'The international Siamese twins':

The Iconography of Anglo-American Inter-Imperialism

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As the United States began to assert itself more forcefully on the international stage in the 1890s, American statesmen, commentators, and cartoonists sought to understand world power through the lens of its closest rival and chief model: the British Empire. Although diplomatic crises still troubled transatlantic relations, by the final quarter of the nineteenth century Americans celebrated the long-standing transnational cultural, social, and political connections between the two nations. For so long interpreted as debilitating neo-imperial binds, these transnational ties were increasingly viewed as evidence of the United States' transition to great power status. This transition depended upon a great deal of inter-imperial collaboration, which soon found powerful expression in the visual vocabulary of American illustrators. American graphic artists both reacted to, and shaped, the narrative of Anglo-American convergence, drawing on a range of symbols, caricatures, and cultural allusions to depict support for, or scepticism of, the reunion of the former colonies with its imperial parent. As both an opinion-forming and opinion-reflecting medium, these caricatures shine a powerful spotlight on the evolution of popular attitudes toward imperialism and foreign relations in late nineteenth-century US political culture.

A 'magazine revolution' of affordable popular journals reached large new audiences in the burgeoning urban metropolises of the United States' Gilded Age (c.1870-1900).[1] Developments in chromolithography gave cartoonists dramatic, full-colour canvasses to reach

[1] Frank Luther Mott, 'The magazine revolution and popular ideas in the nineties', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 64:1 (1954), pp. 195-214.

mass audiences upon; and which – as the historian of visual culture Bonnie Miller has noted - gave them a 'critical voice in the unfolding dialogue about American foreign policy'.[2] As the essays in this volume make clear, cartooning was an imperial medium. Just as British comic art came of age in the context of a rapidly-expanding British Empire, in the United States, graphic artists were key protagonists in the "Great Debate" over empire that convulsed turn-of-the-century American politics. What follows focuses on the leading illustrated journals of *Puck* (1871-1918), *Judge* (1881-1947), and *Life* (1883-1936), all of which exerted great power in the formation of political and social debate in the United States. Under the long-editorship of Henry Cuyler Bunner, *Puck* enjoyed a circulation of more than 90,000 by the 1890s, and was famed for its boldly-coloured centre spread satirical cartoons.[3] At *Puck*, Udo Keppler (son of the magazine's founder, the Austrian-born Joseph Keppler), Louis Dalrymple, and John S. Pughe shaped the popular imagery of John Bull and Uncle Sam. By contrast, its long-time rivals, *Judge* and *Life* enjoyed circulations closer to 50,000 readers, but were equally well-known for their political caricatures. While *Life* adopted stylish line drawings to attack the pervasive cultural and social 'Anglomania' of New York's high society, *Judge*'s Victor Gillam followed *Puck*'s style but transformed familiar Anglo-American images into hybrid symbols of imperial reciprocity. [4]

This chapter argues that American graphic artists refigured the visual language of Anglo-American relations into a versatile and adaptable imagery for understanding the United States' place in world affairs and its newfound status as an empire among empires. The visual imagery of Anglo-American imperial reciprocity competed with the versatile visual culture of

[2] Bonnie M. Miller, 'The Image Makers' Arsenal in the Age of War and Empire: A Cartoon Essay, Featuring the Work of Charles Bartholomew (of the *Minneapolis Journal*) and Albert Wilbur (of the *Denver Post*)', *Journal of American Studies* 45:1 (2011), p. 58.
[3] John Appel, 'From Shanties to Lace Curtains: The Irish Image in *Puck*, 1876-1910', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 14:4 (1971), pp. 365-366.
[4] Patricia Marks, '"Americanus Sum": "Life" Attacks Anglomania', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 28:3 (1995), pp. 217-231.

American Anglophobia in the late nineteenth century. American Anglophobia provided a flexible framework into which American politicians and commentators could position complex political problems, ignite electoral passions, and rally support for foreign policy objectives. Most powerfully, as the growth of the US economy accelerated in the Gilded Age, John Bull and Uncle Sam appeared frequently as industrial and commercial competitors. In the imagery of economic nationalism – explored below in the second section – John Bull is crowded from world markets and defeated by a wealthy and assertive Uncle Sam in the industries at which he traditionally excelled. However, united by imperial warfare, colonial insurgencies, and nervousness over the future of world politics, John Bull and Uncle Sam were also reformulated as collaborative partners in the quest for global leadership. The iconography of inter-imperialism celebrated shared cultural and social interconnections and featured new hybrid symbols of Anglo-American global leadership (the subject of this chapter's closing section). The visual culture of collaborative global leadership may have cemented Anglo-American imperial interconnections, but it could destabilize them as well. The iconography of inter-imperialism also enabled American anti-imperialists to pursue a sustained attack on US expansion in the western hemisphere by employing the same visual techniques as its celebrants.

To shape the American public's understanding of world affairs in the Gilded Age, American illustrators pressed into service a shared stock of visual metaphors, symbols, and stereotypes. The popularity of sports, blackface minstrelsy, and music-hall comic operas provided a reservoir of cultural referents to add to classical, Shakespearean, and Biblical allusions in the work of American cartoon artists. Traditions of political satire inherited from British caricaturists such as James Gillray and *Punch* also informed American illustrators and shaped

the evolution of their craft.[5] From this grew a cast of familiar caricatures of Great Britain that included the portly John Bull (replete in tailcoat, breeches, Union Jack waistcoat, and shallow-crowned top hat); the British lion; and, less frequently, Britannia. Britain was also referenced by a number of other established allusions; such as repeated references to the American Revolution, in the bags of British gold lurking in the background of election cartoons, and, increasingly, in attacks on American 'Anglomaniacs'.[6] Above all, the visual representation of Anglo-American relations was interwoven with the flexible framework of late nineteenth-century Anglophobia. Versatile and conspiratorial, American Anglophobia rendered complex political problems understandable to American voters, providing a recognizable political enemy as a focal point. As such, Anglophobia was grafted easily onto a range of regional and national political problems, served a number of users, and mobilised a variety of political constituencies.[7]

Anglophobia was used most frequently as a language for expressing the highly selective anti-imperial concerns of American statesmen.[8] Typically, this revolved around the persistent fear of British neo-imperialism. In the antebellum period (c.1815-1865), John Bull appeared in US political woodcuts and engravings at times of internal discord, as leading gullible Anglophiles astray and threatening the hard-won independence of the young republic.[9] A number of strategies were deployed to suggest John Bull's greed that continued in the final third of the nineteenth century. *Judge*'s Victor Gillam chose the common image of an octopus-

[5] Stephen Hess and Sandy Northrop, *American Political Cartoons: The Evolution of a National Identity, 1754-2010* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2011), p. 35.
[6] Stephen Tuffnell, '"Uncle Sam is to be sacrificed": Anglophobia in Late Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture', *American Nineteenth Century History* 12:1 (2011), pp. 77-99.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] US Statesmen from all major parties used the euphemism "expansion" to disguise their own military conquest of the North American Continent. For a discussion of the ambivalence, and selective racial, geographic, and constitutional anti-imperialism of American statesmen see: Jay Sexton and Ian Tyrrell (eds), *Empire's Twin: U.S. Anti-Imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
[9] On early American caricatures see: Winifred Morgan, *An American Icon: Brother Jonathan and American Identity* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988).

power grasping all corners of the globe as the metaphorical representation of Great Britain's economic and military might.[10] Before the acquisition of the United States' own Pacific empire, *Puck*'s John S. Pughe sketched 'Greedy Johnnie' (Figure 1), a glutton whose arms were so full of colonies that Egypt, Honduras, Africa, Guiana, and the West Indies had fallen from his arms to the floor.[11] Hungry imperial powers watch on jealously in the background, including Uncle Sam.

