THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF POLITICAL AND PATRIOTIC IMAGES OF AMERICA:
A VISUAL ANALYSIS OF FOURTH OF JULY
CARTOONS IN FIVE NEWSPAPERS

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

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* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1979

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the many individuals who have provided the necessary support and guidance that has made this dissertation possible. Special consideration and appreciation are given to my parents and Jackie for their encouragement, love, and understanding.

I would like to thank all the members of my Committee for their help and comments. I would like to thank Professor Paul Klohr for the hours he generously gave in the "world of ideas" and for awakening me to varied educational perspectives. The researcher considers himself fortunate to have worked with Professor Alfred Clarke whose classes and conversations sparked my initial interest in the field of Visual Sociology and whose guidance and thoughtfulness is greatly appreciated.

A tremendous debt is owed to Professor Tim Curry whose interest, support and friendship was the initiating factor behind this study. I am indebted to Professor Curry for his unfailing encouragement and counsel especially during crucial points when this researcher was unsure of himself and his work. His patience, insight, and generous giving of time and himself was overwhelming.

I owe Professor Robert Jewett a debt of gratitude which can only be repaid through a lifetime of service to future students. His patience, and at times tolerance, during the arduous task of dissertation writing was remarkable. His undying faith in his students, his
generosity in friendship, his inspiration of intellect, and his penetration of thought have made the past years as a graduate student an educational experience in the true meaning of the word.

To Ronna and Cathy for their friendship, unselfishness, enduring sense of humor, and skills without which this dissertation would not have been a reality.
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Sociology. Professors Alfred Clarke and Timothy J. Curry
Curriculum and Foundations. Professor Paul Klohr
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Where communication exists, things, in acquiring meaning, thereby acquire representatives, surrogates, signs and implicates, which are infinitely more amenable to management, more permanent and more accommodating, than events in their first estate.

(John Dewey - *Experience And Nature*)
CHAPTER I

THE VISUAL INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

Ours is a visual age. We are bombarded with pictures from morning till night. Opening our newspapers at breakfast, we see photographs of men and women in the news and raising our eyes from the paper, we encounter the picture on the cereal package. The mail arrives and one envelope after the other discloses glossy folders with pictures of alluring landscapes and sunbathing girls to entice us to take a holiday cruise, or of elegant menswear to tempt us to have a suit made to measure. Leaving our homes, we pass billboards along the road that try to catch our eye and play on our desire to smoke, drink or eat. At work it is more than likely that we have to deal with some kind of pictorial information: photographs, sketches, catalogues, blueprints, maps or at least graphs. Relaxing in the evening, we sit in front of the television set, the new window on the world, and watch moving images of pleasures and horrors flit by. Even the images created in times gone by or in distant lands are more easily accessible to us than they ever were to the public for which they were created. Picture books, picture postcards and color slides accumulate in our homes as souvenirs of travel, as do the private mementos of our family snapshots.1

To state that we live in an image oriented culture is hardly controversial. We need not be reminded of the studies depicting the number of hours a household watches television nor the yearly gross income of the movie industry. Likewise we need little reminding of the persuasive influence of advertising and "Madison Avenue" over our culture. We have all, at one time or another, fallen prey to the seductiveness of the image. Its alluring qualities, emotional appeal, and manipulative technique have often held us in its grasp. Much attention in the past few years has been directed at the increase and diversification in image use (mostly television) and the resultant effects on Western culture. This
widespread usage has often been described as a "revolution" in visual technology and that the extreme advocates of this visual position engage in hyperbole is not denied. Although this writer is not a "visual supremacist" there is some warrant in their reasoning, perceptiveness, and associated writings.

This pluralism of the image is coupled with the rise of electronic media to usher in the "new age of information." The amount of knowledge is building at an unprecedented rate and we subsist under a knowledge deluge. Much human thinking is performed through the electronic visual media and the concomitant information moves at the speed of light. The constant change needed to keep pace with this evolving technology creates strain and, like any strain, puts stress on the very social structure which houses it. The discord between the high speed visual technology and the world it leaves behind is perhaps best exhibited in our educational system which, while viewing the future, clings to the traditional past. While not recognizing the changes wrought in the environment by the proliferation of imagery and the concomitant effects on the world of the young and the insistence that all scholarship be accomplished in the verbal/written mode, has prompted the observation that "learning is that which occurs out of school." Reflecting on the differences between these two environments McLuhen notes:

The youngster today, stepping out of his nursery of TV environment, goes to school and enters a world where the information is scarce but is ordered and structured by fragmented, classified patterns, subjects, schedules. He is utterly bewildered because he comes out of this intricated and complex integral world of electric information and goes into this nineteenth-century world of classified information that still characterizes the education establishment... the young today are baffled because of this extraordinary gap between these two worlds.
Postman, in a more extreme tone, notes:

Print is not dead. It's just old. And old technologies do not generate new patterns of behavior. For us, print is the technology of convention. We have accommodated our senses to it. We have routinized and even ritualized our responses to it. We have devoted our institutions, which are now venerable, to its service. By maintaining the printed word as the keystone of education, we are therefore opting for political and social status.  

What is true for education is accurate for the balance of our daily existence. For in a very real sense we live in a media dichotomy; being, on the one hand a user and consumer of electronic visual media at the speed of light and, on the other hand, paying homage, through convention, to the speed of Guttenburg.

The influence of the visual realm, impelled by the electronic capabilities, has become a fixture in the cultivation of goals, values, aspirations, social and political ideologies and control. As students, as well as the general populace, are increasingly bombarded by images the necessity for critical evaluation of these visual statements increases. Just as critical analysis has been emphasized in the realm of the verbal/written so must the same be applicable to the visual domain. Platt is quick to point this out:

In our society we are bombarded with visual information daily--movies, television, advertisements, catalogues, billboards, to name a few. Most of us, students and adults alike, are good at "reading" this language without understanding how the language works or being able to write it ourselves.  

Without the developed ability to grasp the visual "language," the chances of high level visual critical analysis are very slim. Indeed, devoid of a mode of analysis to ascertain issues, questions, symbols,
assertions and statements there is meager chance of intelligent
decision-making occurring. As Postman observes:

The way to be liberated from the constraining effects of
any medium is to develop a perspective on it--how it works
and what it does. Being illiterate in the process of any
medium (language) leaves one at the mercy of those who
control it.\textsuperscript{5}

An illustration of this neglect of emphasis on the critical analysis of
visual statements is demonstrated by a polling, by this researcher, in
January, 1977 of six leading producers of educational visual materials
concerning: the critical analysis of visual statements; the relation-
ship between imagery and the thought process; the impact of visuals in
controlling social ideologies; and the general concept of a "visual
language." One would assume that since these companies are engaged in
the business of visual technology and producing visual materials for
educational uses that they would be on the forefront of research into
the visual domain or at the very least possess a rationale for market-
ing what they produce. Such, however, seemingly is not the case for
only one of the six firms was mildly interested in visual research with
the remaining five stating that visual research was out of the sphere
of their concern or that it was the role of the universities to provide
them with new and needed research information.\textsuperscript{6}

Gerbner recognizes the need for emphasizing the investigation of
the visual domain. Being a united consciousness wed to a medium of
which we know very little, we are prone to its selectivity and control
in shaping the "public agenda:"

Never before have so many people in so many places shared so
much of a common system of messages and images--and the
assumption about life, society and the world that the system
embodies—while having so little to do with creating the system. In sum, the fabric of popular culture that relates the elements of existence to one another and shapes the common consciousness of what is, what is important, what is right and what is related to what else is now largely a manufactured product.⁷

The dangers inherent in such a situation are obvious.

Also inherent in the visual realm and eluding direct investigation is the social control aspect of any mass media. The concept of social control has received much attention throughout the history of the field of Sociology. This concept has focused upon the process of self-regulation of society according to agreed upon values and goals. The opposite of social control is coercive control in which the social organization of a society has its foundation in forced compliance. Coercive control, then, produces social cooperation and compliance through overt force while social control rests on a process of harmonious collective social behavior which produces order and cooperation without resorting to overt coercion. The cartoon, being one of the older visual mediums and in tune with current occurrences, has fulfilled this mechanism of social control rather well. By ridiculing behavior which doesn't adhere to the prevailing values and norms of a society, while reinforcing status quo values, the populace is provided a clear definition of the dominate perspectives. Edna Hines points this out when she, in discussing the social control aspects of political cartoons, states:

The political cartoon is an illustration of history in the making. Political cartoons exercise, perhaps, more of a social control than any other type of cartoon. A social control means that society defines the situation and through such agencies of group life as propaganda, newspapers, theaters, folkways, mores, and all forms of public opinion, forces the individual to conform to that definition.⁸
Social control is exerted, not only through ridicule or appeals to morality, patriotism, and the "greater good," but through omission as well. What is not portrayed is of equal importance for not emphasizing certain aspects of life and political views decreases their social awareness and social significance.

The investigation of social control and its visual ramification is a legitimate concern of social scientists and educators interested in social organization and social decision making. Michalowski and Bohlander express such concern:

The mechanisms through which society establishes broadly shared values, and through which the individual members agree upon goals consistent with these values and strategies sufficient to these goals has, and continues to be, a central concern in the study of social control.9

Awareness of the necessity for intense inquiry into the visual domain and the methods required is growing in some circles. Olson, in advocating research on visual symbols, states:

At a more theoretical level, both educational and psychological research is severely limited by the absence of a theory of the structure of the symbols that make up such an important part of our environment, the media that propagate these symbols, and the cognitive consequences of exposing children to them.10

This growing concern for visual awareness and investigation, using the rubric of "visual literacy," is capturing the attention of researchers. The concept of "visual literacy" was the focal point of a conference recently organized by the Ford Foundation. It concluded, in part, that there exists a need for visual and media literacy:

We concluded that there was an important need for widened and improved instruction about the mass media in the public schools. We decided that literacy of young persons in regard to the mass media is the proper concern for
educational institutions analogous to their concern about language literacy. We also concluded that there was a major role for research in developing and introducing mass media instruction into the curriculum, in training teachers to teach it well, and in evaluating its effectiveness... Just as speaking and writing are useful to the skill of reading, so, it is believed, producing messages will be helpful in attaining media literacy. 11

The recognition of the expanding role visual information is serving in modern life has produced, recently, a small, dedicated band of researchers absorbed in the exploration of the visual "language." They easily grasp the meaning and significance of the statement by Curry and Clarke:

Clearly, communication through the whole spectrum of social life is moving from an emphasis on the verbal to an emphasis on the visual. Yet little is known about the power and significance of visual information, even though the development of the photoelectronic image may be as important as the invention of movable type. 12

The Dualistic Nature of the Application of Reflection within Social Studies

The significance and implications that the visual realm holds for education and the larger society flow directly into the concerns of Social Studies Education. It is this discipline, upon which the influence of the pragmatic tradition is so pronounced, which has accentuated the necessity for the critical analysis of social and personal issues in all areas of life. Indeed, the pragmatic tradition has enjoyed a remarkable longevity within the social studies and has shaped that discipline after its own philosophical image. A cursory survey of recent social study texts, materials, and leading journals within the field indicate the dominant stance that "reflection" (the pragmatic
maxim) has within social studies. The reflective "maxim" is best expressed by Dewey's now famous definition:

Active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends, constitutes reflective thought.

It is not necessary to delve into an extensive examination or defense of Dewey's concept of reflection here since it is not germane to this work and the task has been performed elsewhere. It is important to note, however, that reflection, the development of critical awareness and process of analysis, has provided the principal underpinnings and rationale for Social Studies Education. The strength of this pragmatic position has superseded earlier rationales which could not remain viable due to their being based on the immutable character of tradition, authority, and indoctrination.

Likewise of pertinent importance, evolving from the same tradition, is Dewey's notion of the artificiality of dualisms in thought and action and his assertive attempts at their eradication. Dualisms have plagued philosophy, and thus life's activities, since earliest times and, according to Dewey, gave rise to faulty metaphysics. It encouraged false and artificial problems and solutions which are vague and misleading.

As Rucker explains:

According to the functionalist account of experience, mind and matter, subject and object, person and world are methodological abstractions. So long as they are used with reference to the context out of which they arose, they are both useful and meaningful. But the epistemologists, both empirical and rational, have wrenched these abstractions out of their particular problematic context and erected them into ontological concepts. Such abstractions cut off from the dynamic, historic situation that gave them birth are without
any meaningful reference, and the result is the artificial problem of knowledge that has plagued philosophy since Descartes.\textsuperscript{15}

Of significance, in the dualism sphere, for the present work was Dewey's lamentation over a dualism in methodological application. That is, the application of the use of systematic scientific investigation in the physical science realm but not in the social arena. This hiatus between the application of the process of critical thought, in Dewey's view, accounted for the scientific revolution having taken place in the physical sciences while the social sciences remained barren. Morton White summarizes Dewey's position against dualisms:

Therefore Dewey's struggle against dualism was composed of the following major strands: his view of the connection between scientific knowledge and action; his effort to show that moral and logical beliefs are different only in degree from the pragmatically analyzable beliefs of natural science; and his attempt to apply his pragmatic or instrumentalist theory of scientific knowledge and ethical judgments to the concrete problems of man, chiefly in education and politics.\textsuperscript{16}

It is this latter strand, the application of "instrumentalism" to the problems of man, which is of relevance here. For although the pragmatists fiercely advocated the scientific investigation of social problems, concerns, and enigmas, they were concerned with the implementation of such investigation, with few exceptions,\textsuperscript{17} in the medium of the verbal/written.

