstrated the sheer scope of potential critical study and have offered an extensive study of the period and literature which could form the basis of a much wider engagement with the pocket cartoon.

Aim 3 – To establish the characteristics and use of metonymy in pocket cartoons

The third aim of the study was to demonstrate how the pocket cartoon utilised metonymy to develop a new genre of visual satire. In Chapter Four this thesis offers the rationale and development of the new term 'visual metonymy'. It argues that for the past 250 years metaphor has been one of the editorial

cartoon's key tropes. The pocket cartoon employs a different approach that is evident in its adoption of metonymy and can be best be understood through an understanding of semiotics. The use of signs is present in both metaphor and metonymy, but it is through the latter that we can how an exploration of issues of class, politics, and editorial line engenders a better understanding of the pocket cartoon through an extensive range of metonymic signifiers that includes everything from clothing and hairstyles to location and pictorial backgrounds. The key argument in this chapter is that pocket cartoonists are engaged in a relationship with their audience in which a set of signs are presented in the full anticipation that they will be decoded so easily that a shorthand of meaning can be established.

Developing the discussion of visual metonymy, the chapter foregrounds the multimodal approach and sets out the argument that unlike the editorial cartoon, the pocket cartoon fully utilises a multimodal model by establishing a key relationship between the image and the text, and by doing so creates meaning based on the aforementioned shared knowledge with the majority of readers. The thesis charts the development of metonymy in pocket cartoons to the point where it became not just a tool but also a subject of the cartoons as demonstrated with three examples of Lancaster's cartoons from the 1960s.

Aim 4 – To link close readings of the pocket cartoon to specific, illustrative moments in post-war British history: the General Election (1945), Suez (1956-7), and the Profumo Affair (1963)

The next chapter examines the arrival of pocket cartoons in the first days of 1939 and the ways in which their initial publication marked a significant shift

in the tone of visual satire. While they did not replace editorial cartoons, they added a new dimension to humourous coverage in the *Daily Express.* The thesis argues that their placement *within* the paper is revealing and looks at how the connection with the gossip column reveals how the pocket cartoon was initially perceived. This is much more significant than may have first appeared to be the case. While they could have been viewed as a 'less news focused' format, in the sense that the cartoon moved away from the Westminster bubble so favoured by editorial cartoons, the pocket cartoon engages with a much wider scope of news and topical issues ranging from air raid shelters to town bypasses. The thesis has argued that the pocket cartoon democratised visual humour by placing the reader – the 'man in the street' – at the centre of news. Perhaps even more importantly, this chapter has shown the ways in which the pocket cartoon could subvert a newspaper's editorial line, something it did largely through a greater reliance on humour. The chapter then argues that even at this early stage in the new format's development, there is evidence of what is termed the 'inversion of influence'.

The influence of the pocket cartoon is something that becomes increasingly apparent during the build-up to the 1945 general election, a period that due to war work Lancaster (and therefore the pocket cartoon) was absent from British newspapers. It is revealing to note editorial cartoonists did not ignore the temporarily absent newcomer, but in fact began to display many of the features of the pocket cartoon in their own work. The chapter includes examples from the leading editorial cartoonists of the day such as the *Daily Mirror*'s Phillip Zec in which humour plays a far greater role and in one specific example, we can see the traditional trope of metaphor-dominated message working symbiotically with metonymy to provide a hybrid form. The thesis therefore argues in this chapter that despite the absence of the pocket cartoon during the pivotal middle months of 1945, a close study of the period is important as it reveals the emerging influence of the new form and the influence its key features had on the still

dominant editorial cartoon, something that was personified in Zec's 'Vote for Him' cartoon with its parity between text and image.

Chapter Seven focuses on the Suez crisis and the ways in which the cartoons (and cartoonists) of the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mirror* were – or were not – used as an extension of their respective newspaper's editorial line. Following a contextualisation of the crisis, the chapter considers the different approaches to the developing situation in Egypt in the popular press's news cartoons and argues that the two key differences between Lancaster on the *Express* and cartoonists such as Vicky on the *Mirror* is the utilisation of humour and a willingness to subvert the editorial line. The Suez case study employs a direct comparison between daily editions of these two newspapers, looking at a number of key elements which include subject (it is as often as instructive what is ignored as what is covered), layout (where the cartoons are placed), and topic. This day-by-day level of detailed study enables the identification of trends as well as establishing how the narratives developed and changed over the course of the crisis. It also highlights the importance of news cartoonists in both representing their respective newspapers, but also in engaging with their audience and either embedding the paper's editorial identity, or in the case of Lancaster moving outside of its direct influence. The Suez pocket cartoons of Osbert Lancaster demonstrate the beginning of a shift in the narrative of the popular press from reverence for elites to a more irreverent and critical approach that would become more widespread by the time of the Profumo Affair. This societal shift would be mirrored to a modest degree in editorial cartoons, but would be heralded by the pocket cartoon as embodiment of the modernisation and popularisation of mid-century cultural mores.

Chapter Eight looks at the way in which the Profumo Affair helped crystalise a decline in deference in society which was reflected in the popular press's attitude to the government and elites. Following a contextualisation of the

Affair, the case study considers the significant development of the pocket cartoon in the seven years since the Suez crisis. It discusses the tabloidisation of news content, such as *The Sunday Times'* adoption of the pocket cartoon, and the way the format was adapted not just in the broadsheet press, but also on television. The case study argues that in a year that included major news stories including the Argylls' divorce case, the Philby spy saga, and the Great Train Robbery, the impact of the Profumo Affair continued to be felt and featured in newspaper news cartoons because it tapped into societal changes as well as reflecting the demands of its growing audience. The importance of this period is reflected by the fact that half a year after the scandal began to grip the popular press and its readers, the repercussions were still being felt. The following year's General Election saw an end to thirteen years of Conservative rule and the arrival of Harold Wilson's Labour government, something that as far back as 1965 was being credited not to Wilson himself but rather the *Daily Mirror* (Butler, King, 1965: 151).

Lancaster's cartoons, like those of his contemporaries, would move on to cover topics ranging from 'The Beatles [to] the promoters of the topless gown' (Lancaster, 1964: 5), but the Profumo scandal would continue to hold a fascination for future generations and led to a number of books, a film (*Scandal*, 1989), a West End musical (*Stephen Ward*, 2013) and TV series (*The Trial of Christine Keeler*, 2020), the latter of which foregrounded the role of the popular press. It was not just a watershed in mid-twentieth century culture, but also in the way humour and cartoons were used to challenge elite society. Almost sixty years after the events of 1963, we can safely say that Lancaster's 'National Kinky Week' lasted much longer than seven days.