Figure 1. John S. Pugh, 'Greedie Johnie', *Puck* (19 February 1896), cover.

Most Americans did not fear the literal re-colonisation of the United States by the British Empire, but being stuck in the orbit of its 'unofficial', economic empire. As a crippling agrarian depression hit the United States throughout the nineteenth century's closing decades, John Bull was an easy target for domestic political movements. Populist Anglophobia blended fears of British economic dominance with the symbols of the American Revolution, deploying economic and romantic nationalism in defence of Uncle Sam, as in Wilbur Steele's 'The Tory is Still Here' (Figure 2).[12] 'Is this nation a British Dependency?' asked the *Republican County Freeman* in July 1892, as Uncle Sam genuflected before John Bull and Queen Victoria while Columbia turns away in shame.[13] John Bull appeared frequently in the works of cartoonists of the Populist movement as a pliable surrogate for attacking the movement's opponents over

[10] Victor F. Gillam, 'Free trade England wants the Earth', *Judge* (27 October 1888), cover. See also: 'The English Octopus – it feeds on nothing but gold', in: Worth Robert Miller, *Populist Cartoons: An Illustrated History of the third-party movement in the 1890s* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2011), p. 99.
[11] John S. Pugh, 'Greedie Johnie', *Puck* (19 February 1896), cover.
[12] See also: Anon., 'If John Bull came to Fight', *Rocky Mountain News* (25 September 1896), p. 1.
[13] Miller, *Populist Cartoons*, 21. See also, 'We are still his subjects', in Miller, *Populist Cartoons*, p. 19.

issues as varied as the gold standard (seen below in the figure of the "Goldbug Tory") and the corrupting effects of foreign capital on US politics.[14]

Figure 2. Wilbur Steele, 'The Tory is Still Here', *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver, CO] (16 June 1895), p. 1.

Britain's worst excesses were often highlighted by American cartoonists in the rampaging figure of the British lion. 'Twisting the lion's tail' was an image that gained widespread currency in the American press, as it was indulged-in by members of both the Republican and Democratic parties as they sought to rouse the Irish vote.[15] The image was also used at times of Anglo-American diplomatic crisis; such as at the height of the Venezuela boundary dispute (c.1895-1899), when the usually-rampant lion was reduced to a howling and humiliated figure, in contrast to the superior statesmanship of his American adversaries.[16]

While Anglophobes fantasised about humiliating or 'bearding' the British lion in this way, metaphorical representations of Britain appeared most frequently at times of imperial expansion or warfare. While a visible manifestation of strength, that power was often displayed by American artists as disproportionate. Overbearing British power was signified by an oversized lion in comparison to those being attacked, as in Joseph Kepppler's *Puck* cover of 19 July 1882, which showed a giant British lion, wearing John Bull's trousers and shirt, beating a caricatured Egyptian (in reference to the recent bombardment of Alexandria in the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882), as Ashantee, Afghan, and Boer victims lie dazed in the background.

[14] 'Who said flying squadron', *Rocky Mountain News* (19 January 1896), p. 1; L. O'Brean, 'John Bull leaves his valentine', *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean* (14 February 1896), p. 1; Anon., 'Holy smoke! I wonder if I can't inch up that boundary line a little', *Rocky Mountain News* (26 June 1897), p. 1.
[15] See, for instance: Friedrich Graetz, 'Out of a job once more!', *Puck* (5 November 1884), cover; Friedrich Graetz, 'The Lion's share of the campaign procession', *Puck* (23 July 1884), p. 331; and, Thomas Nast, 'When It Comes to the Lion, Business Between Ben and Jim, It's Nip and Tuck', *Harper's Weekly* (6 September 1884), p. 575.
[16] John S. Pughe, 'Give it another twist, Grover', *Puck* (8 January 1896), centrefold.

His Zulu opponent is more defiant and smiles up at the lion, possibly in reference to the British Empire's humbling at the Battle of Isandhlwana just three years earlier in 1879.

Figure 3. Joseph Keppler, 'British Benevolence', *Puck* (19 July 1882), cover.

Similarly, as the Second Boer War broke out in the final months of 1899, Britain's lion appeared in the red coat of British infantry. Despite his apparent force, Britain is shown as a power easily distracted by its imperial ventures in Boer War-era prints. Udo Keppler warns of the challenge facing British forces in 'A pretty tough mouthful to swallow' as the lion is unable to approach Paul Kruger in the guise of a bayonet covered South African porcupine.[17] Likewise, as he extinguishes (rather painfully) the flames of a South African camp fire, Britain's 'friendly foes' (Russia and France; armed with coal-pincers) wait to pick through the ashes of the over-stretched British Empire.[18]

Figure 4 & 5. Udo Keppler, 'A Pretty Tough Mouthful', *Puck* (11 October 1899), cover; and 'A Tempting Opportunity', *Puck* (15 November 1899), cover.

[17] Keppler's image recalls John Leech's satire of Napoleon III's militarism in: 'The French Porcupine', *Punch* (19 February 1859), p. 75. *Puck*'s John S. Pughe makes a wry assessment of British losses after Boer commandos repeatedly outmanoeuvred British forces, depicting John Bull as Gulliver tied down by Boer Lilliputians, see: John S. Pughe, 'The Boer Liliputia[n] – the British Gulliver', *Puck* (21 February 1900), centrefold.

[18] See also: Udo Keppler, 'Not dead yet', *Puck* (17 January 1900), centrefold; John S. Pughe, 'The hunters didn't expect a live lion', *Puck* (28 March 1900), cover; Samuel Erhart, 'A misunderstanding', *Puck* (20 February 1901), cover. Keppler's choice of coals here is prescient, perhaps pointing to the British Empire's struggle to secure coal concessions in China against its European rivals, see Ian Phimister, 'Foreign Devils, Finance and Informal Empire,: Britain and China c.1900-1912', *Modern Asian Studies* 40:3 (2006), pp. 737-759.