A dualism is evident, in effect, within the discipline of social studies. The dualism is analogous to that between the application of systematic scientific investigation, in Dewey's day, to the physical, but not the social sciences. The present dualism is also in methodological application; the continuance of emphasis in critical analysis
on the verbal/written mode while the visual is neglected. This trend continues in the face of the realization that the visual realm holds greater and greater significance and concern for education and society alike. An extension of the pragmatic position into the visual realm is a requirement for the understanding and determination of our social selves and our institutions.

The two previously discussed pragmatic notions, the importance (necessity) of critical thinking (reflection) and the dualistic manner of its application, are applicable to the present work. They connect this work with the discipline of Social Studies Education and its pragmatic tradition. For although this work differs in the medium of investigation it is in keeping with the spirit of the pragmatic traditions; the scientific investigation and comprehension of society and its relation to man and the examination of social forces and controls which shape our existence.

Aim of Study

This study aims to identify and examine themes and visual symbols associated with the Fourth of July cartoons in five newspapers. Specifically, the development of symbols within these themes and the analysis of the emotional versus logical nature of symbols used. Also focused on is the social control features of cartoons and the relation of popular culture to social history. The general issues involved thus concern the communication process and the comprehension of visual statements.
Social scientists and educators agree that humans are, above all, symbol users and manipulators. Symbols serve the general purpose of allowing and promoting shared meanings. Most all of our conceptions of fear, unity, love, and so forth are shared through symbols. They enable individuals, and groups of individuals to communicate and cooperate within a society. As a society becomes more technologically sophisticated it may be that symbols become the most integrating (or divisive) force of all social phenomena. It is this central role that the symbol plays within society which makes its study relevant to today's world. Symbols have been one of the most discussed and least agreed upon phenomenon of language and experience. One could easily produce reams of discourse concerning a precise definition of the term symbol without enunciating an operational definition and related attributes. For the purposes of this study a symbol is a sign which has been overlaid with an arbitrarily assigned meaning. Whereas a sign has a direct referent which it represents or signifies, a symbol means something which is not visually represented--it does not have a direct referent. Symbols, from this perspective, are seen as an entity which stand for or represent something else. A visual symbol, then, possesses a meaning which is not pictorially represented, and a sign means directly what it pictorially implies. The visual symbol, thusly, plays a considerable role in the comprehension of images since it enables the building from the concrete to the abstract by its reference to an entity or idea not directly visible. The function is analogous to that of an abstract concept in the written or spoken language. The abstract concept allows the user to make reference to a whole "class" of attributes which compose this
intangible construct. It enables one to structure, order and manipulate reality and of communicating this reality; so it is with visual symbols.

Relevant Literature and Research Related to the Present Study

Visual research and investigation has fallen, traditionally, within the province of instructional media. The overriding preoccupation of instructional media has, historically speaking, been the legitimatizing of media, especially the visual media, for instruction. As William Allen exemplifies:

...the education establishment demanded proof of the effectiveness of these innovative techniques, and the baseline for comparison was clearly the current teaching practices. As a consequence, the general perception of instructional media research even today is in these terms.\footnote{18}

The course and direction of instructional media has constantly been in a state of flux, shifting scope, emphasis, and medium. Allen\footnote{19} has superimposed an organization upon the historical endeavors of instructional media by separating its development and leading concerns into three phases. The first phase occurred prior to 1950 and was characterized by "evaluative comparisons" between film and other medium of instruction. The second phase encompasses the ten year period after World War II and most research was undertaken by the military services. For the most part this research centered on skill training with film. The late fifties and early nineteen sixties formed the third phase with the emphasis on educational television. Again the research predominantly centered on the value of this visual medium (television) for instruction. Two general trends appear to run throughout the chronicle of instructional media research. The first is the
preoccupation of "evaluative comparisons"—the comparing of visual media with other forms of conventional instruction and the second is the tendency toward individualization of instruction or programmed learning.

Within the last fifteen years, however, visual research has branched off in numerous directions with instructional media being only one among many. The field of anthropology, with its early use of the camera as a recording device, led the way in academic areas for the use of visual research. In the past few years the use of image recording devices as a way of collecting, recording, and preserving data for the study of society has made inroads within sociology. The psychology of art has, for many years, been interested in visual research and speculation aimed primarily at perceptual systems. And within education a group interested in visual education, under the nomenclature of "visual literacy," has grown rapidly. Needless to say, the fields of communication, cinema, and photography have continuously been concerned with visual research and education. Add to the above areas the field of philosophy, which has expended much effort and volumes on the nature of perception, and it is easily seen that instructional media is not alone in its quest for visual communication research findings.

One would assume, with the number of diverse areas engaged in the same (relatively) task that an abundance of literature and information as well as guidelines would be at hand for this writer's research; this is not the case, however. A scarcity of literature is available which is germane to the subject matter that this dissertation investigates. Most prior visual investigation is, at best, tangential to the nature and aim of the present approach. This lack of prior relevant research
and writing may, in part, be explained by the breadth of the area of visual communication, a lack of methodological modes of visual research, and the historical academic dependence and preference for the written/verbal over the visual. There exists only a meager amount of literature and research which possesses direct application to this present endeavor.

Perhaps the most general, although of a philosophical temperament, is the work of Rudolf Arnheim (Visual Thinking). Arnheim traces the dominance of the verbal over the visual in Western civilization and attributes it to the development of false dichotomies (by early Greek philosophers) between thought and perception, mind and body, mental and physical, etc. In his over zealous attempt to extinguish the dichotomy between reason and perception, Arnheim is guilty of a reverse dichotomy by elevating visual perception as superior thus creating a visual bias. This work, none the less, holds a two fold importance; the first being the attention it draws to the importance of the visual medium and the role of perception in intelligence, and the second being the enunciation of the verbal bias in Western civilization. Deborah Barndt, commenting on this verbal bias states:

Thus, western thought and ideology itself was developed and communicated in words, for language was the most rational means of expression. The social institutions that emerged to cultivate this development—the university and the educational system—has built upon this verbal bias. It was in the great 'libraries' where knowledge was sought, stimulated, and stored. Written and spoken words have been the primary media of research, teaching, and learning. Even intelligence has been defined and measured as verbal facility and abstractive aptitude. The three R's are basically verbal and abstract. Technicians and artists who operate in other modes are considered intellectually inferior by 'scholars'.
Likewise of a philosophical bent yet holding relevance for the present research is the work of Colin Murray Turbayne (most notable, *The Myth of Metaphor*).\textsuperscript{22} It is his contention that the channel for grasping and understanding visual communication lies in the treatment of said media as a verbal language. In this sense the analysis is a metaphor. As Turbayne states:

...just as sounds, variously combined, become signs in a spoken language so do colors of various hues and intensities, variously combined and ordered, become signs in this language of vision.\textsuperscript{23}

He is quick to stress that the metaphor between the verbal and visual is for analysis and a mode of methodological investigation only and the literal interpretation of a metaphor has its pitfalls.

There is a difference between using a metaphor and taking it literally, between using a model and mistaking it for the thing modeled. The one is to make believe that something is the case; the other is to believe that it is. The one is to use a disguise or mask for illustrative or explanatory purposes; the other is to mistake the mask for the face.\textsuperscript{24}

The linguistical model of visual communication, as advocated by Turbayne, is an attractive alternative to the perceptual system analysis endorsed by some psychologists and communication experts.

Curry and Clarke have examined the visual field and interpreted it in a sociological manner. In "A Visual Grounding of the Sociological Imagination: Photographic Imagery as Data"\textsuperscript{25} they build a case for a new emerging field within sociology termed "visual sociology."

Traditionally, sociologists have limited themselves to the collection of verbal or written information, and have for the most part overlooked visual data. From its inception, sociology has relied almost completely upon information obtained via the use of interviews, questionnaires, or notes from participant observation. Through the use of verbal data sociology can boast of impressive accomplishments, but
scholarly work based solely on such data may overlook some of the realities of contemporary society. They posit four orientations for the uses of imagery. The first is the "documentary image" which is descriptive and illustrative in nature. The second is "found images" which are images that are taken out of their original context and employed in a different use. The third orientation, "images derived from theory," is tied to theory building by adding more data or providing a primary source of data and deductive in constitution. And the last orientation, "theory derived from images," is inductive and represents a sophisticated model for visual research. It is this orientation which is being employed in the present research. In a later work Curry and Clarke (Introducing Visual Sociology) have expanded their investigation into the relationship between sociology and imagery and new approaches to imagery as data.

Although speaking about photography in general, Byers supports the contention that there is more information of a sociological nature in visual images than meets the eye—especially the untrained eye. Byers advocates the training of social scientists in the analysis and "language" of visual communication.

The important point for the behavioral scientist is not that the photograph has more information but that it has different information. This different information is available to the person trained to use photography to this end and who is trained to find and analyze this information in a collection of photographs.

Byers sees the camera opening up new vistas in the social sciences as the telescope and microscope did for their respective fields.

Pryluck and Snow are in accord with Byers concerning the investigation and analysis of the image as a "visual language" or "cine-language"
as they prefer to call it. They lament the fact that although the use of visual communication is widespread there are so few categories and propositions available for analyzing the semantic characteristics of the medium. They consider such an analysis essential. They demonstrate that a film is able to transmit six simultaneous independent types of information (channels).\textsuperscript{31} Whereas the Lasswell's formulation may be sufficient for comparative media description, the six channels explained by Pryluck and Snow demand a more serviceable analysis than Lasswell's "Who says What, in Which channel, to Whom with What effect." In regard to this differing analysis, Pryluck and Snow advocate a structural analysis of each channel in use along linguistic lines:

The information channels and their possible interactions are not all unique to film and television. They exist to varying extent in all modes of communication, and it may be useful to consider the description of different modes in terms of the channels and channel combinations each includes. Further, each channel or class of channels may have its own syntactic and semantic characteristics, and a detailed structural analysis of each may be necessary. Different modes of communication which share the same channels should share much the same linguistic structure and should require relatively similar skills on the part of recipient individuals.\textsuperscript{32}

And again:

Finally, a general assumption throughout this discussion has been that cinematic communication is a language, or is fast becoming one. At present, no vocabulary or syntax can be elaborated as support for the contention, though it is believed that intensive study along the lines suggested can eventually produce some understanding of these components.\textsuperscript{33}

In a later article Pryluck warns (not unlike Turbayne) of using the aesthetic or linguistic approach which is grammatically rule-bound and narrow in view and often negated by example. He proposes a wider latitude in orientation for analysis of the visual language:
It would appear that a more useful orientation could be borrowed from the descriptive linguists as they begin to describe any new (to them) language. They first accumulate all of the distinctions that they discriminate, and only then evolve from the language as it is used a set of categories which are susceptible to some kind of test.35

Worth's work36 in visual communication embraces many of the concerns expressed by the preceding authors. It is Worth's overriding conviction that visual communication, especially film, is a process and the application of a conceptual framework will separate the process into steps through which the communication takes place. Worth's communication model is a three stage process for sending (coding) and a three step (reverse order) process for receiving (decoding). The process of film communication begins with a Feeling-Concern (motivated to communicate to others). With the decision to communicate, a sender must develop a Story-Organism—an organic unit whose basic function is to provide a vehicle that will carry or embody the Feeling-Concern. It is the structuring of the constituent units through which, and within which, his Feeling-Concern is clarified, organized and brought to life so that it can be externalized and communicated. The final step is the Image-Event which is the sequence of signals that we call a film. The receiving process occurs in the reverse order (as a kind of mirror image of the sending process). The viewer first sees the Image-Event, and should the viewer choose to treat these signals as a message, he will first infer the Story-Organism from the sequenced Image-Event. He will become aware of the belief system of the film maker from the images he sees on the screen. From this awareness of the message he will, if the communication "works," be able to infer—to evoke in himself—the Feeling-Concern.
Although this model describes the process of film communication to Worth's satisfaction he realized that it did not explain it. In order to explain the process of visual communication what is needed is a deciphering of the Image-Event (what there is in the Image-Event) that allows or enables an individual to infer meaning from it—to recreate what was created; its properties, units, elements, and system of organization and structure that enable meaning to be inferred from a visual statement. Worth concludes that it is of heuristic value to inquire into film as if it were a language—a language of visual communication.