Conclusion

By the 1960s, the days when Lancaster was the only pocket cartoonist working in the British press were long past. This thesis cuts off at 1969 because beyond this date all the key tropes had been established. Further successes from Calman's childlike front page cartoons in *The Times* to Matt's daily cartoons in the *Daily Telegraph*, along with extensive use in magazines such as *Private Eye*, the *Spectator*, and the *Oldie* featuring pocket cartoons which are clearly descended in both tone and composition from the form that had established its primacy by the end of the 1960s.[24]

Largely due to Lancaster's success, a wide range of newspapers foregrounded pocket cartoons. These include, as discussed, *The Sunday Times* as well as the *Express*'s key rivals the *Daily Mail* (cartoonist Jon produced daily cartoons between 1960 and 1981); the *Daily Mirror* where future editor Mike Malloy was their pocket cartoonist for a time; and in later years even *The Times* had a daily front page cartoon, produced by Mel Calman. The dominance of the format made its way beyond the national press into some of the country's key provincial titles. None of these cartoonists have been the subject of anything but the most fleeting of academic interest, and therefore the potential for further study is significant. It would be particularly interesting to look at key events such as the Irish Troubles, the arrival of Margaret Thatcher to Downing Street, the Falklands War, the banking crisis, and Covid-19 through the prism of the pocket cartoon. There is great untapped potential for further study and it is hoped that this thesis may stimulate further academic work.

[24] There is, of course, a practical side to this which is a further extension of the period would have had implications in terms of time that would have not been accommodated within the period allocated to the thesis's conclusion

This thesis has established that, contrary to appearances, the pocket cartoon did not appear fully formed in January 1939 but can in fact trace its development at least as far back as the seventeenth century. Using four key aims, this thesis has demonstrated through a study of the ways in which humour, the multimodal use of text and image, the replacing of metaphor with visual metonymy, and the democratising nature of content are all key elements in a study of the origins, development and the arrival of the British pocket cartoon.

Through an historical overview of the British popular press, a study of visual metonymy, and case studies of the 1945 General Election, the Suez crisis, and the Profumo Affair this thesis has argued that the pocket cartoon, while largely ignored by academic critics, is one of the key manifestations of the popularising trend of mid-twentieth century British newspapers.

Appendix

Chapter 1 – Introduction: the Pocket Cartoon and the 'Popular Press'

Fig 1.1

fig 1.2

fig 1.3

fig 1.4

Chapter 3 - The Development, Role and Arrival of the Pocket Cartoon

fig. 3.1

fig. 3.2

fig. 3.3

SOME Particulars OF

THE Execution OF

JOHN AKRILL,

AGED FORTY-SIX,

Who was Executed at the New Drop, in Leicester, on Monday, April 16, 1827, for Horse Stealing.

fig. 3.4

fig. 3.5

fig. 3.6

fig. 3.7

fig. 3.8

fig. 3.9

fig. 3.10

Chapter 4 - Metonymy

fig. 4.1

fig. 4.2

fig. 4.3

fig 4.4

Fig. 4.5

Fig. 4.6

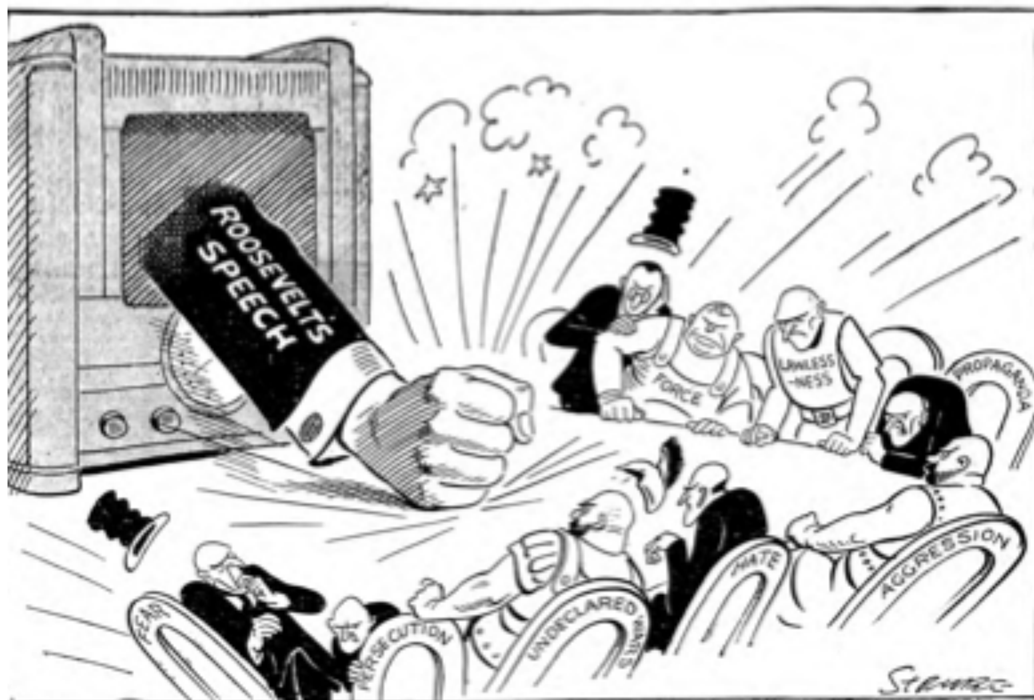
fig. 4.7

fig. 4.8

Chapter 5 - The Arrival of the Pocket Cartoon

"No, I asked them to leave me out this year. There comes a time when any additional honour is merely an added burden."