The bluster and aggressiveness of British expansion was also referenced in the more unlikely figure of an anthropomorphised bull. Like the rampaging lion, John Bull *as* a bull was used to express the disproportionate and unwieldy power of Britain. As European imperial competition surged over access to Chinese markets and territorial concessions in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, William Dalrymple's centrefold of March 1898, parodied John Bull as the Bull-in-a-China-Shop: a warning to the 'European trouble-makers' if 'England doesn't get free ports in China'. The visual pun is watched from the background by Uncle Sam – as Britain, then completing negotiation of the Lease of Waihaiwei, sets its sights on the lucrative territories of Port Arthur, Kiao Chau, Ta-Lien-Wan, and Tonquin (leased by European powers) – and by a rather coquettish Japan. Ostensibly a warning to other powers, Uncle Sam grins at the irony of Britain unknowingly eliminating the United States' rivals in the Pacific, and particularly the China trade.[19]

Figure 6. Louis Dalrymple, 'The Bull in the China Shop', *Puck* (9 March 1898), centrefold.

'John Bull in a China Shop' emphasises that American caricatures of Britain were highly-reactive and context-dependent. The visual imagery of Anglo-American relations could rely on an array of stock figures to simplify and essentialize complex problems, but their meaning was far from fixed. The figure of John Bull was easily manipulated by American cartoonists to suit the needs of a range of contemporary debates into which his rotund form could be inserted to generate public discussion or simply to raise its temperature. This visual language was easily refigured to suit the demands of American nationalism. This was

[19] Michael Hunt, *The Making of A Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); on the great power rivalries at stake in the China Question, see: Thomas G. Otte, *The China Question: Great Power Rivalry and British Isolation, 1894-1905* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

especially true of Gilded-Age American economic nationalism, which refigured John Bull as the counter-image to a wealthy, young, and confident Uncle Sam.[20]

'Business is business', declared a towering Uncle Sam; in a John Pughe penned centrefold spread for *Puck* (Figure 7).[21] Pockets and fists stuffed with dollars, he stands confidently on the sidewalk and is hailed by representatives from Britain, Italy, Austria, France, Russia, and Germany, all of whom have sold all their stock to the Uncle Sam. 'After careful consideration, Europe seems inclined to admit that Uncle Sam is right – and a good customer', bragged Pughe. Rather than support a bankrupt Spain in its war against the United States, Pughe's European shopkeepers are more inclined to support a flush-with-gain United States.

Figure 7. John S. Pughe, 'Business is Business', *Puck* (22 June 1898), centrefold.

Between 1865 and 1900, the United States underwent a period of rapid economic transformation, and began the protracted transition from debtor nation to a competitive industrial power.[22] As the national economy boomed, foreign trade followed suit. In 1868, the US share of world trade was 6 per cent; a figure that rose to 11 per cent by 1913.[23] This was driven by the dramatic overhaul of the United States' trading deficit. In 1860, US imports amounted to $354 million, and exports to $316 million. By 1897, that deficit had been translated into a surplus, with imports doubling to $765 million and exports tripling to $1.03

[20] For more on American economic nationalism in the Gilded Age see Marc-Willian Palen, 'Foreign relations in the Gilded Age: A British Free-Trade Conspiracy?', *Diplomatic History* 37:2 (2013), pp. 217-247.
[21] John S. Pughe, 'Business is Business', *Puck* (22 June 1898), centrefold.
[22] Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., and Thomas W. Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 10-26.
[23] Walter La Feber, *The New Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations: The Search for Opportunity, 1865-1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 25.

billion.[24] Europe remained the United States' main customer, however, and was the recipient of 75 to 80 per cent of American foreign exports in this period (15 per cent went to markets in the Western Hemisphere, and Asia took only 1.5 per cent).[25] 'America has invaded Europe not with armed men, but with manufactured products', wrote one European observer.[26]

Increased US global trade raised the spectre of Americanisation to British observers. 'While we are pluming ourselves on our own commercial astuteness', wrote the Canadian journalist Frederick Arthur McKenzie in his popular pamphlet *The American Invaders*, 'the Americans are stepping in to the centre of our industrial capital, and taking from under our eyes the most profitable and easiest speculations'.[27] The invasion was propelled by a barrage of American-manufactured products and progressed – to the eyes of British observers – 'unceasingly and with little noise or fuss in five hundred industries at once. From shaving soap to electric motors, and from tools to telephones'.[28]

American cartoons present the graphic narrative of this 'invasion' as it unfolded. The signs and symbols pressed into service by Anglophobes were easily catalysed by diplomatic crises, but found an alternative expression in the imagery of American economic nationalism. This imagery featured a mature Uncle Sam travelling the globe as the world's shopkeeper, salesman, and manufacturer; the counterpoint to the aging, confused, and harassed John Bull. In Keppler's 'The Two Drumnmers', John Bull is outperformed in world markets by a self-

[24] *Ibid.*
[25] David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment: American Economic Expansion in the Hemisphere* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1998), p. 10.
[26] Frederick A. McKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), p. 1.
[27] McKenzie, *American Invaders*, p. 20. See also: Christopher Furness, 'The Old World and the American "Invasion": A Review of the Industrial Situation', *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine* (March 1902), pp. 362-3; William T. Stead, *The Americanisation of the World, or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London: Horace Markley, 1902); Benjamin H. Thwaite, *The American Invasion; or, England's commercial danger and the triumphal progress of the United States with remedies proposed to enable England to preserve her industrial position*, (London: S. Sonneshein & Co.,1902).
[28] McKenzie, *American Invaders*, p. 2.

confident Uncle Sam and is heard to complain, 'you're takin' away all me old customers'. 'Well, John', Uncle Sam replies, 'what you need is some American hustle'.[29]

Figure 8. Udo Keppler, 'The Two Drummers', *Puck* (12 July 1899), cover.

This visual narrative was also aspirational. The salesman Uncle Sam from 'the two drummers' may have cases, pocketbooks, and coat pockets filled with orders from the markets of the world, but such an image bore little relation to the reality. By 1899, and despite large growth, the United States' share of the global trade in manufactures stood at just 9.8 per cent, fourth behind Britain, Germany, and France.[30] Indeed, such imagery was moulded by a groundswell of opinion among the American business classes that, having caught a glimpse of the United States' burgeoning economic power, predicted the nation's future world importance.[31] As American industry boomed, some American commentators boasted of the United States as the 'world's greatest workshop', declaring that 'it is our manifest destiny to rise to the first rank among the manufacturing nations', while 'our commerce is threatening to eclipse that of Continental Europe'.[32] If that vision were to be realized, foreign markets must be acquired or created, and the substance, as well as the signs of dependency on British financial capital, transport infrastructure, and international communications, overturned.