In a simplified form, Worth's visual language may be reduced to the following three concepts; Videme—a photographic image event that can be seen and that is accepted by viewers as something that represents the world. Cademe—or camera shot—is a continuous strip of film ranging in length from one frame to any number of frames. It can be defined operationally as the unit resulting from the moment of pushing the start button of a motion picture camera until the moment of pushing the stop button. Edeme—or editing shot—is formed from the Cademe by actually cutting the Cademe apart and removing those segments one does not wish to use. It is then possible to sequence those resultant Edemes in ways that are determined by the individual film maker, his communication needs, his particular culture, and his knowledge of the "language." The Edeme thus becomes the hypothesized basic element and building block of the language upon which all language operations are performed, and a basic image event from which all meaning is inferred. Besides these three syntactical structures Worth establishes five
parameters which are a starting point for describing the structural elements of a film language. These parameters are an Image in Motion over Time in Space with Sequence. Image, Time, Space, Motion = Videme. Any changes occurring in the above elements become part of the coding structure of cognitive "bits" that allow one to infer meaning from film.37

Although Worth is mainly interested in visual statements made on film his investigations have relevance for this present study chiefly in his investigation of symbolic means in structuring reality and the rules that govern the organization of that visual reality and the breadth and depth of his visual questioning. Worth's interest and research endeavors are summarized by his following questions:

How do people make inferences from film? Do they know the code? How does one describe it? Is it like a language? Do all people across cultures, language barriers, and social groupings use the same code? If not are there different codes used by different cultures? And most important for those who are involved in the process of education: How do people learn to make statements in film, and how to people learn to make inferences from film?38

A work which is germane to this present research is Davie's dissertation (1960).39 His thesis is an empirical study of the form and content of editorial cartoons found in the Sunday New York Times edition/n=308 on the Middle East controversy from July 1956 through June 1957. It is the authors contention that there is a need for form analysis to complement content analysis in the popular pictorial arts. As Davies states:

Form and content are functionally conceived categories whereby the one cannot have existence in communication without the other.40
Form and content, however, are not considered functional equivalents in the application of content analysis in communication. Davies provides an empirical study in order to test his hypothesis and methodological principles. Although Davies' complicated, and sometimes unclear, methodology and excessive infatuation with cultivating novel terminology clouds his work, he does succeed in presenting an alternative to standard content analysis in comprehending pictorial statements.

In a work which has methodological importance for the present study, Erving Goffman uses images as data for analysis rather than mere illustrations ("GenderAdvertisements"). All 500 of his advertisement pictures (data) are reprinted with his article for the reader to evaluate Goffman's (and the viewer's own) inferences of the data. (Goffman's work is further enunciated in Chapter Three.)

Cohn, in a work which connects experiences of popular culture to larger historical ideas, works directly with the Fourth of July theme and exhibits how the Fourth of July celebration was bonded and contributed to the development and idea of an America self-conscious of its community and history. As Cohn expresses it:

How did Mr. Everyman become an American citizen. In other words, how did one aspect of the American popular culture, in this case the Fourth of July ritual celebration, in a given time and place, contribute to the cohesiveness of the urban American community and to the development of the IDEA of the American nation?

The author, then, connects aspects of popular culture, in this case the Fourth of July celebration, with higher significant historical questions.

It is readily seen that although not a great accumulation of related literature abounds which is of a specific character to guide the
present research, that which exists is of an insightful, penetrating and exploratory nature and lays a firm foundation on which this study may build. It has also provided this researcher with a background, orientation, and relevant questions to consider in pursuing the present study. Without such an accumulation of literature and ideas from which to derive focus and draw lines of inquiry a study, such as the present one, would be greatly hindered in its conception, formation, and methodological conduct. The reviewed literature has greatly aided the formation and delineation of the following assumptions and hypotheses of the present study.

Some basic assumptions provide a foundation for this research:

1. Humans are symbolic manipulators. Humans structure their world and their reality symbolically. They rely upon it to think, derive and share meanings, and to communicate. As Gerbner observes, "Symbolic context gives an act its human significance. Meanings do not reside within people any more than breathing resides only in the lungs. Meanings are the product of an exchange between the brain and the symbolic environment, which is to the brain what air is to the lungs. The exchange is the reason one can say that although all organisms behave, only humans act. Action is behavior that derives its distinctively human meaning from the symbolic context in which it is embedded or to which it is related." 45

2. Symbols exist in many forms, including the primarily visual and the primarily verbal, and combination of these two.
3. Visual symbols are subject to some of the same form of analysis as verbal symbols, and also require somewhat different lines of inquiry than do verbal symbols. These lines of investigation are more holistic, contextual, and gestalt in nature. This configuration and organization calls for a different mode of analysis for visual symbols.

4. Cartoons, while not the only visual medium within which to work, lend themselves well to this present task. As more sophisticated visual research is developed and introduced into the field, new visual horizons will be opened for investigation.

   Although cartoons have been studied before the efforts have most always centered on content-analysis of their editorial comment or stance. This work differs in that it is intended to examine visual features of the cartoons themselves, specifically the development and use of themes and symbols. An important question to be asked is why some symbols continue to be utilized and others disappear. Through this analysis it is hoped that some relevant questions and answers will be provided that will help to develop a new rationale for understanding and exploring visual communication.

   Six working hypotheses guided the investigation of the cartoons.

   1. Themes exist in the Fourth of July cartoons which, while representing or reflecting the editorial position of the papers over time, are not innate structures but reflect extensive post-facto reasoning.
2. Some symbols used in the themes are dependent, initially, on time, place, and event for meaning but develop their own meaning over time and become independent of such constraints.

3. Flexibility, or the ability to be modified in some form, enhances a symbol's or set of symbols, utility in the visual language of the culture; and this, in turn, enhances the longevity of the symbol.

4. Historical visual symbols tend to foster emotional appeal over the logical mode of thinking.

5. Cartoons function as a means of social control within a society. By defining a situation they act as a visual force to conform individuals to that definition.

6. Cartoons, being one form of popular culture, are related to larger historical questions and concerns.

In the interest of clarity each of the working hypotheses will be examined and delineated in further detail.

1. The cartoons do not possess an inherent taxonomy or structure of their own but can be divided into a number of themes. These themes, in part, reflect the editorial stance of the newspapers and the thematic application of the researcher while reflecting social concerns and attitudes.

2. Initially the symbols appearing in the themes are tied to a particular time, place, and event for their comprehension. They need a temporal location and occurrence from which to derive identity and meaning. Expansion in meaning (meanings added on) can occur in visual symbols through time due to
continual use and conscious efforts by the image maker. The meanings of the original symbol is enlarged and made more abstract as "new" meanings are associated with it. Thus, due to these "shared cultural meanings" the original time, place, and event loses importance as a factor for identity and meaning.

3. The very ability for a symbol to be flexible enough to allow for modification of meaning will help preserve that symbol's utility in the visual language of the culture. Thusly, this increases the longevity of the symbol since the symbol is in constant use. It may be that symbols which are used often, and appear in many forms, are popular because they do allow for such flexibility of expression. Other symbols which are not amenable to such modification are discontinued and disappear.

4. Some historical visual symbols, due to the shared cultural meanings which are associated with them, carry a basic message (emotional) which, although modified, is never eliminated. Therefore symbols such as "Uncle Sam," "Liberty Bell," "Declaration of Independence," etc. embody emotional meaning that the visual statement is emotional (evaluative) in its appeal.

5. Cartoons, as an expression of an idea in symbolic form, is a molder of prejudice, fears, stereotypes, and propaganda. In this sense it functions as a mechanism of social control within society. It condones behavior which adheres to the
dominate social values and norms and ridicules and warns of behavior which deviates from the dominate perspective.

6. A study in popular culture can reveal popular attitudes which tell social scientists about social behavior as it relates to broader historical concerns and movements. Fourth of July cartoons are a form of popular culture which may be related to themes of larger concern.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I


6 The six corporations contacted were: Learning Corporation of America, Scholastic Social Studies Center, Current Affairs, Multicultural Multimedia Services, Pictura Films Distribution Corporation, and Documentary Photo Aids. Of the above companies, all of which deal in educational visual material, only Scholastic replied with a knowledgeable rejoinder concerning the subject and that was a copy of Dondis' bibliography from A Primer of Visual Literacy. The remainder of the responses were along the lines of the Learning Corporation of America which replied, "Unfortunately, 'Visual Thinking' is not, and never has been, one of our fortes."


13. The writer is aware that in practice, unfortunately, this is not the case. It still remains, however, the leading (preachment) ideology of the field.


17. Notable exceptions are: Peirce's Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs;" Mead's work on gestures in Mind, Self, & Society; Dewey's Art As Experience; and Dewey's letters, concerning visual perception to Adelbert Ames, Jr.


19. Ibid., pp. 5-18.


24. Ibid., p. 3.

26Ibid., p. 1.


29Ibid., p. 81.


31Pryluck and Snow's six types of information channels are: 1) audio-verbal, 2) video-verbal, 3) audio-nonverbal, 4) video-nonverbal, 5) audio-paraverbal, and 6) video-paraverbal.

32Pryluck and Snow, op. cit., p. 64.

33Ibid., pp. 71-72.


37Worth's scheme became very involved after this point and is only directly applicable to film which is of little relevance to this study.


40Ibid., p. 2.


42A more detailed review of Goffman's work appears in the beginning of the methodology chapter.

44 Ibid., p. 32.

CHAPTER II

THE CARTOON AS A MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION:
A HISTORICAL SKETCH

To comprehend the Fourth of July cartoon requires an understanding of the cartoon as an act of communication and American cartooning in general for they proceed from, and are a part of, the same historical forces and processes.

Pictorial communication has existed since prehistoric times. Numerous cave paintings and pictorial artifacts attest to this fact. The pictorial forms of communication have been a consistent occurrence in most civilizations be it the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt, the stain glass of the middle ages, or the schematic diagrams of our technological age. Its application has encompassed the ceremonial, the religious, the ideological, the mystical, and the technological. Regardless of its function within society, however, the image serves as a conveyer of information to its intended audience. Historically, the cartoon, in all its varied forms, has performed such functions in American society.

The cartoon, by being an art form as well as a mode of communication, is in essence, a special language committed to one form of communication. Dewey notes this when he says:

Because objects of art are expressive, they are a language. Rather they are many languages. For each art has its own medium and that medium is especially fitted for one kind
of communication. Each medium says something that cannot be uttered as well or as completely in any other tongue... In fact, each art speaks an idiom that conveys what cannot be said in another language and yet remains the same.\(^1\)

The special feature of the cartoon as a communicator is its ability to succinctly portray issues, events, attitudes, and opinions. With an economy of line and shadow it can reduce a situation, event, or conundrum to an understandable and even simplistic proportion and bring into focus deeper levels of insight and meaning. Bogardus refers to this potency as the "sociology of the cartoon."

The sociology of the cartoon is found in the way the cartoonist can convey in stimulating ways the deeper meanings of social situations, social injustices, or social trends extending over long periods of time. As a caricature, the cartoon can indict human weakness and evil more incisively than columns of editorials, months of sermons, or reams of social reform literature.\(^2\)

The cartoon is able, then, to condense a situation or occurrence into a relatively simple, yet comprehensible, visual statement. Albright captures this essence when he states, "The cartoon is simply a pictorial crystallization of a current thought."\(^3\) Bogardus likewise notes the emotional nature of cartoons as a human document.

The cartoon reflects human feelings and emotions. It catches what the personal interview and life history strives so hard to obtain. It shows at a glance how the 'dear public' feels when taken advantage of by large corporations or how parents feel when confronted by a concrete example of the revolt of youth. Even though crude as a drawing, the cartoon takes high rank as a basic human document.\(^4\)

An eager reading public wait daily for the cartoonists interpretation of current events which represents a main source of public information. Considerable influence is exerted by the cartoonist over public opinion through the persuasiveness of the cartoon whose
competence lies in its capacity to reduce complex issues to simplistic ones which convey all to the glancing eye. As Streicher notes:

Caricature for decades has also become for many newspapers and campaigns an important item. For the man in a rush or the reader of only the headlines or lead paragraphs the caricature is a way of catching at a glance the meaning of an event, a person in the news, or a pictorial summary of a current power constellation. 5

The cartoon is, thusly, able to modify popular thought through its presentation and evaluation of a person, thought, or event or, at the very least, to inform the reader of the current issues and topics.

If it is true, as Murrell claims, that "Laughter is the great Vinculum, the binder uniting the disparate elements of society by ridiculing the importance of their differences," then the cartoonist performs this social function well. The cartoonist is endowed with two techniques suited nicely to humor and the conveying of ideas—the cartoon and the caricature. While the cartoon, the more familiar of the two, evokes humor through comical episodes or exaggeration of situation, caricature elicits the same end through exaggeration, and thus ridicule, of an individuals deformities, peculiarities, idiosyncrasies of manner or prominent features. In attempting to define caricature, Perkins notes that:

It is deliberately inaccurate, yet the subject is often quite recognizable—perhaps more recognizable than in an accurate portrait or photograph. It lies about its subject's shape, but in doing so often comments delightfully on that shape. If conventional picturing is to be analyzed in terms of the picture conveying information to the viewer about the subject, then caricature is not strictly part of, but builds on, that convention, blending it to special purposes. 7

The two techniques, cartooning and caricature, can be, and usually are, combined in the same drawing. The historical roots of the term
cartoon are of Latin descent and exemplify the double parentage of the cartoon. Bogardus explains that although both are of Latin descent, one—Carta—refers to a rough drawing or sketch done prior to a painting, mosaic, or tapestry and was then transferred by the artist to the material for which it was designed. The other term, Carrus, means "car" or "overload" and later "overload or exaggeration" which developed into caricature. According to Bogardus:

A caricature, being a simple sketch on paper, naturally became known as a cartoon. The modern cartoon may be said to have taken on its present form at least a century ago, deriving its name from the ancient cartoon of the painters and frescoers and its function from the still more ancient function of the caricaturists.