fig. 5.1



TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

fig. 5.2

fig 5.3

fig. 5.4

fig 5.5

fig. 5.6

fig 5.7

fig. 5.8

Chapter 6 – Case Study One: The 1945 General Election

The price of petrol has been increased by one penny." Official

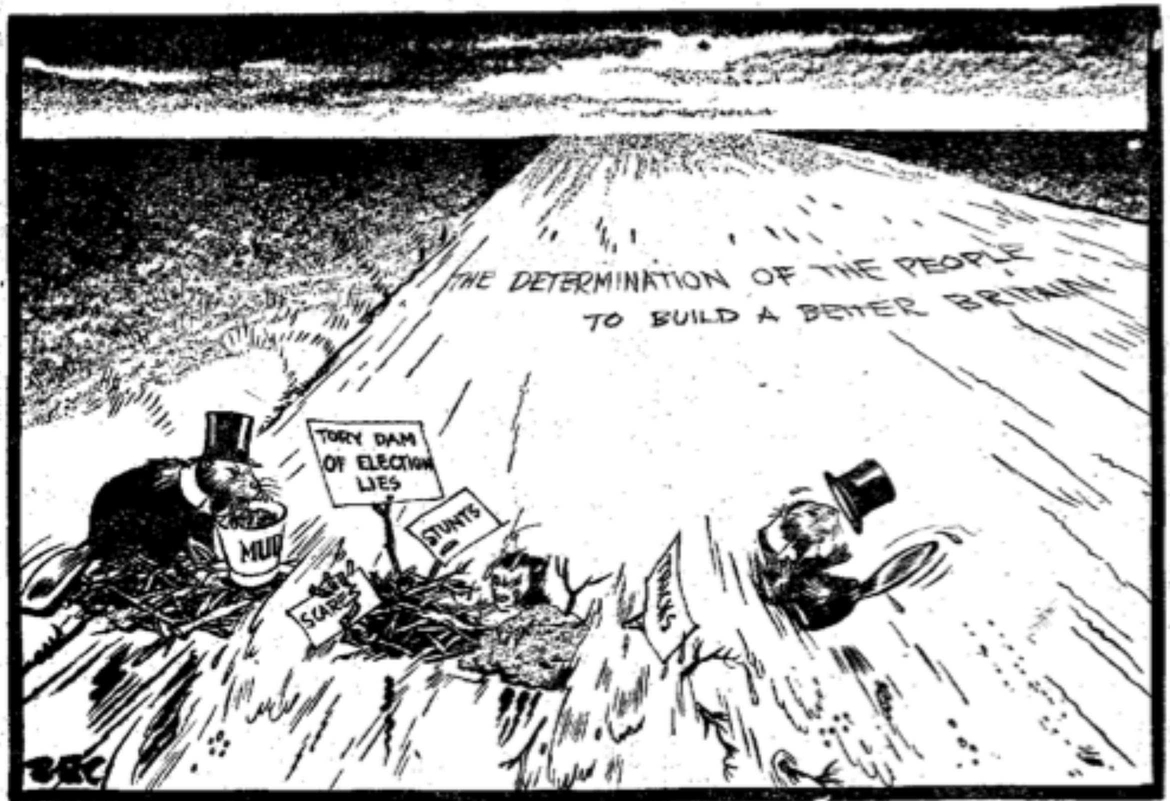
fig. 6.1

fig. 6.2

fig.6.3

"Who said there was a fish shortage?"

fig. 6.4



The brook that's too large for the beavers!

fig. 6.5

"Here you are—don't lose it again"

fig.6.6

"Thank you for light in the darkest hours"

fig. 6.7

Chapter 7 - Case Study Two:

The Suez Crisis as Represented in the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* July 1956 – January 1957

DON'T TELL NASSER . . .

BACK IN 3 MONTHS!

Parliament has risen for the summer recess—and is due to meet again on October 23.

'AH, WELL! HAPPY HOLIDAYS!'

VICKY often disagrees with the "Mirror" about politics.

But today the "Mirror" agrees with Vicky.

While the world is listening to roars from that jumped-up jackanapes, Colonel Nasser, British democracy goes on holiday for three months. ON HOLIDAY!

We've had it all before.

Every time Hitler rattled his sabre on a Saturday the British Prime Minister was away fishing.

Mussolini invaded Albania on a Good Friday—a holiday and a religious festival.

Of course Eden will stand by.

Of course Parliament will be recalled—if, and when, necessary.

We know all that. But meantime M.P.s are scattering.

Back in three months—twelve week-ends from now.

Is the second half of the twentieth century to go down as The Age of Lost Week-ends?

Grabber Nasser holds a trump card.

He's only a dictator. And dictators don't take holidays when they're on the job.

fig. 7.1

fig. 7.2

fig. 7.3

"Nationalised postcards! Filthier than ever!!"

(Alternative captions suitable for Middle Eastern papers available on demand. O.L.)

fig 7.4

'Don't know who frightens me more, those opposite me or those behind me . . .'

fig. 7.5

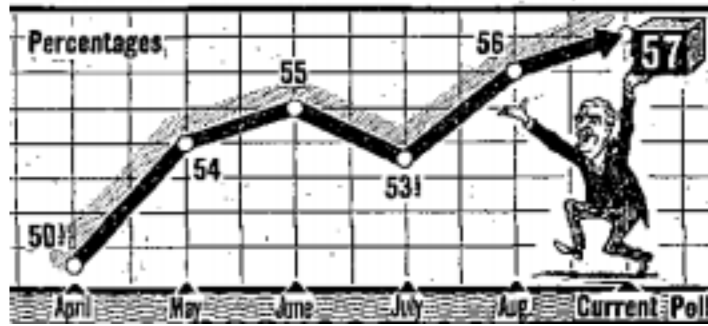


fig. 7.6

ON THE MOST DRAMATIC DAY OF A CRISIS-DOGGED CAREER

● It is the job of a political cartoonist to present a whole political situation (as he sees it) in one single black-and-white drawing. No political cartoonist in the world does this with more consistent, if controversial, brilliance than Michael Cummings of the Daily Express. And of no subject has he been more piercingly perceptive than Sir Anthony Eden. Today—alongside his latest cartoon—the Daily Express Pep-Up for Parliament Series presents a Cummings Cartoon Biography of Eden, the Premier. In six flashbacks—with Cummings' own new captions—it sets the scene for a political drama.

● Churchill still in office . . . Eden as the eternal 'crown' prince.

● Eden, now Premier, fights peace election programme.

● Eden moves the guns.

● Eden gets Garter ... Cummings suggests more orders including one from Neguib.

● All-party attack on Eden.

● Glubb Pasha out.

CAN HE GET OUT?

Private eye Anthony Eden sleuthing a missing canal is trapped in an attic. A sinister Egyptian holds a dagger to his heart, a razor-slasher creeps in through the window, a Chicago gunman pounds up the stairs, a time bomb reposes on his lap and his bicycle has been carried away in the floods . . .

NOTE:

★★★ FOR THE BEST SOLUTION FOR HIS ESCAPE, CUMMINGS WILL SEND TWO CANAL SHARES (SUEZ)—CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING

BY THE WAY *by Beachcomber*

. . . AND SO TO THE PRESENT

fig. 7.6b

fig. 7.7

"... and behold the babe wept."

fig 7.8

"No one would ever convince my missus we were out there fighting them."

fig. 7.9

THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH MR GAITSKELL WOULD APPROVE OF EDEN PROTECTING OUR INTERESTS . . .