In *Puck*'s 'Rival Who Has Come to Stay', Louis Dalrymple reversed the traditional role of Britain as the premier shipbuilder and carrier of American commerce (Figure 9). John Bull,

[29] See also, John S. Pughe, 'The British Despot Beaten Again', *Puck* (24 March 1897), centrefold.
[30] Pletcher, *Diplomacy of Trade and Investment*, p. 12.
[31] The classic analyses of this opinion and its impact on US imperialism are William Appleman Williams' *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Co., 1959), and Walter La Feber's *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansionism, 1860-1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963). For a more circumspect analysis of this rhetoric see: Pletcher, *Diplomacy of Trade and Investment.*
[32] Quoted in: David M. Pletcher, 'Rhetoric and Results: A Pragmatic View of American Economic Expansionism, 1865-98', *Diplomatic History* 5:2 (1981), p. 95.

whose sign advertises his 'specialty' as the construction of ships for US commerce, looks on aghast as an American freight steamer glides by. While Uncle Sam celebrates the launch of a new member of the merchant fleet, John Bull exclaims, "Good 'evins! – wotever 'll become of my ship-building monopoly, if that there Yankee is going to turn out boats like that right along?'[33] In fact, John Bull's supremacy was perfectly safe: before 1914, 58 per cent of American trade was carried on board British ships, while US ships carried just 8 per cent of America's foreign trade tonnage.[34]

Figure 9. Louis Dalrymple, 'A Rival Who Has Come to Stay', *Puck* (24 July 1895), centrefold.

Nonetheless, as the weight of evidence confirmed the rising industrial eminence of the United States, Uncle Sam was transformed from door-to-door 'drummer' to shopkeeper – the customary antebellum role of John Bull. In 1899, Uncle Sam stood behind the counter of 'the greatest department store on earth'. 'Every day a bargain day' proclaimed the illustrator John S. Pughe, as Uncle Sam handed out trains, battleships, chemicals, clothing, grain, and steel rails to his European customers, in exchange for bulging sacks of money (Figure 10).[35] Similar examples proliferated in the American press all of which depicted an aged John Bull defeated by a lively Uncle Sam in all manner of industrial, cultural, and sporting contests.[36] *Life* magazine even featured John Bull as Rip Van Winkle, the title character of Washington Irving's allegorical tale of a society haunted by its colonial past. In William H. Walker's centrefold spread, John Bull as Rip Van Winkle awakes from his slumber to find an onrushing

[33] Louis Dalrymple, 'A Rival Who Has Come to Stay', *Puck* (24 July 1895), centrefold.
[34] Eckes and Zeiler, *Globalization and the American Century*, pp. 22-3.
[35] John S. Pughe, 'The Greatest Department Store on Earth', *Puck* (29 November 1899), centrefold.
[36] John S. Pughe, 'Another revelation of strength', *Puck* (17 August 1898), centrefold; Eugene Zimmerman, 'New Year's 1901: Century Race of Nations', *Judge* (5 January 1901), centrefold.

tide of Uncle Sam miniatures carrying bridges, tin plate, ships, streetcars, pig iron, steel, and cotton towards him.[37]

Figure 10. John S. Pughe, 'The Greatest Department Store on Earth', *Puck* (29 November 1899), centrefold.

By the turn of the century, American journals were more explicit in proclaiming the United States' invasion of the Old World. In September 1901, *Life* magazine ran a series of cartoons depicting views of London in which key landmarks such as the Royal Exchange, Houses of Parliament, and statues of British military and naval heroes were Americanised. The Houses of Parliament were re-christened the 'residence of John B. Grab of Chicago' and accompanied by the caption that 'this structure has a historical interest, having been used at one time by the British Parliament'. The bank of England, meanwhile, is portrayed with the United States' crest hung over the door.[38] The most striking of *Life*'s images, however, was a view of Trafalgar Square surrounded by buildings adorned in American flags with Nelson's column now featuring Uncle Sam at its peak.[39] As ever, the flexible framework of Anglophobia dictated the visual culture of Anglo-American relations. In this case, it worked in tandem with a surging economic nationalism in the United States that demanded access to foreign markets and government aid (although it was only ever sporadic at best) to erect the commercial apparatus required to compete with British economic power.

Ironically, the industrial growth accelerating the demands of American economic nationalism was dependent upon the technologies of trade and communication instrumental to

[37] William H. Walker, 'John Bull Van Winkle', *Life* (17 October 1901), p. 310-311. By contrast, a decade later *Puck*'s Gordon Ross cast Uncle Sam as Rip Van Winkle returning from his tariff sleep to discover that European nations dominate South American trade, Gordon Ross, 'It was about time he woke up', *Puck* (8 February 1911), centrefold.
[38] Anon., 'Life's Views in London', *Life* (19 September 1901), p. 227.
[39] *Ibid*., p. 228.

the organisation of the British Empire in the late nineteenth century.[40] As noted above, US commerce not only travelled in British ships, but by 1900, 53 per cent of American trade was with the British Empire.[41] British-controlled submarine telegraph cables, steamship routes, and colonial outposts, conditioned the form and extent of the United States' overseas expansion. In the Atlantic, meanwhile, the United States and Britain had settled into a mutually beneficial interdependence. By the eve of the American Civil War, Atlantic economic interdependence had reached, in the description of Jim Potter, 'a closer approximation to a North Atlantic free-trade area than has occurred at any other time.'[42] This quickened in the late nineteenth century, lubricated by increasing social and intellectual exchange between Anglo-American elites.[43] This inter-imperial reciprocity was viewed through the lens of a shared ideology of racial Anglo-Saxonism that was frequently celebrated in US political cartoons.

Anglophobia, economic nationalism, and diplomatic incident, ensured that traditional animosities continued to be replicated in the iconography of Anglo-American relations. Nonetheless, Britain continued to be regarded as a model for US statesmen and commentators as transatlantic rapprochement crystallized in the late nineteenth century – and a useful referent for creating an auto-image of the United States.[44] To a cabal of imperialist leaders in the Republican Party, the British Empire was viewed as the yardstick of American success, as – in spite of the potency of Anglophobia – it was transformed into an imperial model in addition to chief rival. The ability to hold these contradictory impulses simultaneously was neatly surmised

[40] Stephen Tuffnell, 'Anglo-American Inter-Imperialism: US Expansion and the British World, 1865-1914', *Britain and the World* 7:2 (2014), pp. 174-195.
[41] Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective Since 1789* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 154.
[42] Jim Potter, 'Atlantic Economy, 1815-1860: The USA and the Industrial Revolution in Britain,' in L.S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1960), p. 279.
[43] Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
[44] Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895-1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

in one editorial from the *New York Herald* when it suggested that in future England 'need not bother with this side of the sea. We are a good enough England for this hemisphere'.[45]

Transnational economic and social ties provided the groundwork for transatlantic "rapprochement" but this long-standing reciprocity found new forms of expression in the late nineteenth century. In the age of empire, the symbols, caricatures, and familiar visual metaphors of Anglo-American relations were redeployed and transformed to depict the new Anglo-American imperial reciprocity. John Bull and Uncle Sam appeared together as collaborators rather than rivals; the American eagle and British lion were likewise depicted in mild-mannered interactions; and Britannia and Columbia were now pressed into service to reaffirm the cultural and social bonds of Anglo-American reunion. In a new departure, many of these symbols were merged together into single beings, creating a visual culture of hybrid, transnational symbolism. Commercial rivalries were transformed into collaborative competitions and points of interconnection, but – as rapprochement came to the fore – so too did more emotional bonds including shared language, literature, and blood. More importantly, empire was depicted as a collaborative project aimed at multilateral leadership of the global 'civilising' mission.