Not surprisingly Europe was the home of the cartoon, at least in the form as we know it today. It was in Europe that the prerequisites of mass communication were met and enabled the pictorial forms of communication to arise on a large scale. Albig notes that, by 1750, in Europe, large publics emerged, the development of large scale communication (newspapers and periodicals and a literate public occurred), advancements in technology made possible duplication of pictorial reproductions, and the fashionable use of images became commonplace. The modern cartoon's birthplace was Holland, due mainly to the proliferation of printing which existed in this country, and it quickly travelled to England. Here William Hogarth (1697-1764) excelled as an eminent graphic satirist, followed by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and James Gillray (1757-1815) both of whom were noted cartoonists who reveled in the social and political issues of the day. In 1841 Punch was founded in London by Richard Doyle and gave much impetus to cartooning as it reproduced the drawings of John Leech
and John Tenniel. George DuMaurier is another notable English cartoonist, appearing somewhat later, whose lampooning of the "high born" and "social registry" was a ban to English high society.

France was not without her cartoonists, the most prominent being Charles Philipon—the "Father of comic journalism." Philipon is best remembered for his portrayal of Louis Philippe with a bulbous pear for a head. With the founding of a weekly magazine La Caricature, Philipon provided an outlet for French cartoonists of the era. Although this weekly was suppressed in 1834, Philipon established numerous journals to preserve satirical journalism. The most eminent contributor to Philipon's publications was Honore Daumier who was responsible for obliterating the barriers between serious and comic art.

The European tradition of cartooning found ready acceptance in America. Although cartoons appeared in England concerning trouble with the colonies, America's first cartoonist was Benjamin Franklin (also the first public figure lampooned by cartoons) who, to rally the colonies to unite against the French, published the famed "Join or Die" cartoon in his Pennsylvania Gazette on May 9, 1754. This cartoon depicted a snake cut into eight pieces labeled by the colonial divisions eligible to send delegates to the Albany Congress. The era of the American Revolution, fertile with controversy, produced some interesting cartooning (many by Paul Revere) and was sustained by the War of 1812. Most notable of this latter period was the work of William Charles, a Scotsman, whose cartoons dealt with the War of 1812. The "Era of Good Feeling" which followed, however, produced a dearth of the humorous drawings. By the 1820's personal caricatures
abated somewhat in America, although still popular in Europe. Geipel attributes this to the lack of a caricaturist of the stature of Gillay in America and that, "The founding fathers of the Union were evidently considered too sacrosanct to caricature..."19 Humorous drawings increased in the 1830's with a plethora of little pamphlets and broadsheets carrying a "course-grained humor." Such titles as Broad Grins, The Rip-snorter, and Whim-Whams, give a fair indication of the standard of humor contained.20 Jackson's political campaigns of 1828 and 1832, filled with name calling, abuse, and slander, provided much material for cartooning. Jackson, crude of figure and rugged manner, delighted the imagination of cartoonists. In fact, Jackson, along with the process of lithography, provided political cartooning with a much needed popularity.

For political cartoons to have mass appeal required two developments: a process that could cut the cost of production and a subject colorful enough to inspire broad interest and controversy. The election of 1828 produced both—lithography and Andrew Jackson.21

The two decades prior to the Civil War provided little political cartooning, concerning itself instead with fashions and social customs. The Civil War period was not as prolific in cartooning as would be imagined. It did produce, however, some stinging cartoons concerning enlistment, war profiteering, and camp conditions.22 This period is noted for the emergence of Thomas Nast who produced effective cartoons for the North. Lincoln is reputed to have said of Nast that he was "our best recruiting sergeant" for his work which aroused much needed support for the North.23 Although the South had a fine graphic propagandist in Dr. Adalbert J. Volck, who produced many pictorial
satires for the Confederacy, he paled in comparison to Nast. This marked the infancy of American graphic humor and after the Civil War numerous changes occurred which propelled American cartooning into a frenzy of activity and a mild transformation of style. Up to this point American cartooning derived its style from British techniques and were generally very crowded and the word balloons were squeezed in where room permitted—often lengthy and illegible. In general the format was messy and exhibited a glaring absence of clarity. *Puck* was established by Keppler in 1876 and was the "first weekly paper devoted to cartoons." This was followed by *Judge* a year later and *Life* in 1888. The cartoon had also been featured in periodicals such as *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's*, and *Vanity Fair*. This signaled the end of cartoons exclusively appearing as single lithograph sheets, broadsides and posters. They were now circulating via the mass media. As Shikes comments:

Although single lithographed sheets continued into the seventies, their popularity and influence were gradually usurped by graphic comment appearing in the new weekly magazines. The trend began in 1846 when *Yankee Doodle* magazine published a cartoon of political comment in every issue. Unlike the publishers of single sheets who would circulate caricatures on both sides of any issue, the magazines and their artists usually had a point of view and a particular frame of reference.

A number of technological advancements aided the reproduction of pictorial statements. As Davies observes:

There were several cumulative improvements in the techniques of pictorial reproduction affecting the cartoon which occurred during the last half of the 19th century. The use of wood cuts gave way to zincographs—line cuts etched by acid on zinc. Next came the photographic zinc plates and chalk plates, the latter a process whereby the artist drew directly on a chalk covered plate which
was then etched by acid. The invention which revolutionized American newspaper illustration was the half-tone photo-engraving process... \(^29\)

The half-tone process was speedy enough to enable newspapers to carry daily cartoons. Furnas explains the process and its subsequent newspaper impact as being:

...a photographic trick that made a photograph into a metal plate furred with dots in varying densities that printed off on paper a recognizable version of the original... At once the political cartoon, long the monopoly of the weeklies, was at home in the dailies, even on the front page... \(^30\)

The cartoon was also elaborated into a multi-panel unit and evolved into a series which were carried by the dailies. The style became seemingly simplified and, with the background fading out, less crowded. This evolution, it must be noted, covered many decades and did not transpire in a few short years.

The 1870’s witnessed Thomas Nast’s emergence as the most prominent American cartoonist. His attacks on the "Tweed Ring," printed in the Harper's Weekly, were so effective in arousing public opinion against "Tweed" that it is alleged that the "Tweed ring" offered Nast one hundred times the $8,000 he made per cartoon to cease. \(^31\) So relentless and vitriolic were Nast's pictorial comments that "Boss Tweed" himself is supposedly to have stated, "Let's stop them damned pictures, I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read; but damn it, they can see pictures." \(^32\)

Eventually the "Tweed Ring" was ousted and Nast was given the recognition of being one of the major forces in the "Rings" demise. Nast is also given credit for developing and popularizing numerous symbols; among them the Tammany Tiger, the Republican Elephant, the
Democratic Donkey (although this had been used earlier), the Square Cap of Labor, and the Rag Baby of Inflation.33

Besides Nast, the latter decades of the 19th century produced other notable cartoonists such as Keppler (referred to previously in connection with Puck), Gillam, H. L. Stephens and Opper. The years prior to 1900 were filled with cartoons lampooning "high society," urbanization, fashions, and social customs. Life is a reflection of such a trend.

While appreciably more decorous and less pungent that their counterparts in the longer established comic weeklies, the early Life cartoons afforded us a priceless glimpse into the social customs, prejudices and pretensions of late 19th century middle class America.34

The insurrection in Cuba and the eventual American involvement produced a heyday for American cartooning. This was spurred on by the "Great circulation war" between Pulitzer's New York World and Hearst's New York Journal. Cartoons played a part in both the American involvement and the circulation-building crusade.35

The early 1900's witnessed a change in the cartoon; a change away from the lighthearted reflections and toward social reform. Cartoonists such as Davenport, Opper, Campbell and DeMar lent their creative support to social reform and trust-busting. With the passing of the Spanish-American War the enthusiasm of the cartoonist was inherited by the trusts which felt their wrath. It was Davenport who developed the symbol of the trusts and depicted them as "that huge, overgrown, monstrosity of a man bulging in all directions."36 The political escapades, statements, and caricature of Theodore Roosevelt stimulated many cartoonists imagination and he was the inspiration for
some of their best work. John T. McCutcheon of the Chicago Tribune stated that Theodore Roosevelt was "an inexhaustible Golconda of inspiration for the cartoonist." The social reform cartoon continued well into the 20th century. Although it originally began as an outspoken criticism against the abuses of big business, corruption, and social injustices it was gradually transformed into a phenomenon of despair and pessimism. Art Young's "This World of Creepers" (1907) is an illustration of this trend in American cartooning. The cartoonists of this orientation attacked the "underlying theses of American society" and were a "crystallization of dissent and Bohemianism." The Masses, a socialist and pacifist periodical established about 1911, provided an outlet for this influential minority. The Masses could boast of contributors of the caliber of Young, Sloan, Bellows, Maurice Becker, and Robert Minor who were in the tradition of the "radical Europeans." The belligerent anti-war posture which this periodical assumed finally led to its suppression in 1917 by the U. S. government. It is interesting to note that a Bureau of Cartoons was established by the government in 1917 and suggested topics for cartoons. The Bureau published a weekly "Bulletin for Cartoons" which established for cartoons acceptable subjects and pictorial ideas for the war effort.

With the production of a cartoon a day the simplification of the cartoon continued. The lines became less complex and a tradition of symbolism, which Nast gave impetus to, continued to evolve. As Becker illustrates:
Symbols were essential to the new techniques. No artist
could conceive and execute a cartoon a day if he were
required also to create his own national mythology. But
when the donkey was instantly recognizable as the Demo-
cratic party, the artist's task was simplified. And the
lines could become fewer, bolder, less complex, more like
those of caricature, which is a useless technique unless
the subject of the drawing is generally known.\textsuperscript{41}

With the commencement in Europe of the First World War most car-
toonists, even with a strong isolationism element at home, were
advocates of American intervention on the side of England and to this
end they propagandized through their drawings. Louis Raemaekers, a
Dutchman, was during the First World War, the most significant artist
in American cartooning. His cartoons exhibited a hard hitting satire
directed at the German government and war machine. Hess and Kaplan
succinctly sum up the war-time career of this exceptional artist.

Clearly the most significant cartoonist in the American
Press during the war was not an American at all but a
Dutchman, Louis Raemaekers, whose work originally
appeared in the Amsterdam \textit{Telegraaf}. Before the war was
over, the German government had put a price on his head,
the Dutch government had prosecuted him for endangering
its neutrality (he was acquitted), and there was even a
report that the Germans had attempted to torpedo the ship
on which he left Holland for exile in England. Raemaekers'
pictures often combined a haunting beauty with a biting
satire. In the United States his cartoons were widely
reproduced through an uneasy agreement between the artist
and William Randolph Hearst.\textsuperscript{42}

After the First World War two constitutional amendments were
passed—the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments in 1919 and 1920
respectively. These two amendments, which outlawed the manufacturing
and sale of intoxicating beverages and extended the vote to women,
provided the cartoonist an inexhaustible supply of issues to satire
and lampoon.\textsuperscript{43} At about this same time the cartoon began to be
syndicated and by 1925 fifty organizations were offering, to the
newspapers, syndicated material. The New Yorker was launched in 1925 and set a precedent for much of the later American cartoons.

Urbanely witty, suavely satirical and replete with fashionable chit-chat, the New Yorker catered specifically for the intelligentsia, and its presentation and brand of whimsy were suitably sophisticated.

Cartoonists of the stature of Alfred Frueh, William Gropper, and later, James Thurber contributed to this periodical. The New Yorker's mainstay were the caricature and the gag panel and the New Yorker, Vanity Fair, and Time reflected the "happy" change for the next three decades in cartooning.

The depression of the 1930's brought with it not only economic chaos but a new president as well--Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal. Although a few cartoonists supported Roosevelt and the New Deal, the great majority were antagonistic towards it. F.D.R. captured much attention from cartoonists in this decade yet it was the President of the United Mine Workers--John Lewis--who was the cartoonists favorite. Like Theodore Roosevelt, Lewis had the physical features which fit themselves well to the artist's pen and he was invariably surrounded with controversy.

Prior to the Second World War Hitler and the events in Europe received only minor attention by American cartoonists due, most likely, to the wretched social-economic conditions at home. When Hitler did receive attention he was usually portrayed as a little comic figure and the mustached buffoon of Germany. With America's entry into the war the cartoon reflected the patriotic effort and the wholehearted commitment to victory. Mauldin's "Willie and Joe," two U.S. Army cartoon soldiers, was the best work of this time. "Willie and Joe"
presented the readers back home a front line interpretation of the war through the eyes of two foot soldiers.

The post war era gave rise to Herbert L. Block (Herblock) of the *Washington Post*. It is not an overstatement to say that Block was to McCarthy what Nast had been to Tweed. While most cartoonists preferred to ignore the junior senator from Wisconsin, Block tried to rally the nation to reason concerning McCarthy and his "witch hunt" for communists. Another favorite target of Block's was then Vice-President Richard M. Nixon. Later, when running for the presidency, Nixon is allegedly to have said, when discussing his campaign strategy, "I have to erase the Herblock image." Block continued to haunt Nixon up through the Watergate affair.