fig 7.10

fig 7.11

fig. 7.12

fig 7.13

fig. 7.14

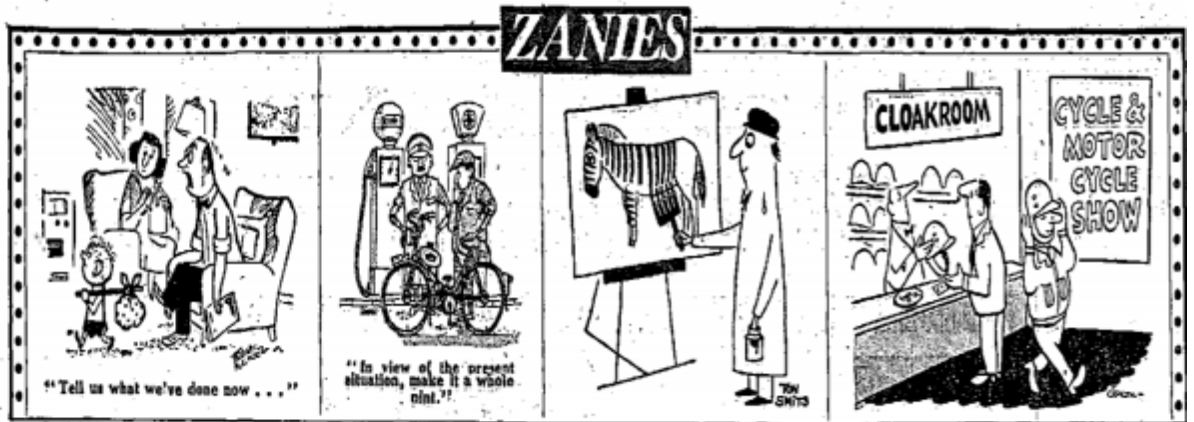


fig. 7.15

fig. 7.16

fig. 7.17

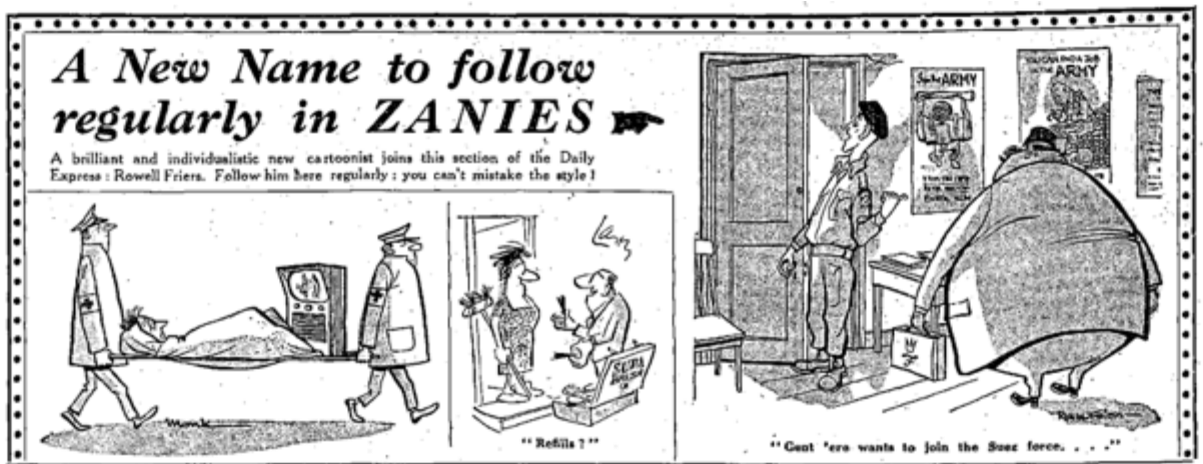


fig. 7.18

fig. 7.19

fig. 7.20

fig. 7.21

"I guess that'll take care of the dear boy's Yuletide motoring."

THE PETROL PANIC

Are the garages giving a fair deal?

Well... Mmm!

BY EXPRESS REPORTER ROBERT MOORE

THE notice, scrawled in red paint on a strip of board, said "One gallon only."

But the attendant at a West End garage said: "You can have another gallon for five shillings."

SO SIMPLE

Definitely 'Yes'

BY MOTORING REPORTER BASIL CARDEW

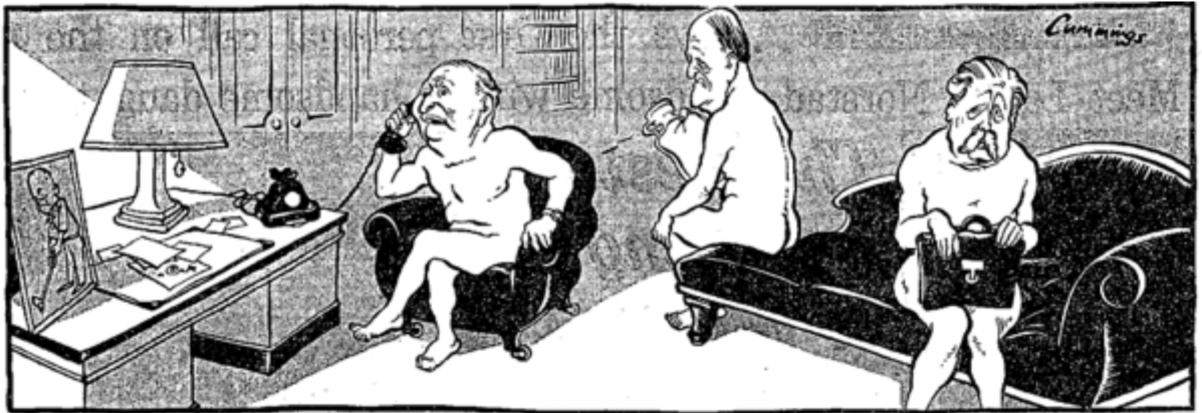
I REFUTE absolutely that the people running Britain's 30,000-odd petrol stations are not playing the game.

fig. 7.21b

fig. 7.22

fig. 7.23

fig.7.24



"Mr. President, can't you send us just something? We have to appear in public today!"

fig. 7.25

"Well, hello there! Anything been happening in my absence?"