Mixed metaphors of blood, kinship, and race, bisected the discussion of empire on both sides of the Atlantic. This was especially evident in the wake of the short Spanish-American war of 1898. As Paul Kramer has emphasised, those beating the drum of Anglo-Saxonism gave racial endorsement to the extension of American empire in the Caribbean and the Pacific.[46] 'Race patriots' viewed the world map as a stage upon which Anglo-American settler imperialism unfolded inevitably.[47] In a widely-read article in the monthly journal *Nineteenth*

[45] 'England and the Panama Canal', *New York Herald* (16 January 1882).
[46] Paul Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910', *Journal of American History* 88:4 (2002), pp. 1315-1353.
[47] For instance: E. G. Ravenstein (ed.), *Handy Volume Atlas of the World* (London: George Philip & Son, 1895), Plate 1; Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism & Ambivalence, 1860-1914*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), p. 33, n.44.

Century, the English journalist Edward Dicey was representative of many Britons in his jubilation that the United States shared British 'imperial instincts' and were now 'prepared to carry out that manifold destiny which is the birth right of the Anglo-Saxon race'.[48] 'With us of the Anglo-Saxon race', wrote Dicey, 'it is our mission, our manifest destiny, to rule the world'.[49] Americans welcomed the Anglo-Saxon tributes flooding across the Atlantic and invoked the British Empire as a model for the emerging American sibling. For their part, British Imperial Federationists hoped to inaugurate 'Greater Britain': a geopolitical union of the United Kingdom with its settler colonies, buttressed by an Anglo-American alliance built of a shared cultural and racial heritage.[50]

The density of Anglo-American connections increased dramatically in the late nineteenth century. Business, professional, and social contacts multiplied as travel and communication across the Atlantic accelerated. Citizens on both sides of the Atlantic joined new transatlantic institutions founded to celebrate Anglo-Saxon solidarities. More than 500 Britons and Americans joined the Anglo-American League after its founding in July 1898, for instance.[51] The League quickly founded an office in New York and launched the *Anglo-American Magazine* to promote co-operation between the two nations.[52] Britons and Americans likewise joined William T. Stead's Informal Association of Friendly Fellowship, the Atlantic Union, and the Pilgrims Society of Great Britain.[53] Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism was both driven by these connections and cited as the chief reason for their proliferation.

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[48] Edward Dicey, 'The New American Imperialism', *The Nineteenth Century* (September 1898), pp. 499, 501.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 489.
[50] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 254-5.
[51] W.B. Bancroft (ed.), *Directory of Americans Resident in London and Great Britain, American Firms and Agencies* (London: American Directory Publishing, 1902), p. 293.
[52] 'Anglo-American Relations', *The Cyclopedic Review of Current History* (1 July 1898), p. 569.
[53] Charles Campbell, Jr., *Anglo-American Understanding, 1898-1903* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 44; Richard Heindel, *The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898-1914: A Study of the United States in World History* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 39; William T. Stead, 'Why not a British Celebration of the Fourth of July?', *Review of Reviews* (June 1898), p. 600.

Such a cognitive shift was also driven by the increasing overlap of the American and British empires. Britons and Americans encountered one another in a number of imperial contexts from the 1880s onwards. Frequently, American sub-imperial agents hitchhiked the imperial pathways blazed by Britons before them. The expansion of American merchants, entrepreneurs, missionaries, and professionals overseas took form within the British Empire. Under the protection of the *pax Britannica* they could take advantage of British transportation and communication networks; join the social institutions established by British settler colonists; and acquire first-hand knowledge of investment opportunities.[54] In part, this was a form of imperial competition; as US businesses competed for British contracts and American missionaries often hoped to extend American standards on other Anglo-Saxons in addition to other non-Christian peoples. Yet, this inter-imperialism depended upon a great deal of collaboration, a fact registered in the visual imagery of Anglo-American convergence.

As Anglo-American relations entered new, more tranquil waters, the competitive masculine figures of John Bull and Uncle Sam were joined by the benign female images of Columbia and Britannia. Feminine icons were rarely subjected to the same satirical scrutiny as male personifications of the nation and, when deployed, were intended to raise the gravity of discussion or lend intellectual weight to an illustrator's argument.[55] Female iconography was used most commonly to embody national virtues such as liberty and democracy rather than perceived national characteristics, as was the case with John Bull and Uncle Sam. Just as Columbia featured regularly to heal national wounds at times of American political crisis, Columbia and Britannia appeared together when diplomatic tensions rose. British satirical journals *Punch* and *Fun* invoked the pair in a number of roles during the American Civil War.

[54] Tuffnell, 'Anglo-American Inter-Imperialism', pp. 180-191; Kramer, 'Empires, exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons', pp. 1327-31.
[55] Morgan, *American Icon*, pp. 27-30; Christopher Kent, 'War Cartoon/Cartoon War: Matt Morgan and the American Civil War in *Fun* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*', Victorian Periodicals Review, 36:2 (2003), pp. 153-181.

In October 1864, for example, a matriarchal Britannia looks on as Columbia attempts to sew back together the torn map of the United States, offering the advice that Columbia would 'find it difficult to join *that* neatly'.[56] Throughout the war, *Fun*'s Matt Morgan juxtaposed Columbia with a devilish Abraham Lincoln, most strikingly in a homage to Henry Fuseli's *The Nightmare* (1781), with Lincoln as the succubus perched on the bosom of a tormented Columbia.[57] In May 1865, *Punch*'s illustrator John Tenniel performed a dramatic U-turn and depicted the pair as grieving sisters, Britannia placing a wreath on the body of the recently-assassinated Abraham Lincoln (whom *Punch* had taken delight in attacking throughout his presidency).[58]

With the renewal of Anglo-American hostilities over the Alabama Claims, female iconography receded while John Bull was viciously satirized by American artists.[59] But, after the passing of the Venezuela Crisis in 1896, Britannia and Columbia began appearing together regularly in the American press. However, rather than appearing at times of Anglo-American crisis, the pair begin to take on the mantle of peaceful partners as conflict raged around them. In the popular *Puck* magazine, Britannia and Columbia met as mother and daughter aboard battleships. In the background, the dark clouds of the Spanish American War gather behind Columbia, and those of the Eastern Question gather for Britannia; emphasising once more the importance of crisis in determining the deployment of Anglo-American icons (see Figure 11 below). Following their appearance together in June 1898, Britannia and Columbia cemented Anglo-American affinities by laying laurel wreaths at a monument to the recently-deceased

[56] John Tenniel, 'Columbia's sewing machine', *Punch* (1 October 1864), p. 136.
[57] Kent, 'War Cartoon/Cartoon War', p. 164; Matt Morgan, 'Columbia's Nightmare', *Fun* (10 September 1864), p. 257.
[58] John Tenniel, 'Britannia sympathises with Columbia', *Punch,* 6 May 1865, p. 182. Frankie Morris, *Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons, and Illustrations of Tenniel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), pp. 327-336; William S. Walsh, *Abraham Lincoln and the London Punch: Cartoons, Comments and Poems, Published in the London Charivari*, during the American Civil War (1861-1865) (New York: Moffat, Yard and Co., 1909); Matt Morgan, *The American War. Cartoons by Matt Morgan and Other English Artists* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874).
[59] Adrian Cook, *The Alabama Claims: American Politics and Anglo-American Relations, 1865–1872* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975).