Surprisingly, due to the conservative bent of many newspaper editors and owners, the cartoonist have been forceful in their advocacy of Civil Rights. Baldowski (Baldy) of the *Atlanta Constitution* and Robert York of the Kentucky *Times* illustrates this commitment in the upper south and boarder states while Bill Mauldin and Jules Feiffer exhibited the same in northern states. The events, personalities and turmoil which encompassed the 1960's and 1970's provided much material for cartoonists. From the Vietnam war and President Johnson to Watergate and Nixon, the cartoonists of the American Press has been provided a political banquet upon which to feast. These last two decades have been a period of political cartoon revival of sorts and heavy experimentation. Hess and Kaplan explain these decades well.
The 1960's and '70's have been a period of considerable experimentation, perhaps unrivaled since the pre-World War I days of *The Masses*. There have been interesting efforts to deal differently with space, such as Haynie's distinctive "picture frames," which attempt to redefine or break out of the cartoon's normal boundaries. There has been the important proto-Victorian work of David Levine for the *New York Review of Books*, which has revived the caricature form. There has been Jerry Robinson's use of inanimate objects. There have been influences from other countries, notably Paul Szep's work, which comes out of the Canadian tradition of Duncan MacPherson. There has been the successful effort to loosen the stranglehold of the vertical format. There has been a return of political comment to the comic strips in the panels of Doonesbury. 50

As the complexity of the world increased the concomitant complex problems became more difficult to portray simply. The editorial cartoonist, especially, found himself thwarted by issues of war debts, inflation, balanced budget, and social change. It fell upon the cartoonist, increasingly, to make concrete the abstractness of national and global difficulties. That this has been handled better at certain times than others cannot be denied. However, an American cartoon tradition has been established and cartoonists such as Kirby, Duffy, McCutcheon, Herbert Block, Mauldin, Goldberg and (to mention only a few), most recently, Trudeau and Feiffer have carried that tradition to the present era. Editorial cartoons still flourish in every large newspaper and are complimented by the daily and Sunday "funnies" which, although germinating from the same tradition, have an existence of their own. Political cartooning in the American press has been a loose alliance from its inception in 1754 to the present day, between social, political, and economic events and the perception of same by the cartoonist. For close to ninety years they have
represented a formidable political force in American culture. As molders of public opinion and an avenue of information the cartoon has become a viable, and perhaps necessary, form of communication in the modern world. The Fourth of July cartoon fits nicely within this historical sketch of American cartooning for it exhibits the same duration, breadth, and themes, albeit only once a year, and is, in essence a microcosm of political cartooning in general.

Perhaps a word need be said here about the history of the Fourth of July and the cartoons which derived from this holiday. The date of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was widely celebrated in 1776 and subsequent years. This celebration took the guise of speeches, editorials, ceremonies, fireworks, festive activities, and other fanfare associated with the enunciation and remembrance of the patriotic event. Being perhaps the most dramatic single event in American history (and the inception of the nation) has ensured its longevity as the most cherished patriotic holiday.

Although celebrated as a patriotic holiday, the Fourth of July underwent transformations which removed it from the mere realm of sanctification into the sphere of socio-political affairs. During the first decade of the 20th century the Fourth of July reform movement sought to eliminate the conflicts and disintegrating sense of community in an America beset with dislocations caused by rapid industrialization, urbanization and a "steady stream of foreign immigration."51 The apprehensions of this spectrum of American society was coupled with the concerns over the large number of casualties caused by the indiscriminate use of fireworks and the
alarm over the lack of seriousness with which the general populace celebrated the "Fourth." The goal of this reform movement was the reformation of the Fourth of July through the control of fireworks and the emphases of patriotic inspiration. This goal would not only provide a safe and properly celebrated "Fourth," complete with a new found seriousness and patriotic zeal, but would also socialize foreigners and be a "means toward reaffirming our national purpose." 52 Cohn summarizes this reform ideology:

Those in the forefront of the Fourth of July reform in the first decade of the 20th century believed that further disintegration of community spirit presented an imminent danger to the nation as a whole. According to these reformers, the growth of large metropolitan cities, corruptly managed and filled with increasing numbers of immigrants, ignorant of and insensitive to American ways, threatened the foundations of American society. The effort to re-make the Fourth of July celebration, they insisted, was a movement deliberately shaped to provide a meaningful lesson in citizenship for those so recently arrived on American shores. When reform leaders spoke of 'Americanizing the Fourth,' what they really meant was the Americanization of the Immigrant. 53

While the concern and tension over immigration has diminished other movements to reestablish a renewal of patriotic memories connected to the "Fourth" have continued to the present era. This added dimension to the Fourth of July tradition of socio-political concerns has elevated this holiday above the affairs of other secular holidays as exemplars of American life and institutions. The Fourth of July cartoon has likewise reflected, not only the forms of holiday celebration and patriotic events, but the socio-political concerns as well. Being a national holiday involved with the occurrences and events which surrounded the revolutionary period while also reflecting current trends and thought has provided the
cartoonist with diverse and topical material with which to work. This diversity of thought and ideological perspective is evident throughout the long use of Fourth of July newspaper cartoons. The history of the Fourth of July and the history of American cartooning are thusly linked together through the cartoonist's use of revolutionary themes in the enunciation of a perspective concerning socio-political events and the American nation.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II


8 Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

9 Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

10 Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

11 Albig, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413.


13 Ibid., p. 24.

14 Ibid., pp. 27-28.

15 Ibid., p. 28.

17 Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.


19 Geipel, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

20 Ibid., p. 118.


22 Albig, *op. cit.*, p. 121.


24 Geipel, *op. cit.*, p. 121.


27 Albig, *op. cit.*, p. 419.


31 Albig, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

32 Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

33 Ibid., p. 42.


38 Becker, op. cit., p. 308.
39 Ibid., p. 309.
40 Hess and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 140.
41 Becker, op. cit., p. 302.
42 Hess and Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 137-140.
43 Ibid., p. 144.
44 Albig, op. cit., p. 420.
45 Geipel, op. cit., p. 126.
48 Ibid., p. 158.
49 Ibid., pp. 159-160.
50 Ibid., pp. 167-168.
52 Ibid., p. 171.
53 Ibid., p. 171.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES USED IN STUDY

Traditionally the field of visual communication research has been dominated by emphasis on content transmission. According to Berelson:

In the communication process a central position is occupied by the content. By communication content is meant that body of meanings through symbols (verbal, musical, pictorial, plastic, gestural) which makes up the communication itself. In the classic sentence identifying the process of communication—'who says what to whom, how, with what effect'—communication content is the what.¹

The usual methodology of such research has its bases in content-analysis. The purpose of content-analysis as a methodology in the analysis of communication content is to identify, isolate and quantify any aspect (content) of various communications. As Kerlinger observes:

Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner to measure variables. Most content analysis has not been done to measure variables, as such. Rather, it has been used to determine the relative emphasis or frequency of various communication phenomena; propaganda, trends, styles, changes in content, readability.²

Recently a few researchers have departed from the traditional mode of methodology in visual communication research and have posited a methodology that has, to date, a minimum amount of specific guidelines. Rather, one involves oneself in a promising area or topic, collects relevant data with little constraints on sampling, and makes inferences or hypotheses as the data warrants. This, obviously, is the polarity of the traditional visual communication research methodology which
stresses a systematic, quantitative mode of analysis. The writer will briefly present two studies illustrating each of these methodologies and then exhibit a third course which, he believes, is between these extremes.

A Traditional Mode of Analysis

An example of traditional visual communication research is Spiegelman, Terwilliger and Fearing, "The Content of Comic Strips: A Study of a Mass Media of Communication." In this work the authors intend to investigate the following questions concerning comic strips.

A. What situations are depicted?
B. How far do comic strips go in depicting "reality"?
C. How do comic strips depict ethnic groups?
D. What is the place and significance of animals in the comics?
E. What constitutes "the comic" in comic strips?

The sample for the study consisted of a three-week (January 1 to January 15, 1950) period and included the two syndicates which are responsible for almost all Sunday comic sections nationally. The total (N) was 52 comic strips. Definition of special terms were established.

The comic strips were systematically examined using content-analysis after categories were established (a pilot study was conducted a year earlier for the purpose of establishing categories, criteria for judgment, and sampling). Reliability was established for each category through a "method which provides that all judges, with equal training, make a series of dichotomous decisions for each category,
hence enabling the investigators to discover where agreement breaks
down."6 The findings (frequency of appearances) are recorded in table
fashion and the informative aspects are then gleaned. Some inferences
and hypotheses are derived from the content-analysis and tested against
the data. The generalizations gathered from the research are general-
izable to other comic strips, due to the random systematic sampling
and also to comic books since "comic books derive a considerable pro-
portion of their material from the strips...."7 The strength of this
study and methodology lies in its ability for replication.

This, obviously, is a very cursory outline of a study which rep-
resents the traditional methodology of visual communication research.
However, it is hoped that it depicts to the reader the general method-
ological mode.

Departure From Traditional Mode

Goffman's study, "Gender Advertisements,"8 exhibits a methodology
which departs from the traditional norm. Goffman's interest is in
social situations, social ceremony and basic social arrangements. He
transformed this into a study in gender through ads depicting the
rules which govern how women in advertisements are shown in relation
to men. This is done in order to show, as Worth puts it, "how our
society structures the concept of gender."9

Goffman immerses himself in an area he deems worthy of investiga-
tion, that of how advertising uses images to depict the positioning of
women versus men in "everyday life." He gathers five hundred pictorial
advertisements from the printed media (from whatever sources are con-
venient) and arranges them into themes. Themes emerge such as;
relative size, function ranking, the ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, nuzzling, etc. and all themes are accompanied by many pictorial advertisements. The accompanying of the pictorial data is necessary for Goffman's methodology ("pictorial pattern analysis") which points up one of the differences between his work and the traditional methodology. As he notes:

Different pictorial examples of a single theme bring different contextual backgrounds into the same array, highlighting untold disparities even while exhibiting the same design. It is the depth and breadth of these contextual differences which somehow provide a sense of structure, a sense of a single organization underlying mere surface differences, which sense is not generated simply by reference to the numerical size of the set relative to the size of the sample. Whereas in traditional methods the differences between items that are to be counted as instances of the same thing are an embarrassment, and are so in the degree of their difference, in pictorial pattern analysis the opposite is the case, the casting together of these apparent differences being what the analysis is all about.10

Goffman's methodology enables him to discern aspects of gender in advertising (and, according to Goffman, in real life) which may go unnoticed and, perhaps, not of the same rich "texture" if systematized under traditional methodology. The "ritual-like bits of behavior" which Goffman believes so characterize our existence may filter through, undetected, the net of "normative" methodology. Of course it is difficult to replicate Goffman's efforts because he does not specify how the categories evolved and his lack of a systematic random sample.

**Synthesizing the Two Modes**

In the present work this researcher intends to rely upon traditional modes of methodology where possible and depart where existing methodology does not guide the way. Utilizing differing methodology which, although not always of the traditional fabric, will enable this
study to, it is believed, gather the elusive texture and "bits of reality" which so characterize Goffman's work. In this manner this exploratory study will contribute to the growing body of research and sophistication of methodology in visual communication.

Given the lack of theoretical guidance in visual research, the methodology, as delineated here, is both exploratory and investigative in scope. The methodology is broken down into steps as followed by the researcher.

**Selection of Data**

The selection of data for this study was an outgrowth of a visual research project for which I served as a research assistant this past academic year. The research was a funded project by a grant from The Ohio State University to Timothy J. Curry (principle investigator). The project consisted of the gathering and visual analysis of Fourth of July cartoons for the time period 1870-1976 in five newspapers. This present research utilized some of the data obtained through the funded project.

The July fourth published newspaper cartoons were selected, as a mode of visual communication, for the following reasons:

1. The cartoons are a body of data which can be systematically collected—rigorous control can be exerted.
2. In relation to #1, the cartoon represents a resource which is highly available.
3. The cartoons represent one of the older forms of imagery and one that is, and has been, popular with the American public (it is well known).
4. The cartoon, once the jurisdiction of magazines and later (around 1870) of newspapers, has a wide circulation and reaches most of the populace (it is affordable).

5. The cartoon, while not a simple image, is still reasonably comprehensible in comparison to other visual statements.

6. Fourth of July cartoons are representative of national issues, trends, and symbols. Being born out of the American Revolution, perhaps the single most important social phenomena in United States history, they are a reflection of the nation's attitudes and involvements from inception to present day. As was discussed previously, the cartoon has been a popular American medium of communication beginning with Benjamin Franklin's "Join or Die" cartoon in the Pennsylvania Gazette in 1754. The cartoon is able to succinctly portray issues, events and develop symbols for identification and perpetuation of an idea, cause, or ideology. They are, in essence, a "bell weather" of social and political climate at a given point in time.