fig. 7.26

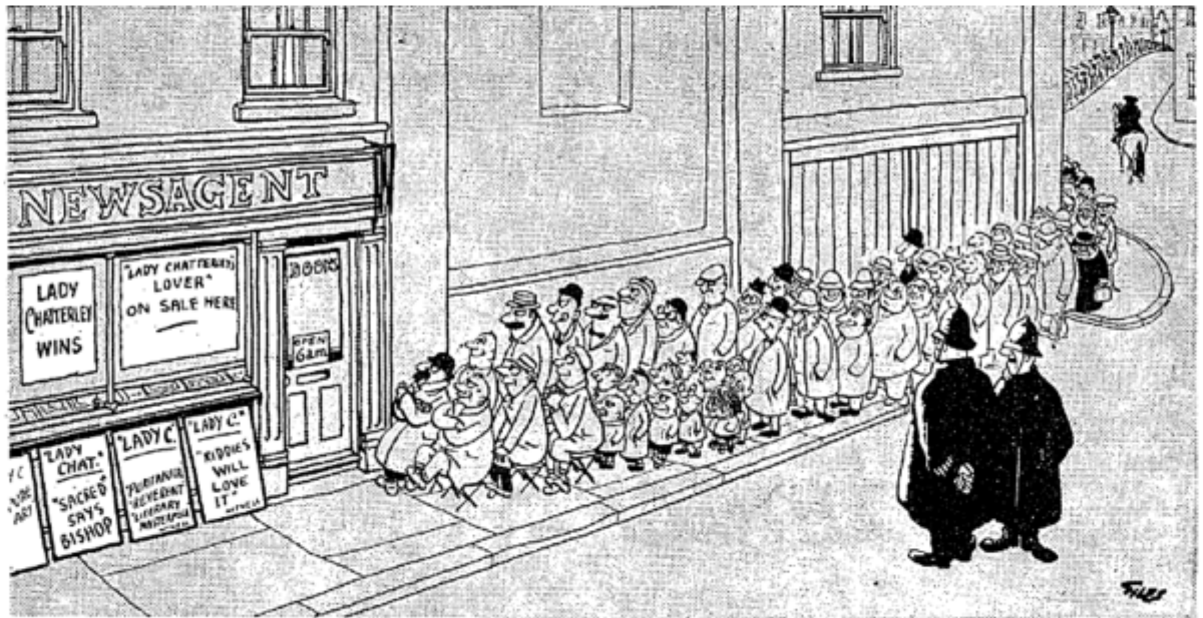
fig. 7.27

Fig. 7.28

fig. 7.29

Chapter 8 – Case Study Three:

The Profumo Affair as Represented in the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Express* March – September 1963



"All of a sudden we've become a literary-minded, puritanical, culture-seeking nation..."