Thomas Bayard, former Ambassador to Great Britain, exhorting one another not to 'forget the man who did more than any other to bring us together'.[60]

Figure 11. Louis Dalrymple, 'After Many Years', *Puck* (15 June 1898), centrefold.

Female icons were embedded into the narrative of Anglo-American rapprochement. Anglo-American marriages were used as a compass through which commentators on both sides of the Atlantic navigated this inter-imperial world. Transatlantic marriages were an important point of inter-elite contact that enabled Britons and Americans to view one another as partners in the quest for global 'civilisation'.[61] The historian Dana Cooper has documented 588 marriages between American heiresses and members of the British peerage, barons, and the landed gentry between the American Civil War and the eve of the First World War.[62] The day after it was announced that Joseph Chamberlain was to marry Mary Endicott, *Life* magazine pilloried such marriages as little more than an economic transaction, but to many others, including the English journalist William T. Stead, they represented 'the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin'.[63] More broadly, female icons were central to the depiction of the United States' imperial mission in Cuba and the Philippines, where Uncle Sam protected feminised symbols of Cuba and the Philippines from the implied sexual violence of Spanish colonial leaders.[64]

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[60] Udo Keppler, 'Tempora mutantur', *Puck* (12 October 1898), cover.
[61] A.G. Baker, 'International Marriages', *The Independent* (October, 1908), p. 757.
[62] Dana Cooper, *Informal Ambassadors: American Women, Transatlantic Marriages, and Anglo-American Relations, 1865-1945* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014), p. 4.
[63] Anon., 'Another nobleman among us', *Life* (8 November 1888), p. 260; Stead, *Americanisation of the World*, p. 124.
[64] Louis Dalrymple, 'The duty of the hour', *Puck* (11 May 1898), centrefold; Louis Dalrymple, 'Save me from my friends', *Puck* (7 September 1898) centrefold; Louis Dalrymple, 'He can't let go', *Puck* (23 November 1898), centrefold; John S. Pughe, 'Looking forward', *Puck* (1 November 1899), centrefold. In *Judge*, by contrast, Victor F. Gillam invoked a sleeping Columbia to raise the United States' moral duty to intervene in

More unusually, the four national symbols (of Columbia, Britannia, Uncle Sam, and John Bull) appear re-united together in a poster from 1898 celebrating the United States' entry into the fraternity of world leadership. Qualities including invincibility, integrity, and colonial success were celebrated as shared racial traits 'in the interest of humanity, civilization, and peace for all time'. Balancing such celebration, as ever, was the Anglophobic and anti-imperialist *Life* magazine. In this instance, Columbia has tamed a fawning British lion above the caption 'dear me it was not always thus'.

Figure 12 & 13. Donaldson Lithograph Co., 'A Union in the Interest if Humanity' (1898), poster; F.G. Attwood, 'Dear me! It was not always thus!', *Life* (19 May 1898), cover.

At their most celebratory, images of inter-imperialism depicted John Bull and Uncle Sam as the guarantors of peace and civilization worldwide. In this sense, as the historian Frank Ninkovich has observed, 'imperialism was a form of internationalism' for its American supporters; and through it the United States place in global affairs would be clarified by 'confirming the nation's new standing at the forefront of civilization'.[65] Placing Uncle Sam alongside John Bull gave a seductive packaging to imperial internationalism, and the powerful doctrine of Anglo-Saxonism through which it was often expressed. In *Puck*'s 'And Peace Shall Rule' John Bull and Uncle Sam lift the globe in unison as the goddess of peace looks down approvingly.[66] Anglo-American reciprocity also took on overtly militaristic tones, as the two national symbols appeared in their respective army's uniforms, rather than the traditional uniforms of Union Jack waistcoat, and suit made from the Stars and Stripes. The transformation

Cuba as the ghosts of Marquis de Lafayette and Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben try to wake her, Victor F. Gillam, 'A Plea for Cuba', *Judge* (19 October 1895), pp. 248-249.
[65] Frank Ninkovich, *The United States and Imperialism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001, 37.
[66] Udo Keppler, 'And peace shall rule', *Puck*, 3 May 1899, centrefold.

of Anglo-American identity and its symbolism was also driven by the simultaneity of colonial rebellion in the Philippines and protracted imperial warfare in South Africa. A month after the second Anglo-Boer war broke out on the Rand in October 1899, Uncle Sam was depicted on the cover of *Puck* sending 'good will' to John Bull as British troops were being rushed to relieve Boer sieges of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley.

Figure 14 & 15. Louis Dalrymple, 'United We Stand', *Puck* (8 June 1898), cover; Louis Dalrymple, 'Wireless Telegraphy', *Puck* (29 November 1899), cover.

Anglo-American reunion, shared imperial ventures, and co-leadership of global civilisation were portrayed in the visual imagery of numerous middle-class journals. *Judge*'s Victor Gillam celebrated Anglo-American reunion more enthusiastically than most. Repeatedly, Gillam's work portrayed Anglo-American leadership of world politics as a reunion of estranged Anglo-Saxon brothers. The Anglophile's 'Hands across the sea' portrayed Anglo-American rapprochement as a division of labour between the maritime empire of John Bull and the land-based military conquest of Cuba and the Philippines by Uncle Sam. As they reach across the Atlantic Ocean to shake hands, they are watched enviously by supposedly lesser imperial powers as John Bull invites Uncle Sam to, 'shake, and we will boss the whole world'.[67] More striking still was Gillam's cartoon of 7 January 1899 after the successful conclusion of the Spanish-American War for the United States. In this instance, John Bull and Uncle Sam have ingested the globe and control the eastern and western hemispheres via the Suez and Mangua canals (a projected isthmian route through Nicaragua) respectively.

[67] Victor F. Gillam, 'Hands across the sea', *Judge* (11 June 1898), centrefold. See also Victor F. Gillam, 'The See-Saw Nations – The Anglo-Saxons Balance of Power', *Judge* (9 April 1898), pp. 234-235.