The newspapers selected for their Fourth of July cartoons were based on their (a) circulation, (b) geographical dispersion, (c) temporal longevity, and (d) availability to the researcher. The five newspapers selected for the study were the Chicago Tribune, Columbus Dispatch, Atlanta Constitution, Washington Post, and the New York Times. These newspapers have large circulations in urban areas in the Midwest, East, and the South.
Obtaining the Data

All newspapers except some decades of the Washington Post and most decades of the Columbus Dispatch were available in The Ohio State University's main library. The Columbus Dispatch was available in the Columbus Public Library (main branch) and the missing decades of the Washington Post were photographed at the University of Kentucky's library (Lexington). The cartoons, while being the total population for the five newspapers studied, are presumed to be an accurate sample for Fourth of July cartoons generally during this same time period. Although many cartoons without explicit Fourth of July themes appeared in the July fourth edition of the newspapers, only those with explicit "Fourth" themes were selected for the study. The criterion for the "weeding out" of cartoons with the explicit Fourth of July themes is given in Table 1. Also the total cartoon count and those with explicit Fourth of July themes are given for each paper in the same table. As Table 1 indicates, 355 out of 577 total cartoons exhibits the explicit Fourth of July themes. All photographs were copied off microfilm which gave rise to numerous mechanical problems due to the lighting, microfilm equipment and the condition of some of the microfilm. The lighting in The Ohio State's library was adjusted upon request. The microfilm collection is in a new addition of the library with many conditions conducive to microfilm use. This, however, was not the case in the other libraries and this added to the difficulties in photographing the data. The microfilm equipment varied enormously from place to place along with the quality of microfilm. The Ohio State library was the only library where the equipment was adequate,
TABLE 1

INCIDENTS OF CARTOONS IN FOURTH OF JULY EDITIONS OF FIVE NEWSPAPERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Cartoons In July Fourth Edition</th>
<th>Cartoons With Explicit Fourth of July Themes*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Criterion for the selection of Fourth of July cartoons:

1. Must appear in newspaper on July fourth.

2. Contain reference to the "Fourth" either through caption (written language), context (a visual message), or code (a separate visual symbol from context which may be relied on to communicate a particular kind of information).

3. When visual symbols are involved with the "Fourth" then the symbols must be tied directly to the "Fourth" as to make the connection explicit and leave little doubt in the viewer's mind of the association with the "Fourth."

4. In relation to number three above, the symbols (code) must not appear in isolation but amalgamated with content (context) commonly associated with the Fourth of July holiday or heritage. This amalgamation is necessary since symbols such as "Uncle Sam," "Flag," and "Patriot" appear in cartoons in different dimensions throughout the year.

5. A guiding question as to the appropriateness of the cartoons to the "Fourth" is; "Could this cartoon appear at other times of the year and be readily understood without any reference to the 'Fourth.'"

In this manner cartoons which appear in a particular paper on the "Fourth" (and often there is more than one cartoon per paper) can be systematically evaluated as to its Fourth of July content and reference. Cartoons relating to the "Fourth" were chosen for the study and those revealing no "Fourth" reference were excluded.
however, all the microfilm (regardless of the library) suffered from brittleness, scratches, breaks, improper winding, and often the microfilm copy was bent and unclear. In many cases the microfilm copy itself was poorly done and suffered from black splashes, improper focus, and fuzziness. The microfilm did not exhibit the uniformity of copy which is associated with most printed matter. The photographic equipment also presented some difficulties in that it was often difficult to match the camera mounting (tripod) with the exact angle of slant of the facing of the microfilm viewer with the resulting effect, in some instances, of an elongated image and poor focus. The centering of the cartoon in the viewfinder, coupled with the searching for the cartoon in a years worth (each roll) of the microfilm, had the combined consequence of eye strain, exhaustion and a loss of concentration on the task at hand. Regardless of the determination of the researcher only a few hours a session could be devoted to photographing the data.

It was found that photography is desirable over xeroxing for reproducing minute properties and characteristics. Photography has the added feature of producing a negative which can be enlarged to numerous sizes and the prints can be photographed and made into slides if desired. Xeroxing, while delivering a general image, was not clear nor precise enough in detail to warrant its use in this research. A Canon FL 35 mm camera with Kodak pan X film fitted with a macro lens was employed in the photography sessions. The macro lens enabled the close-up photographs to be taken while the Kodak pan X film enhanced a clear (not grainy) image to be reproduced with a minimum of light. The film was then developed and the researcher printed an enlarged (5" by 7") copy
of the cartoon on polycontrast paper. This paper was found to be desirable for this research since it enhances the black and white contrast of the cartoon (a number three filter was also used on the enlarger to aid this process) and the thickness of this paper eliminates the need for mounting. In this manner a visual file containing the complete data was obtained. In retrospect the outcome and clarity of the cartoons copied through this photographic process was much better than this researcher thought possible.

Identification and Analysis of Themes

In order to manipulate the data in a manner which would expose thematic trends and symbol use and patterns, the 5" by 7" prints of the cartoons were copied on slide film. This was easily accomplished through the aid of a copy stand and a print holder. Again the Canon Fl was utilized and the slide film was Kodak Ectachrome. Although the slide film was color film the developed slides were obviously black and white. Seemingly, although in this research it was of little consequence since the cartoons were black and white, black and white film is helpful (over color) for it dramatically exposes the basic essentials of the composition. With the transformation of the 5" by 7" prints into slides the visual pattern analysis table and portable slide sorter was utilized to sort, arrange and track the data.

A total of six themes or categories emerged with a miscellaneous category developed under which to fit cartoons which either made "no sense" to the researcher or did not fit the other themes. The development of themes was accomplished through inductive analysis (in an attempt to generate theory) after the researcher completely immersed
and involved himself in the data. This mode of research is well expressed by Glaser and Strauss.

Most writing on sociological method has been concerned with how accurate facts can be obtained and how theory can thereby be more rigorously tested. In this book we address ourselves to the equally important enterprise of how the discovery of theory from data—systematically obtained and analyzed in social research—can be furthered. We believe that the discovery of theory from data—which we call grounded theory—is a major task confronting sociology today, for, as we shall try to show, such a theory fits empirical situations and is understandable to sociologists and layman alike. Most important, it works—provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications.\(^\text{12}\)

The cartoons were sorted, re-sorted, arranged, and re-arranged in piles looking for like elements and themes. In this manner of sifting and sorting, the data itself determined the classifications. Although time consuming and necessitating extensive manipulation of the data, this was the only avenue for the researcher to pursue for inductively arrived at categories. This researcher did, however, superimpose upon the data a more parsimonious and compact structure than inductively arrived at for furtherance of category boundaries. Through inductive analysis, then, the cartoons were compiled into numerous categories with the researcher superimposing a more abstract structure under which to bring together the numerous themes. It should be noted, however, that discernable themes do exist and the researcher merely "tied" like elements together to form major themes and to foster clearer theme boundaries. The discernable themes which surfaced under analysis, seemingly, were the result of editorial policy of the various newspapers at a given point in time and/or the interpretations of social and political events by numerous cartoonists. It must be kept in
mind that this is ex post facto research and the themes which the data
dictated for the time period covered does not necessarily mean that they
will "fit" other visual data or cartoons of a different period.

Once the themes were identified and established, a visual-verbal
analysis of the themes was performed decade by decade. This analysis
illuminates the trend (by frequency) in a decade relative to other
decades. Also prominent sub-themes and their trends were exposed and
analyzed. These sub-themes are a part of the larger theme yet have
their own identity and visual pattern. The themes were analyzed by
decade (through all nine decades), frequency of use in each decade,
and by newspaper appearance for each of the nine decades for each of
the six themes. Included in this analysis is a frequency chart
portraying each theme by frequency of appearance through the nine
decades. This illustrates, in graphic detail, the frequency for each
theme by decade and was useful for comparison between themes. Three
themes which exhibited striking patterns of usage (rise and decline)
were compared to each other to ascertain the comparative dominance and
decline of frequency by decade. This explained some of the seemingly
unintelligible pattern distribution.

Symbol Identification and Tracking

Coinciding with the visual analysis of the themes was the identifi-
cation of frequently used symbols. Although numerous symbols
appeared in the 355 cartoons studied, only a few appeared in any great
frequency to warrant study. This researcher chose for analysis the
five leading symbols by frequency. These five symbols, in order of
frequency were: Uncle Sam (118); American Flag (79); Declaration of Independence (53); Numeral "4" (49); and the Liberty Bell (34). A break occurred between these five symbols in the frequency of use, and other symbols recorded (the next symbol had only twelve occurrences).

Each of the five chosen symbols were tracked through each of the nine decades to ascertain their frequency of appearance for each decade and for each newspaper. These were recorded along with the history of the symbol, the specific versus general use, and the association with the Fourth of July (contained in chapter five on symbol analysis). Also identified and analyzed were any visual alterations and modifications in the appearance of the symbol through time. If such modification of the symbol was noted then a check was performed to determine if there was an accompanying thematic shift along with the visual modification. This process of visual hermeneutics was applied to all five symbols to ascertain the symbols' frequency, thematic use, flexibility, and visual change. This, then, has direct bearing on the research hypotheses stated at the beginning of this study.

The symbol, after frequency and the presence or absence of visual modification was ascertained, was then divided among the six thematic uses. The positive or negative view of American life, history, and policy was disclosed by adding themes #1 and #2 together (positive) and combining themes #5 and #6 (negative). In this manner the negative and positive "weight" of each symbol was revealed. Also the neutral view (or informative view) of American life was ascertained by combining themes #3 and #4. This produced a neutral, or non-emotional value of the respective symbols. Again the frequency of use for each
symbol for each theme was noted as well as the modification of visual features of each symbol within the positive, negative, and neutral perspectives. By observing any visual changes in the content of the symbols origin, or whether the origin of the symbol remains, aided in determining the flexibility of the symbol and the accruement of shared cultural meanings.

**Implications and Discussion of Study and An Example of Visual Analysis**

The final step of the study consists of coalescing the major findings through the affirmation or negation of the six hypotheses. In this manner the attributes of historical symbols are delineated and established. The implication of these findings for sociology and social studies education are discussed in the light of their significance for visual research in sociology and the inclusion of the visual realm within the pragmatic tradition.

The dissatisfaction (negative view of current practices, action, and policy) concerns the disrespect and questioning of patriotism and the status quo view of American foreign policy. Considering the time (1966) and America's dubious presence in Vietnam coupled with a rising consciousness challenging dominant social values, fixes this particular Fourth of July cartoon in its proper perspective. The visual communicative properties of this cartoon are centered on the American Flag symbol which is the focal point of the cartoon and which is reaffirmed by the verbal caption "Flag waving is good exercise." Notice the comparison between the patriot who holds the symbol and the caricature labelled "The degenerate few." The patriot is
In order to provide more clarity in comprehending the process of visual analysis, a cartoon is presented and analyzed in accordance with the process (visual hermeneutics) that this researcher administered to the total cartoon population.

Paper: Chicago Tribune
Code Number: 0479
Date: July 4, 1966
Theme: Dissatisfaction (negative view) Theme #6
Symbol Studied: American Flag
Cartoonist: Parrish

**Figure 1**

**VISUAL HERMENEUTICS**
the scale upon which American values, independence, and freedom are weighed against the (degenerate) protester of such ideals. The protester, incidentally, pales in stature and manner to the patriot and is Bolshevistic in feature. Notice also the ease the patriot and flag have in handling the diminutive protester. "The degenerate few" implies the small yet dangerous social and political perspective held by the protester and those of like mind on this national issue. The protester is also being forced to come face to face with the symbol (American flag) of American ideals. From the investigation into the visual composition of the symbol (without knowing the date) it is easily ascertained that this is a later usage of the symbol because of the visual abridgement which did not occur until later decades. Seemingly this abridgement occurs through use and an ability to abstract the symbol (its entirety doesn't have to be visually portrayed for its symbolic weight to be present). The spacing is also interesting with a large berth for the displaying of its symbolic weight, to the flag. The patriot harken back recollections of the ideals and deeds of American forefathers. The protester, on the other hand, conveys the commonly held images of communists and radicals. These elements are, metaphorically speaking, likened to words and when taken together form a visual sentence communicating a social/political belief and position. Figure 1 illustrates the visual analysis process.

On the surface this cartoon contains a seemingly simple message which many viewers readily accept at face value. Through visual analysis, or visual hermeneutics, the subtle and complex manipulation of theme and symbol are disclosed while the ideas, social control
and underlying ideologies are brought to the surface. Visual hermeneutics may be compared to linguistic analysis and the reflective analysis of the verbal mode. It takes a statement and probes into its constituted parts to ascertain the form of its make-up, its programmatic position, and the communicative purpose. This, in turn, enables the viewer to make a critical analysis of the reasonableness and logic of the position portrayed. Without such visual analysis, one is ensnared in the pitfalls of propaganda, prejudice, vested interest, and faulty logic.

It is readily seen that visual statements, so analyzed, are exceedingly rich in information, relationships, and texture. One is tempted to say over rich for only a small portion of this data can be employed in a work of this scope. For this reason only the data that pertains to the working hypotheses will be pursued. It is nonetheless clear, however, that visual hermeneutics provides a process whereby a visual statement can be diluted into its constituent components thereby eliciting unnoticed and unrealized relationships, intentions, and thematic and symbolic interactions.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III


4 Ibid., p. 39.


11 The introduction to the theme chapter presents a more complete account of the theme development and an extensive synopses of the themes.