fig. 8.1

fig. 8.2

fig. 8.3

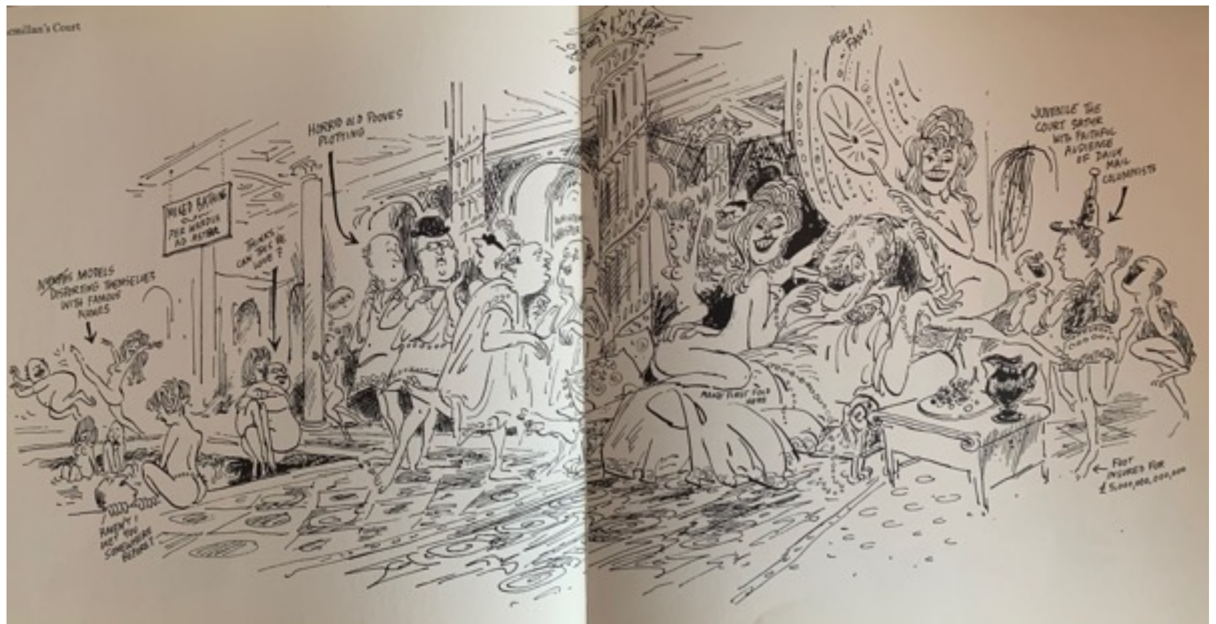


fig. 8.3

fig. 8.4

fig. 8.5

fig. 8.6

fig. 8.7

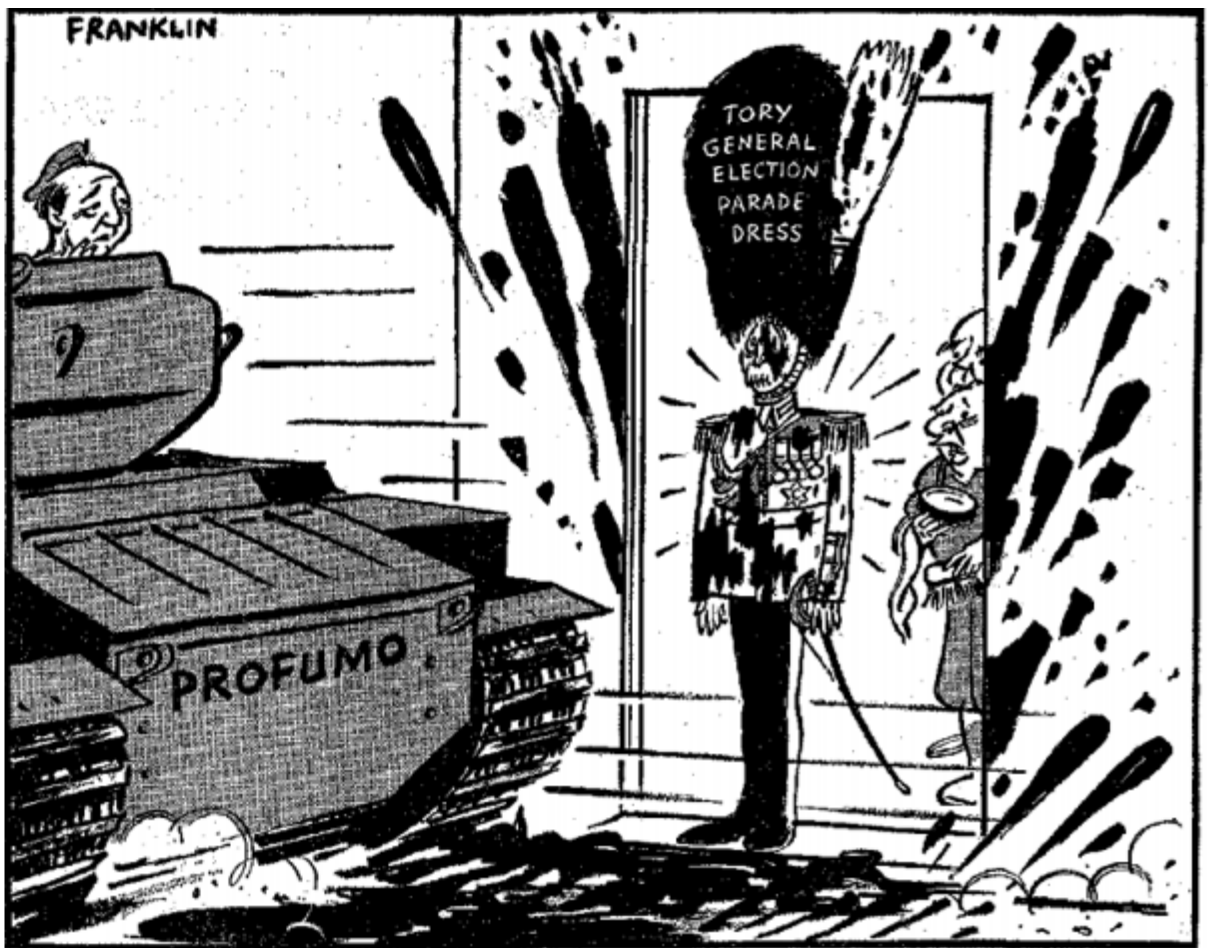


Fig. 8.8

HU
(

by Donal

"THEY'RE so big," said the bailiff with awe, "that when the brutes leap at night it sounds like someone throwing bags of cement in the water."

On the eve of another season—only eight days and hallelujah! we can bait up again—I drove yesterday just to look at a favourite lake, renowned for its monster pike.

This is real Huckleberry Finn country.

Green reeds, as straight and tall as Guardsmen, grow round two sides of its 18-acre square of water. On the third, willows weep so thick on the surface you cannot cast a float. Only one side is open; and there we fish each June till March, through summer, autumn, and winter until the next spring.

Huck Finn country, indeed. But not at prices he or Tom Sawyer could have paid.

DEVOTEES

THERE are three types of fishing that span the year: game, sea, and coarse. Coarse has the biggest following, with 3,000,000 devotees.

It is a fabulous, magical,

fig. 8.9

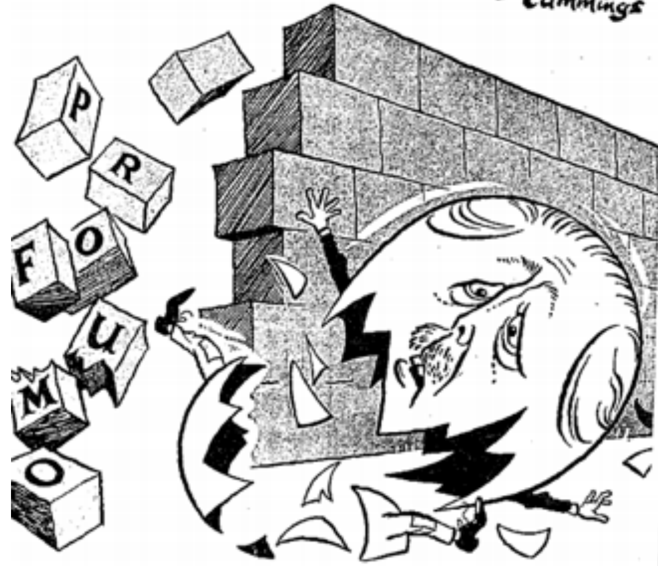
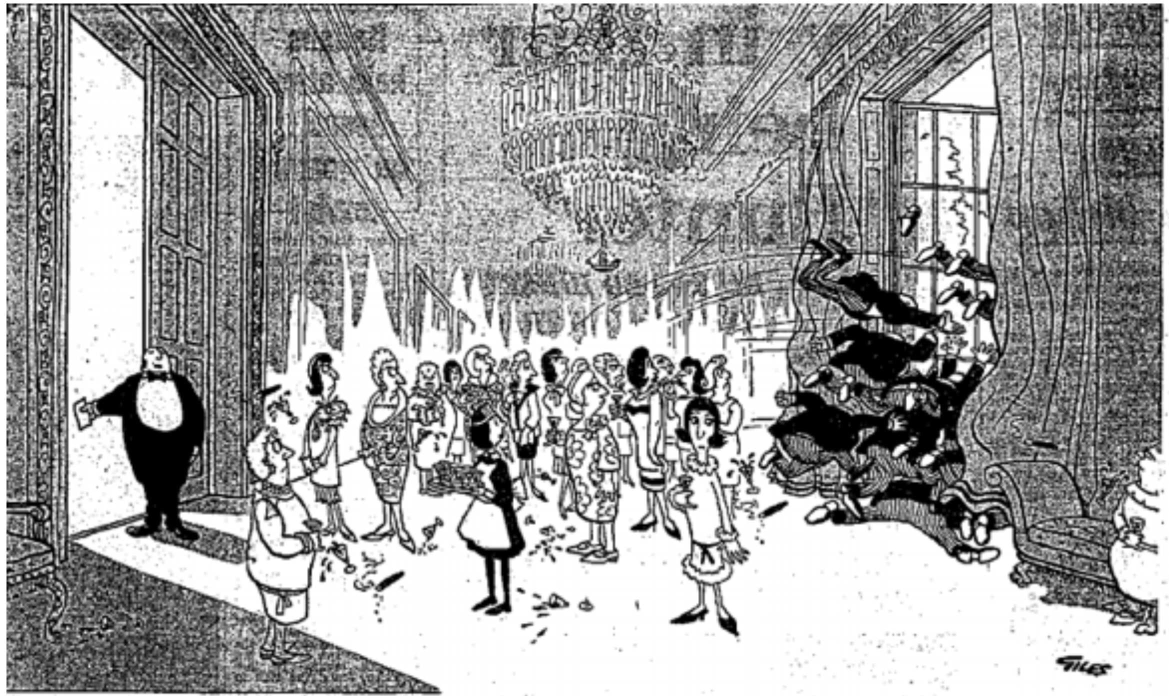


Fig. 8.10

fig. 8.11

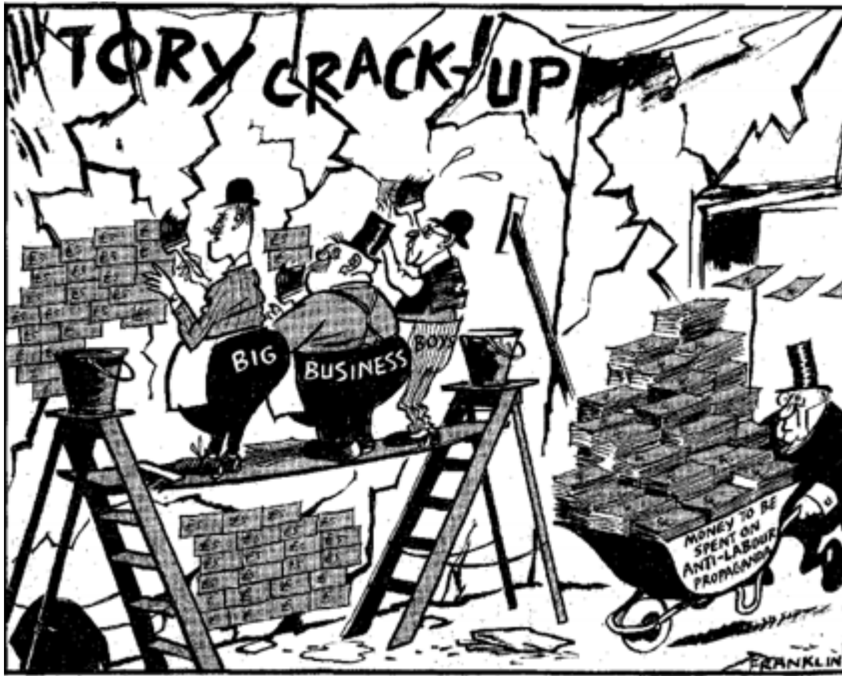


"Ladies and Gentlemen, Miss Chris—"