Figure 16. Victor F. Gillam, 'It Ought to be a Happy New Year', *Judge* (7 January 1899), cover. Credit: The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum

Gillam continued to merge Anglo-American iconography as an expression of the shared cultural and economic entanglements of the two nations. In 'the International Siamese twins' of 1902, the American eagle and British lion stand together harmoniously, exactly mirroring one another in posture and expression. Binding them together are the economic and emotional bonds of 'business interests' and 'friendship'.[68] Tellingly, a dose of realpolitik lay behind Gillam's assessment of Anglo-American reunion, as the Kaiser lurks in the background (jealous of US trade relations with Britain, he draws a sword labelled 'envy'). A year later, Gillam merged the American and British flags to illustrate the interwoven interests of the transatlantic partners. Sharing the unifying connections of 'friendship, business, commerce, language, steamships, Anglo-Saxonism, and wireless telegraphy', Uncle Sam and John Bull unfurl the merged flag over the Atlantic as rival Germany, Russia, and France keep a watching brief.[69] British cartoonists reciprocated *Judge*'s enthusiasm with a wry take on Anglo-American rapprochement, illustrated by the composite figure of *Punch*'s Jonathan J. Bull, robed in a Star Spangled Union Jack waistcoat and flanked by a lion-headed eagle.[70]

The deployment of hybrid imagery had a sharp political edge. Gillam's work for the pro-Republican *Judge* magazine intervened in the ongoing "Great Debate" over the direction of US foreign affairs that had dominated the Presidential election campaign of 1900.[71] Gillam shot across the bows of American anti-imperialists and their allies in the Democratic Party who charged that expansion in the Pacific presented 'the danger that we are to be transformed from

[68] Victor F. Gillam, 'The international Siamese twins', *Judge* (21 June 1902), cover.
[69] Victor Gillam, 'How can they quarrel when their interests are so interwoven?', *Judge* (21 February 1903).
[70] Bernard Partridge, 'Colonel Jonathan J. Bull; or, what John B. may come to', *Punch* (27 November 1901), p. 381.
[71] Miller, 'The Image Makers' Arsenal', pp. 53-75.

a republic, founded on the Declaration of Independence, guided by the counsels of Washington, into a vulgar, commonplace empire, founded upon physical force'.[72] As debate raged between William Jennings Bryan's alliance of anti-imperial Democrats and 'Mugwump' Republican defectors, and the incumbent William McKinley's Republican Party, Gillam penned 'A lesson for anti-expansionists'. The lesson was spread across the centre page for *Judge*, showing, the caption noted, 'how Uncle Sam has been an expansionist first, last, and all the time'. The cartoon traces Uncle Sam's development from an innocent child to a bloated, cigar smoking adult, whose prodigious growth is accelerated by the addition of more territories and states to the national domain. Here, the image of bloating is re-appropriated from anti-imperialist critiques to represent prosperity, as the arms of European powers reach in from the cartoon's edge 'anxious to be on friendly terms with Uncle Sam'.[73]

Metaphors of maturity and manhood featured regularly in Gillam's work on Anglo-American relations. In June 1898, Gillam depicted a youthful 'Sammy' (a diminutive Uncle Sam) in the school playground. In an image that recalled Pughe's 'Greedie Johnnie', his arms and pockets are stuffed with apples representing Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. 'I'm a-goin' to eat them apples all by myself', he tells his European playmates, 'an' there ain't a-goin to be any cores'.[74] Weeks later, a fawning 'cousin' John Bull introduces Uncle Sam to fellow empires as 'the new giant among nations'.[75]

While historians focus on the Civil War as a foundational moment of US nationhood, proponents of American empire in the 1890s instead focussed on the invigorating effect of colonial warfare on what Theodore Roosevelt famously chastised as the 'the over-civilized

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[72] Quoted in Ninkovich, *United States and Imperialism*, p. 45. *Life* depicted President William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt in the process of revising the Declaration of Independence as Jefferson's concerned spirit looks on, see: William Bengough, 'Fun for the boys', *Life* (23 August 1900), p. 147. For more on the American anti-imperialist movement see, Michael Patrick Cullinane, *Liberty and American Anti-Imperialism, 1898-1909* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[73] Victor Gillam, 'A lesson for anti-expansionists', *Judge* (New York: Arkell Publishing Company, print, 1899), pp. 72-73; John S. Pugh, 'Declined with thanks', *Puck* (5 September 1900), centrefold.
[74] Victor Gillam, 'He's Getting a Big Boy Now', *Judge* (25 June 1898), centrefold.
[75] Victor Gillam, 'The new giant among nations', *Judge* (9 July 1898), centrefold.

man' who 'fear[s] the strenuous life'.[76] For Roosevelt and a cabal of Republican Party leaders including Henry Cabot Lodge and Senator Albert Beveridge, martial virtues were viewed 'as an essential ingredient of national self-renewal' and would be the adhesive bond of American nationalism.[77] Gillam and his counterparts therefore moulded and reflected the ongoing dominance of masculine vocabularies in the motivations of American statesmen and commentators as they shaped public attitudes towards war.[78]

Familial reunion, shared leadership, and hybridity characterised the visual narrative of rapprochement, but American graphic artists continued to depict John Bull in a tutelary role. Although Gillam celebrated the United States rise to global pre-eminence even he was clear that Uncle Sam faced unique challenges as a result of his late entry into the methods of imperial governance. In arguably his most famous cartoon, 'The white man's burden', Gillam took up the message of Rudyard Kipling's famous poem, published just a month earlier in *McClure's Magazine*.[79] In this instance Britain is a model for the United States to follow if the heights of 'civilization' are to be reached. Uncle Sam must follow the path forged by John Bull over boulders of 'superstition', 'oppression', 'ignorance', and 'slavery'. John Bull struggles up the hill with the weight of caricatured Indian, Egyptian, Sudanese Chinese, and Zulu subjects on his back, while Uncle Sam – sweat dripping from his brow – follows behind with his own colonial subjects from Cuba, Hawaii, Samoa, and the Philippines, impeding his progress.

Figure 17. Victor F. Gillam, 'The White Man's Burden (Apologies to Rudyard Kipling)', *Judge* (1 April 1899), pp. 200-201. Credit: The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum.

[76] Theodore Roosevelt, 'The Strenuous Life', April 1899, in Theodore Roosevelt, *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (20 Vols., New York: C. Scribner's & Sons, 1926), XIII.319-331.
[77] Ninkovich, *United States and Imperialism*, pp. 20-21.
[78] Kristen Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
[79] Rudyard Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden', *McClure's Magazine*, 12 (1899), pp. 290-291.
[79] Rudyard Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden', *McClure's Magazine*, 12 (1899), pp. 290-291.

Gillam's 'White Man's Burden' emphasises the flexibility and reactive nature of the cartoon medium. In reference to the eruption of conflict between the US Army and Filipino insurgents after the Battle of Manila of February 1899, the United States' colonial subjects are depicted by Gillam as unruly and rebellious while Britain's comparatively-older subjects, schooled in the necessity of racial uplift either gaze forward to the summit of 'civilization' (with its offer of 'education' and 'liberty'), or look back and laugh at Uncle Sam's less-civilized wards.[80]

Graphic artists responded rapidly to the unfolding events of the imperial moment, but they also responded to one another, further emphasising that cartoons were not passively received as the introduction to his volume makes clear. Ever the megaphone of Anglophobia, *Life* magazine's William H. Walker inverted Gillam and Kipling's burdened national icons and depicted Uncle Sam, John Bull, the Kaiser, and a stereotypical Frenchman, carried on the backs of their colonial subjects.[81] The circulation of the graphic narrative of the United States' mission was depicted more alarmingly by the actions of US troops in the empire itself. In clear reference to Gillam's image of April 1899, one soldier posed in front of camera carrying three colonial subjects wrapped in the US flag on his back.

Figure 18. 'Uncle Sam's Burden (with apologies to Mr. Kipling)', c.29 June 1903. URL: http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b07656.