13 The researcher did not include fireworks among the listed symbols. The researcher did, however, examine all cartoons (over half the total) which contained fireworks, or a reference to fireworks, and could not ascertain a pattern or trend in usage. A case could, perhaps, be made for the inclusion of fireworks among listed symbols. For the purpose of this research, however, the inclusion of fireworks seemed to lend little to the study while introducing problems of time and logistics; for these reasons it was excluded.
CHAPTER IV

THE DISCOVERY, CONTENT, AND ANALYSIS OF SIX THEMES
IN THE FOURTH OF JULY CARTOONS

It is the intent of this chapter to communicate the development, content, and analysis of the themes. Also the "logic" of the existence of thematic trends and the process for determining same is examined. For if themes or thematic trends are present in the total cartoon population, then it follows that distinct categories or cluster of ideas are discernible from the whole. To test this hypothesis necessitates the dissolution of the entire cartoon population into themes. That is, if discernible themes exist, then they should be evident when all the cartoons are analyzed. Although sounding simplistic this process is quite difficult and time consuming due to the logistics involved with such a large number of cartoons and in keeping an eye to the economy of themes.

The visual file (of cartoons) was sorted, viewed, re-sorted and analyzed in an effort to ascertain general categories and their boundaries. Through this process of analytic induction the data determines the themes rather than being subsumed under a theoretical orientation. In such manner a number of themes or categories emerge through inductive analysis and a discernible rhythm of constructs (categories) became apparent. Although this researcher eventually concluded with six main themes plus a miscellaneous category, this
occurred through the superimposition of a larger abstraction under which to "fit" smaller themes. In essence, constant inductive analysis yielded numerous small themes which were then combined, by joining like elements together, to form six major categories. A miscellaneous category was employed in which to fit cartoons which were not subsumed under the six themes. In the interest of clarity each of the following themes will be examined, delineated, and brought into focus.

**Theme #1**

**Commemoration and defense of traditional values/beliefs, and patriotic events:** This category is inclusive of all cartoons which commemorate and/or celebrate and/or solemnize the basic institutions of American economic, political, and social life. This theme is portrayed as affirming the "American Creed" or the American "brand" of social ethics. This includes the freedoms; religion, liberty, individual choice, speech, as well as, racial tolerance, decision by common counsel, law and order, and the capability of individuals to determine their own destiny. In general, then, this category is very positive and fosters the glorification of American Democracy and the veneration of the American Dream.

**Theme #2**

**Celebration of wartime/military deeds and remorse over casualties:** This theme exhibits the valor and courage of the American soldier and the righteousness of his cause. The theme praises and pays homage to the members of the armed forces who fought and died in defense of country and independence. The military way is likewise solemnized
along with victories, weaponry, and army life. Like theme #1, this category is very positive in its view of American history and society. Although the relatively low total frequency of appearances (20) of this theme suggests its incorporation or merger with another theme (such as theme #1) this line of reasoning is negated by the uniqueness and distinctive style of theme #2. The distinctiveness and sharp demarcation from any other theme indicates a need for its inclusion into a separate enclave (theme).

**Theme #3**

Comical event(s) portraying the "Fourth": This theme compiles the cartoons which display humor in dealing with events associated with the Fourth of July. Traditional Fourth of July affairs and traditions are lampooned as well as the behavior of the populace, fireworks, and social/political customs. This category employs humor in its view of American life and, while not glorifying nor disapproving of the social system, is neutral in its view of American history and society.

**Theme #4**

Social/Political Issues: This category is more informative in function and disseminates information and controversy surrounding a present social or political issue. Involved in this category are cartoons dealing with a political person, place, or event, and a social attitude, concern or affair. This theme is neutral in that it is concerned with the delineation and dissemination of a political and social issue and not the glorification nor disapproval of said issue. The cartoons in this category are also divided into the sub-categories
of local, national, and international to determine the emphasis of locality.

**Theme #5**

Warnings of social/political/economic and holiday dangers:

Impending dangers to American democracy and way of life are exposed and the viewer informed of these threats. These dangers may be in the guise of social, political, or economic hazards and warnings concerning the dangers of fireworks, reckless and drunk driving. All cartoons in this warning classification exposes a real or imaginary threat (internal and external) to the established form of American government and economic system. Also within this theme are warning cartoons concerning the health and safety of the populace over fireworks and driving. Because of the impending social, political, and economic menace threatening America, this theme is considered negative in connotation (current thought and policies of the time are called into question since they pose a threat to America's safety and ideals).

**Theme #6**

Dissatisfaction with social, political and economic events: This category presents a lucid disapproval and opposition to current social, political, and economic events. The direction of current policies, social thought and actions have jeopardized the American form of government, free enterprise and social institutions. If current practices are continued, the "American way of life" is doomed. This is obviously a negative connotation of American society due to its
dissatisfaction and discontent with social, political, and economic actions.

Miscellaneous

All cartoons which "fit no other category were subsumed under this heading.

Numerous cartoons exhibited expressions or aspects of more than one theme. A theme, such as #4 (Social/political issues) could also contain aspects of theme #6 (Dissatisfaction with social/political/economic events) and a theme such as #3 (Comical events) could also contain aspects of theme #5 (Warnings). In most cartoons, however, one theme was more dominant than another and determined under what category it would be subsumed. The themes themselves are overlapping in the respect that they broach upon one another's territory and, in some cases, are not clearly delineated. If, however, the themes were consolidated further the result would be too large (and unwieldy) a category as to be meaningless. To separate the six themes into smaller themes would hamper the detection and location of trends due to the atomization of the data while violating the interest of parsimony. While seemingly, in some cases to overlap, each theme represents a coalescence of opinions, social thought, ideas, and beliefs which are presented in the cartoon population, and thus, each theme possesses a classification and "flavor" of its own.
Visual-Verbal Analysis of the Themes

Theme #1 - Commemoration and defense of traditional values/beliefs, and patriotic events

With an "N" of 104, the Commemoration theme is the most numerous. Figure 2 exhibits the dispersion of the 104 cartoons by decade and newspaper. The decade of the 1920's is the highest with 20 cartoons appearing in that decade. The 1950's and 1960's are likewise popular decades for the Commemoration theme posting 17 for each. The 1970's, however, may prove to be the largest for this theme with 13 appearances for just one half of a decade (through 1975). The popularity of this theme in the later decades is evidenced by the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's which are 17, 17, and 13 respectively. This is significantly above the mean of 11.5. The 1920's is the only other decade above the mean with 20 cartoons. The lowest decade in cartoon frequency is the 1910's (5), followed by the 1890's (6), 1900's (8), 1930's (9), and the 1940's (10).

Theme #1 exhibits two main trends which permeate the totality of the theme and two minor trends. Table 2 illustrates the dispersion of the major trend number one. As is easily seen, the latter three decades dominate this trend with 25 out of the total 41 cartoons. This trend occurs at least once in each of the nine decades presented in this study. This trend indicates that, perhaps, we are becoming more solemn in our celebration of the Fourth of July. Table 3 exhibits the dispersion of major trend two. As can be seen, the cartoons of this trend are more evenly distributed throughout the decades than the first trend. Also the latter three decades do not dominate the
Figure 2

FREQUENCY OF COMMEMORATION THEME #1 BY DECADE

N = 104
### TABLE 2
FREQUENCY OF THEME TREND NUMBER ONE* BY DECADE AND NEWSPAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Major trend: The solemn and reverend enunciation of traditional values/beliefs, and patriotic events.
### TABLE 3

**FREQUENCY OF THEME TREND NUMBER TWO* BY DECADE AND NEWSPAPER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>FREQUENCY BY DECADE</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890 1900 1910 1920</td>
<td>1930 1940 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>0 0 2 6 1 1 3 1 0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>1 1 1 0 1 1 1 0 2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>0 2 0 0 0 0 2 0 0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>2 1 0 1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0 0 0 1 1 0 0 1 3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 4 3 7 2 3 6 1 3</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Major trend: The reiteration of the traditional values/beliefs and patriotic events, however, in a more lighthearted manner.
distribution; the lighthearted manner runs throughout the nine decades. Again all the decades in this study are represented in this trend (32 cartoons).

The First Minor Trend concerns economic advancement of the American nation and its increasing prosperity and standard of living (8 cartoons). Six decades are encompassed in this trend and represents a contiguity throughout the theme. Although the number of occurrences is relatively low, its significance lies in its longevity—appearing first in 1895 and continuing sporadically through 1973.

The Second Minor Trend involves the tenets of American liberty, patriotism, freedom, and rights juxtaposed (in the same cartoon) against tyranny, global plotters, revolution and, especially, communism (15 cartoons). With the exception of one occurrence in 1934, this trend is restricted to the three decades beginning in 1940 and ending in 1969. Almost half occur in the 1960's which may be a reflection of the turmoil of that decade and the concomitant fear of alien forces eroding American "liberty." With the exception of four Chicago Tribune cartoons all occurrences are from the Columbus Dispatch.

Theme #2 - Celebration of wartime victory/military deeds and remorse over casualties:

With a total "N" of 26, theme #2 is the least numerous of all the themes. Figure 3 reflects the dispersion of the 26 cartoons by decade. As is readily seen, the decade of the 1940's is the highest in occurrences with 12 cartoons appearing in that decade. The 1910's is next in frequency of cartoons with 6, followed by the 1890's with 3. These are the only decades with frequencies above the mean of 2.8.
Figure 3

FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION OF WARTIME VICTORY/MILITARY DEEDS THEME #2 BY DECADE
No cartoon containing this theme appear in the 1900's with only one appearance occurring in the decades of the 1920's, 1930's, 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. The three peaks over the mean of 2.8 represent the decades of the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II. It is interesting to note the lack of this theme for the Korean and Vietnam War. (Korea is portrayed only once and Vietnam not at all.) Perhaps another theme, or set of themes, has taken over the "celebration" function after the decade of the 1940's. Also of note is the leveling off to one appearance for each of the latter three decades.

Theme #2 exhibits one main trend and one minor trend. Table 4 exhibits the dispersion of the main trend. As is very evident, this trend is prominent in the three (1890, 1910, 1940) decades in which the United States was engaged in war. Again, Korea is mentioned only once (1951) and Vietnam does not appear at all. With 14 appearances this trend contains over half of the total for the theme.

The Minor Trend exhibits the celebration of the valor and determination of the patriot (colonial) and the freedom winning American revolution. This trend covers five consecutive decades from 1911 through 1947 (exhibiting longevity) with a total of nine cartoons—five in the 1940's. Also of interest is that with the exception of two cartoons from the Columbus Dispatch all occurrences are from the Chicago Tribune.

Theme #3 - Comical events portraying the "Fourth"

Theme #3 has an "N" of 61 and the mean is 6.7. Figure 4 depicts the dispersion of the 61 cartoons throughout the nine decades. The
### TABLE 4

**FREQUENCY OF THEME TREND NUMBER ONE**

*BY DECADE AND NEWSPAPER*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>FREQUENCY BY DECADE</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL BY DECADE      | 2     | 0     | 3     | 0     | 0     | 8     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 14   |

*Major trend: American involvement in battles of freedom and participation in major military encounters since the revolution (this trend contains both solemn and light-hearted messages).*
Figure 4

FREQUENCY OF COMICAL THEME #3 BY DECADE
first five decades \(1890's\) through the \(1930's\) are all above the mean of 6.7. The latter four decades (1940's through 1975) fall below the mean. The decade of the 1920's is the highest in frequency of appearances with 15, followed by the 1900's with 13 cartoon appearances. It appears that in the latter four decades America has lost her sense of humor or that comical events are no longer a part of or associated with the Fourth of July. This lack of humorous cartoons reaches a low point in the 1950's and the first half of the 1970's with one occurrence each.

The depression is an easy explanation (although, perhaps not a total one) for the decline from a high of 15 in the 1920's to 7, still above the mean, in the 1930's. Yet the plummet of the next four decades is mysterious. Perhaps world events and military engagements transformed the recognition of the Fourth of July into other themes. Theme #3 exhibits one major trend and one minor trend. Table 5 exhibits the dispersion of the major trend. All but 4 of the 25 cartoons appear before the decade of the 1940's. This is in keeping with the overall pattern for this theme which, as mentioned before, is heavily weighted in favor of the early decades.

The Minor Trend depicts events and recreation associated with the "Fourth." This trend is also weighted in favor of the early decades, in fact, not one of the 16 cartoons appear from the latter 4 decades (1940's through 1975 which are all under the mean) while the first 5 decades (1890's through the 1930's) are all included in this trend.

Theme \#4 - Social/political issues

Theme #4 has an "N" of 57 and the mean is 6.2. Figure 5 depicts the dispersion of the 57 cartoons by decade. The decade of the 1930's
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>FREQUENCY BY DECADE</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Major trend: The humorous use of fireworks in the Fourth of July celebration and expression of patriotism.*
Figure 5

FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL/POLITICAL ISSUES THEME #4 BY DECADE

N = 56
contain the most occurrences of cartoons with 15 which is a little over one fourth of the total cartoon population for this theme. The decade of the 1920's is next highest in occurrences with 8, followed by the 1900's and 1910's with 7 each, and the 1940's with 6. Of interest are the decades of the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's which exhibit a cartoon count of 5, 3, and 0 (the low) respectively.