fig. 8.12

fig. 8.13

fig 8.14



PAPERING THE PARLOUR

fig. 8.15

fig. 8.16

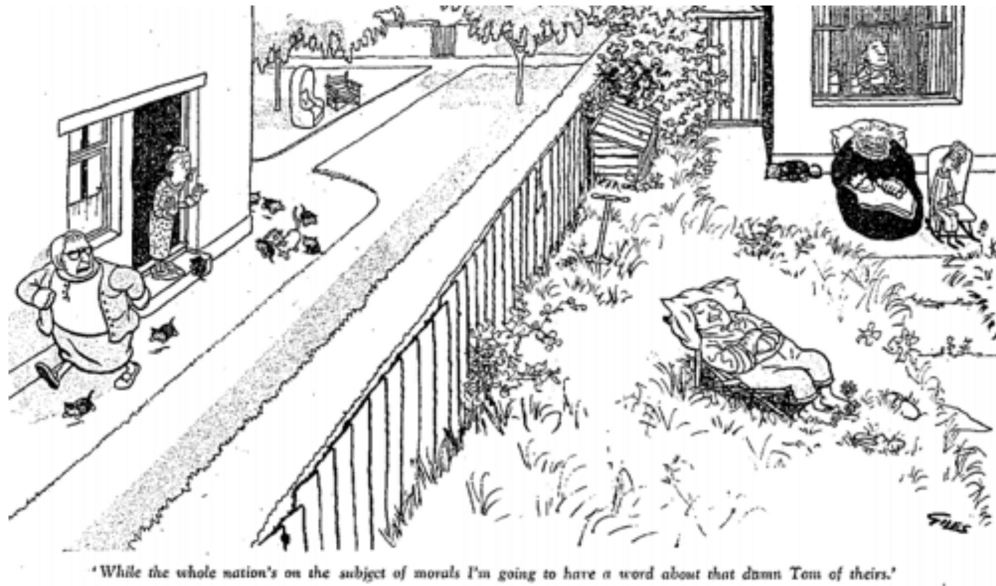


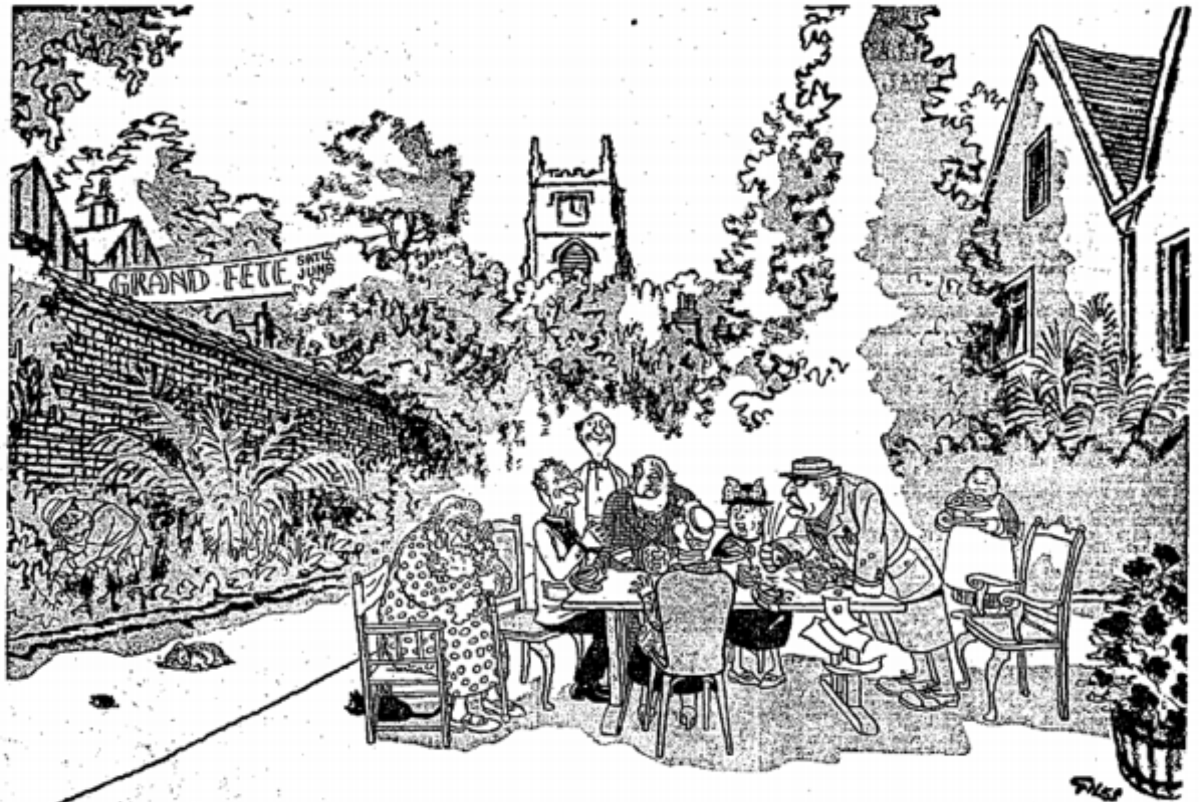
fig. 8.17

fig. 8.18

♪ *Dance, ballerina, dance* ♪

fig. 8.19

fig. 8.20



"We most certainly will not ask her to open the fete."