[80] Victor Gillam, 'The white man's burden (apologies to Kipling)', *Judge* (1 April 1899), pp. 200-201.
[81] William H. Walker, 'The white (!) man's burden', *Life* (16 March 1899), cover; Walker used a similar theme for 'A Promising Pupil', *Life* (2 March 1899), cover.

As the narrative of US imperialism unfolded, the iconography of Anglo-American inter-imperialism could be deeply ambivalent. As ever, the reflexive Anglophobia of American observers and perhaps even its demand from the readership of American journals provided a flexible framework for American cartoonists to express their concern over the course of US imperialism. While the simultaneity of colonial ventures in South Africa and the Philippines renewed the sense of Anglo-Saxon imperial vigour, they also fuelled suspicion among American anti-imperialists that the United States had been tempted off-course by Britain. In an equivocal cover from March 1901, *Puck*'s Louis Dalrymple imagined Uncle Sam and John Bull, attired as marines and red coats respectively, mired in quagmires of debt accumulated while fighting their respective colonial wars.

Figure 19. Louis Dalrymple, 'Misery Loves Company', *Puck* (20 March 1901), cover.

In a period in which the United States was convulsed by fierce debates over its recent imperial acquisitions such ambivalence functioned as a form of inter-imperial lesson-learning – a favoured theme of *Puck*'s illustrators. Udo Keppler's 'Cape to Cairo', depicts a white-robed Britania leading British soldiers and settler colonists against the forces of 'barabarism'. 'Though the process be costly', Keppler's caption cautioned American readers, 'the road of progress must be cut'.[82] As the storm clouds of 'Philippine complications' gather in Keppler's similarly-themed 'The duty of great nations', Uncle Sam turns his back as John Bull gestures toward the monument of 'civilization', carved with the figures representing Guiana, Australia, Ireland, Scotland, India, Canada, Egypt, and South Africa, bearing the weight of Britannia on top. 'Don't get discouraged, Sam!' exhorts John Bull in the accompanying caption, 'I've had

[82] Udo Keppler, 'From the Cape to Cairo', *Puck* (10 December 1902), centrefold.

just that sort of trouble for three hundred years'. 'It has cost many lives and much money', John Bull remarks to Uncle Sam, 'but the whole world, as well as England, has benefitted by it'.

Figure 20. Udo Keppler, 'The Duty of Great Nations', *Puck* (15 February 1899), centrefold.

Anglophobic anti-imperialists were able to subvert such images of the convergence of the Anglo-Saxon imperial powers. Colonial rebellion in the Philippines and imperial warfare in Britain's South African possessions provided anti-imperialists with the ammunition to critique the United States' imperial policy. Satirising the iconography of Anglo-American inter-imperialism, *Life* magazine depicted the reunion of Uncle Sam and John Bull as two elderly gentlemen in bed. Woken by ringing alarms representing the Philippines and Transvaal, the pair complain about their 'bloomin insomnia'.[83] A month later, *Life* wished its readers 'war on earth, good will to nobody', as Uncle Sam and John Bull sat resolutely within a Christmas wreath behind Maxim machine guns.[84]

Anti-imperialists also lamented the loss of the United States' moral superiority over other empires. Competing with images of Anglo-American superiority in leading the arts of civilization and peace, was a narrative of cartoons depicting John Bull and Uncle Sam amongst other nations. As the United States' intervention in Cuba began, a number of illustrators depicted other nations looking-on with envy, or in approval, as Uncle Sam gave the corrupt Spanish Empire a lesson in humane colonial rule.[85] Yet, at the same time, European (and other) powers are often depicted gloating over the United States' reversal of is traditional ideological

[83] Culver, 'Misery loves company', *Life* (7 December 1899), p. 497.
[84] Anon., 'War on earth, good will to nobody', *Life* (4 January 1900), cover.
[85] John S. Pughe, 'Satisfying their curiosity', *Puck* (18 May 1898), centrefold; Udo Keppler, 'The survival of the fittest', *Puck* (1 June 1898), centrefold.

opposition towards formal colonial rule. In 'No Chance to Criticize', Uncle Sam is about to carve a small cake on a platter labelled 'Cuba' with his sword; drinks wine from a decanter labelled Philippine Islands; while on the left of the table is an ice bucket with a bottle labelled 'Porto Rico'. In the background, John Bull, Kaiser Wilhelm II, Tsar Nicolas II, and French President Felix Faure, carve a large cake on a platter labelled China. John Bull looks on as he remarks to his European counterparts, 'what are you mad about? We can't grudge him a light lunch while we are feasting!'[86]

Examining the iconography of imperial reciprocity charts the United States' transition to imperial and global power at the turn of the twentieth century. The potent domestic brew of American Anglophobia ensured that British caricatures provided a visual shorthand for the American public to understand domestic political problems. Yet, the pliable visual culture of Anglophobia competed with an equally-flexible framework for understanding the transformation of American foreign policy in the 1890s. These frameworks could be easily interwoven and as transnational cultural interconnections continued to thicken a new visual culture of Anglo-American relations emerged. In the new iconography, Uncle Sam and John Bull appeared as equals – rather than squabbling brothers – in joint leadership of global civilization. These images were part of a broader, transnational imperial culture in the American press that contrasted other empires through their visual representation. Driven by the Spanish American War, and the accompanying demonization of Spanish imperial rule, American cartoonists reimagined the iconography of Anglo-American relations as one of imperial reciprocity.[87] At the turn of the twentieth century, imagery of harmony,

[86] Louis Dalrymple, 'No chance to criticize', *Puck* (25 May 1898), centrefold; William H. Walker, 'Those pious Yankees can't throw stones at us anymore', *Life* (22 May 1902), cover.
[87] For a wider discussion of cartoons from the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars see John Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980); Abe Ignacio, *et al*, (eds), *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine American War in Political Cartoons* (San Francisco, CA: T'boli Publishing, 2004).

interconnection, and shared ideological aims, was deployed frequently in American depictions of the Anglo-American relationship, best evoked through the new hybridity of Anglo-American icons.

In part, the iconography of imperial reciprocity reflected the geo-political reality of new global connections between the US and British empires. In another respect, hybrid visual imagery enabled the American public to chart a course through the shifting imperial waters entered into by the United States in the late nineteenth century. In this light, Anglophobes and Anglo-Saxonists alike understood empire and world power through Britain and its visual representatives. The visual imagery of Britain in American political culture was flexible and ambivalent. British power was at all times the primary referent for American graphic artists as they attempted to shape and reflect the ongoing transformation of the United States to world power status, meaning that John Bull was both the imperial adversary of American foreign policy and the yardstick by which global power could be measured. Perhaps it was best expressed in Frederick Opper's 1896 cartoon, 'They Can't Fight'. Uncle Sam and John Bull glare each other down with clenched fists, but various ties of financial and cultural interconnection ensure that they have settled into a mutually beneficial competition.

Figure 21. Frederick Opper, 'They Can't Fight', *Puck* (15 January 1896), cover.