fig. 8.21

fig. 8.22

fig. 8.23

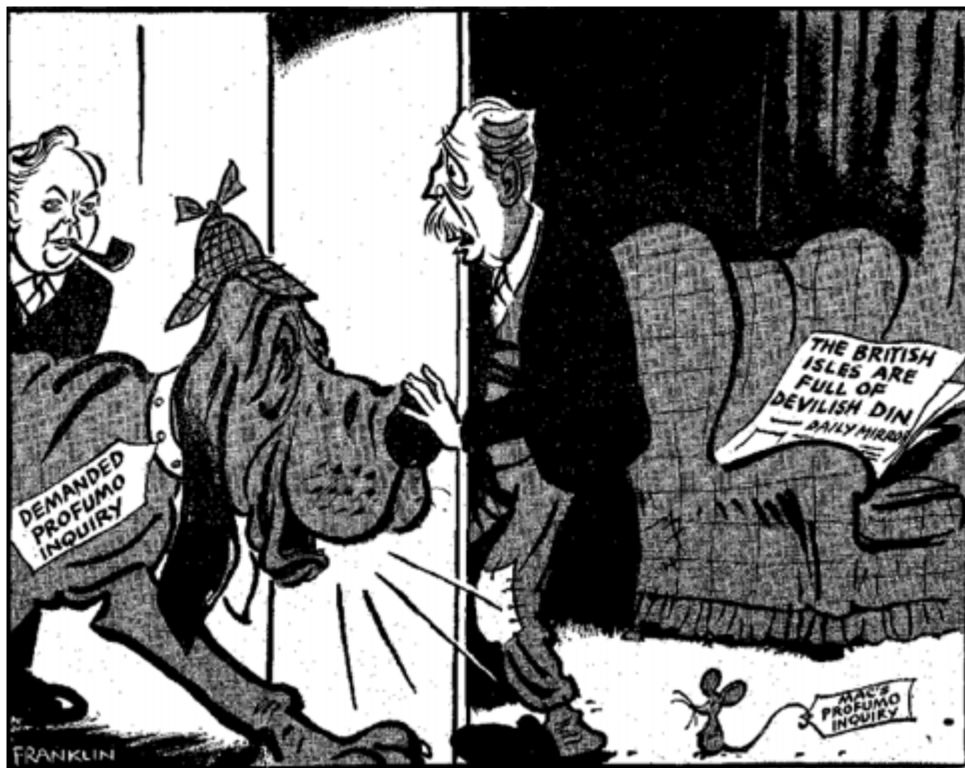
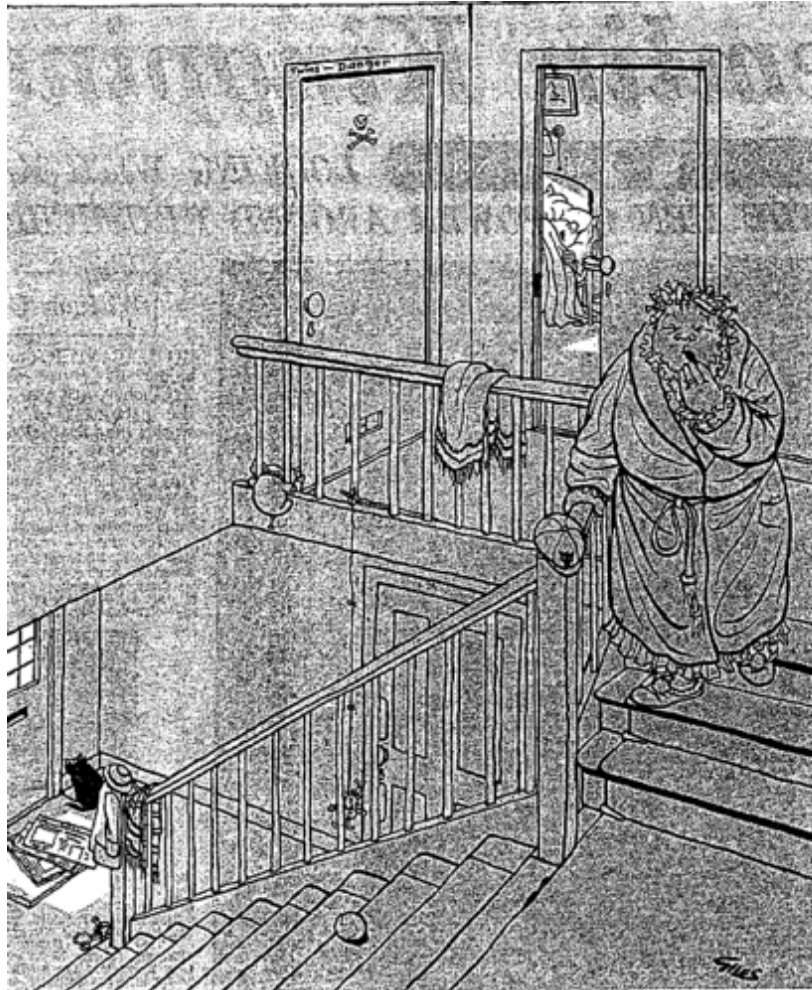


fig. 8.24



"I suppose the frantic gallop to be first down for the papers will be resumed by the gentlemen of the house when that case resumes."

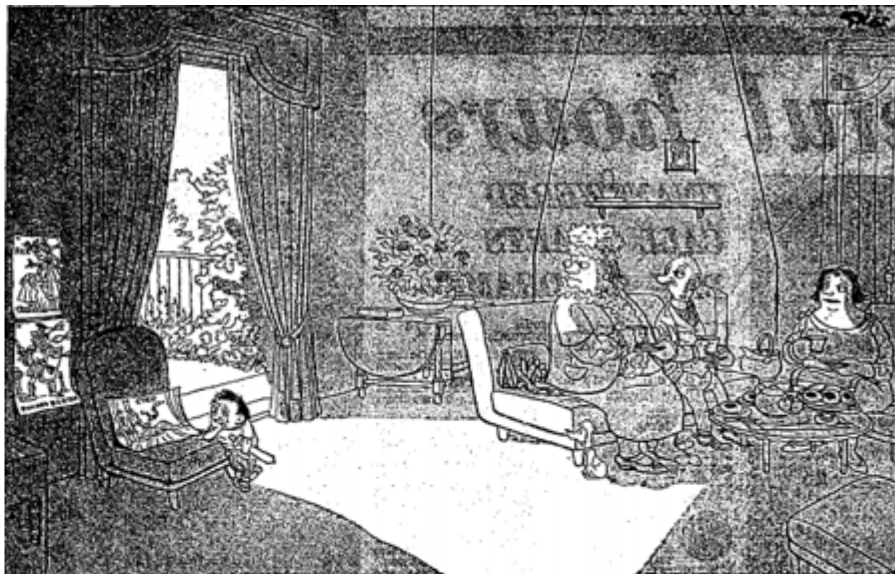
fig. 8.25

fig. 8.26

fig. 8.27

"If you want to see some fun join me while I ask my husband how come he never mentioned he had been done in oils by Mandy Rice-Davies."

fig. 8.28



"First it was Liz Taylor, then it was you-know-who, then it was Mandy Rice-Davies, now we're back with Liz Taylor."

fig. 8.29

fig 8.30

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