The economic and political conditions of the 1930's may have given rise to the numerous social and political issues of that decade, however, the decline in the latter three decades, containing their own political and social trauma remains a paradox. Perhaps other more pressing issues and themes explain the minute attention given this theme in the latter three decades. One major trend and two minor trends emerge from theme #4. Table 6 exhibits the dispersion of the major trend. Seven decades are represented in this trend of 17 cartoons with the decade of the 1930's dominating with six. Earlier decades are better represented than the later decades (after the 1930's) in this trend. The Washington Post dominates this trend with 12 appearances out of the total 17.

The Minor Trend number one exhibits the overriding concern with the two major political parties and elections (12 cartoons). This trend encompasses six decades with most (6) being contained in the decades of the 1920's and 1930's. It is interesting to note that all five newspapers are represented.

The Minor Trend number two concerns American international economic and political involvement (or mitigates against such involvement). Such topics as tariffs, trade, League of Nations, European
### TABLE 6

**FREQUENCY OF THEME TREND NUMBER ONE* BY DECADE AND NEWSPAPER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL BY DECADE    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 2    | 6    | 1    | 1    | 2    | 0    | 17            |

* Major trend: The presentation of domestic political/social issues such as unemployment, deficit spending, labor strikes, government spending, wages, and prohibition.
spending, are considered (14 cartoon). Although this trend involves five consecutive decades (1911-1953), most cartoons, 11 are centered in the decades of the 1910's and 1930's. Again, all five newspapers are represented.

'Also of interest is the total dispersion of political and social issues among local, national, and international levels: local - 3; national - 30; international - 24. Although the five newspapers represented in this study are from large urban areas, the small number of local issues dealt with is mystifying. This enigma looms even larger when one considers that many of these cartoons are from a period which was seemingly enraptured with local concerns over the larger scene. Part of the explanation may be that since the Fourth of July is a national holiday the scope of the cartoons in this theme is given a wider view. This may explain the low number of local issues and the high number of national concerns. Also, due to the nature of the theme (political and social issues), the involvement in foreign affairs would necessitate a great number of international orientated cartoons.

Theme #5 - Warning of social/political/economic and holiday dangers

Theme #5 has an "N" of 56 with the mean being 6.2. Figure 6 depicts the dispersion of the 56 cartoons by decade. The decade of the 1950's has the highest occurrence of cartoons with 15. This is almost double the frequency for the next highest, 8, which occurred in the decades of both the 1900's and the 1960's. The decade of the 1970's is the low point registering zero occurrences, with the 1890's being the next lowest with one cartoon appearance. The decade of
Figure 6

FREQUENCY OF WARNING THEME #5 BY DECADE
the 1910's have a frequency of 7, dipping to 6 for the 1930's and 1940's and 5 for the 1920's.

The perplexity in the total dispersion of the cartoons is the high frequency of appearances in the 1950's (15) followed by the low (0) in the 1970's. Thus, according to the Fourth of July cartoon dispersion, the 1950's were a time of danger to the "American way of life" while the 1970's and 1890's posed little threat to our established way of life. There seems to have been an "average" threat to America's safety and ideals between the 1900's and 1940's with these decades hovering close to the mean of 6.2. The jump in frequency for the 1950's must be examined more closely to ascertain the reason for the almost two-fold increase over the next highest decade. It must be kept in mind, also, that this category includes not only impending dangers to America's ideals and system of government but also holiday warnings concerning the dangers of fireworks, reckless and drunk driving. A closer examination, decade by decade, is needed to determine which manner of warning is indicated in each decade. Theme #5 displays one main trend and three minor trends. Table 7 exhibits the dispersion of the main trend. The 1938 "Evolution of the firecracker" cartoon is of significance and interest in this trend since it is the transformation point (evolution) between fireworks and reckless/drunk driving warnings. Warnings of the danger of fireworks (with the exception of W.P. 1844 1953) extend from 1896 to 1923, at this point reckless/drunk driving intercedes and these warnings extend from 1924 to 1969. The 1938 cartoon contains elements of each and demonstrates how the dangers inherent in fireworks have evolved to the more pressing
### Table 7

FREQUENCY OF THEME TRENDS ONE* BY YEAR AND NEWSPAPER

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**FIREWORKS**

**RECKLESS/DRUNK DRIVING**

C.T. = Chicago Tribune  
C.D. = Columbus Dispatch  
A.C. = Atlanta Constitution  
W.P. = Washington Post  
N.Y.T. = New York Times

* BOTH

C.D. 1938 "Evolution of the Firecracker"

Major trend: The concern with warnings of holiday dangers and casualties.

---

* Major trend: The concern with warnings of holiday dangers and casualties.
dangers of reckless/drunk driving. The rather clean break between the two types of warnings enhances the credibility of the 1938 cartoon.

The First Minor Theme concerns warnings of the dangers to America from without—such as fascism, communists, and world problems (14 cartoons). This trend encompasses six consecutive decades (1916 through 1969) containing 14 cartoons and is weighted towards the latter decades with 7 cartoons appearing in the 1950's and 1960's. The 1950's are well represented with 5 appearances and aid in the explanation of the high frequency of occurrences for the 1950's as a whole. Also, all five newspapers are represented in this trend.

The Second Minor Theme concerns the warnings of the dangers to America from enemies within—dangers of subversion, New Dealism, intolerance, violence, and encroachment on liberties (7 cartoons). This trend covers four decades and is dominated by the decade of the 1930's with four of the total seven cartoons. The trend's importance lies in its precision of topic and its relation to minor trend number one. Where minor trend number one warns of enemies without, minor trend number two warns of enemies within. Although the 1950's are well represented in the last minor trend (minor trend number one), it is only represented once (1950) in this domestic warning trend.

The Third Minor Trend concerns warnings of the dangers of foreign entanglements such as involvement in the United Nations, and general foreign influence (7 cartoons). Although only two decades in duration (1940 through 1954), it still represents a significant minor trend in the theme of warnings due to its precision of topic and clarity of meaning. The decade of the 1950's is dominant with 5
occurrences and helps shed light on the high overall occurrences of the 1950's in this theme. All occurrences in this trend are from the Chicago Tribune or the Columbus Dispatch.

Five of the fifteen cartoons appearing in the high decade of the 1950's were of the warning of fireworks or reckless/drunk driving variety. This indicates that two thirds of the cartoons appearing in this decade were of warning of a political/social/economic nature. Either the 1950's were a decade of immense dangers to American ideals or acute paranoia reigned.

Theme #6 - Dissatisfaction with social/political and economic events

Theme #6 has an "N" of 47 and the mean is 5.2. Figure 7 portrays the dispersion of the 47 cartoons over the nine decades. Two of the nine decades are on the mean (1910's and 1930's) with five occurrences apiece. The 1890's are low with zero followed by the 1900's with one appearance. The high in frequency is the 1960's with eleven followed by the 1950's with eight and the 1970's with six. According to the dispersion of the cartoons over the nine decades, as exhibited by Figure 7, the earliest two decades were very low in dissatisfaction while the latter three decades were high. The turmoil of the past few decades are still vived in recent memory and help explain the high dissatisfaction in these decades. It appears that the present period is a time of dissatisfaction and opposition to the direction that current policies and social thought and action have taken. It is interesting to note that the 1970's may, in fact, be the highest in dissatisfaction since it was third overall with six occurrences while only being recorded through one half a decade. Also of interest
Figure 7

FREQUENCY OF DISSATISFACTION THEME #6 BY DECADE
is the relatively low variation of dissatisfaction for the four decades beginning in the 1910's through the 1940's. Seemingly, dissatisfaction was at an even keel for these four consecutive decades. Theme #6 displays one major trend and two minor trends. Table 8 exhibits the dispersion of the major trend. Although seven decades are included in this trend of 21 cartoons, it is easily seen that the latter two decades (especially the 1960's) dominate. This, in part, explains the high overall frequency of occurrence for the 1960's. Almost one half (10) of the cartoons in this trend appeared in the Atlanta Constitution.

The First Minor Trend concerns the dissatisfaction with the populace's dependency on the American government for everything (6 cartoons). This trend has its origins in the decade of the 1950's and gains strength in the 1960's and on into the 1970's. Again the 1960's are prominently featured with half of the total. All cartoons appearing in this trend are from the Chicago Tribune except one (AC. 1950).

The Second Minor Trend concerns the dissatisfaction with foreign entanglements and American "meddling" abroad (8 cartoons). This is a recurring trend that covers four decades beginning in 1919 and sporadically continues through 1954 and conveniently skips the Second World War. All occurrences are from either the Chicago Tribune or the Columbus Dispatch. It is interesting to note that the 1960's are not represented in this trend even though that decade is the high for the theme.

Comparisons need to be made between certain themes in regard to their temporal location. The pattern and frequency of cartoons
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<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
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* Major trend: The dissatisfaction with America's spirit of patriotism, ideals, basic freedoms, ethics, and tolerance (the lack, or growing deficiency in these areas).
throughout the nine decades raises significant questions as to the
dominance and decline of specific themes. Consulting the six tables
of frequency, the incoherent, in some cases, pattern of cartoon distri-
bution becomes pronounced. In order to exemplify this unintelligibility
particular themes will be compared.

One of the most interesting comparisons is between Theme #3
(Comical "N" = 61) and Theme #6 (Dissatisfaction "N" = 47). Theme #3
is dominant through the first four decades (1890's through 1920's)
while Theme #6 is dominant in the latter four decades (1940's through
1970's). The decade of the 1930's is the pivotal point where Theme
#3 is on the decline and Theme #6 is on the ascend. Figure 8 suc-
cinctly presents this polarity of dominance. As delineated in Figure
8, dissatisfaction has superseded the humorous in the American cartoon
portrayal of the Fourth of July. Conceivably America has solemnized
its Fourth to such a sacrosanct degree that humor is no longer
relevant or that there are such pressing problems that the cartoonist
is forced to defer to them in his presentation of the "Fourth."

Although not presenting such a clear-cut contrast, Theme #3
(Comical "N" = 61) and Theme #1 (Commemoration "N" = 104) exemplifies
striking similarities and variance. For both themes the 1900's and
1920's represent peaks while the 1910's and 1930's are valleys. After
the 1930's Theme #1 continues to rise to another peak while Theme #3
plummets. Figure 9 illustrates the similarities and differences for
these two themes. The implication deduced from this comparison is
that while commemoration is a constant representation of the "Fourth,"
Figure 8

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCIES OF
THEME #3 WITH THEME #6

--- = Theme #3 (N = 61)
--- = Theme #6 (N = 47)
Figure 9

COMPARISON OF FREQUENCIES OF
THEME #1 WITH THEME #3

_ = Theme #1 (N = 104)
- - - = Theme #3 (N = 61)
the jocularity, while once robust in the presentation of the "Fourth," is greatly depleted.

By combining Theme #1 with Theme #2 and Theme #5 with Theme #6 the pattern of positive and negative views of American society, way of life, and history is discernible. As can be seen in Figure 10, the positive view of America reaches a peak in the 1920's and 1940's with the 1930's being a valley in between. The positive view tapers off at a high level in the 1950's and 1960's with a downward trend in the 1970's. The negative view, by contrast, develops slowly and accelerates in the 1900's and 1910's with a middle plateau for the three decades 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. The negative view soars in the 1950's, tailing off somewhat in the 1960's, and plummets in the 1970's. The positive view is the more stable of the two even though it, too, is erratic. The 1930's are a curious contrast with the negative view remaining constant (not rising during the depression as one might expect) while the positive (as expected) plunges. The 1940's mark the high point for the positive while the 1950's do the same for the negative. Of current interest is the way the negative has tumbled in the 1970's while the positive still remains high. It must be remembered that the 1970's are only one half of a decade (through 1975).

Summary

Distinct ideas or themes emerged from the cartoon data through inductive analysis. Although this researcher "tightened" the categories and to some extent determined the size and boundaries, the themes emerged from the data itself. A total of six themes emerged
Figure 10

Comparison of Frequencies of Themes #1 & #2 (Positive) with Themes #5 & #6 (Negative)
and a miscellaneous category was employed under which to fit data which was not subsumed under the other themes or which made "no sense" to the researcher. Within the six main themes trends emerged which reflected the dominated usage of the cartoons within the themes. The cartoons through its thematic and trend usage, as an aspect of popular culture, reflected larger historical movements and issues of American social history. It is this sense of purpose and causality which is of significance for this present work.

**Summary of Thematic Trends**

The decade of the 1890's is characterized by comical events and themes associated with Fourth of July behavior. The major emphasis, within this comical theme, is upon the humorous use of fireworks in celebration of the national holiday. The cartoons of the whole decade are reminiscent of the lightheartedness commonly associated with the "Gay '90's." Warnings and social dissatisfaction is extremely low and the only sobering reflection of social/political policy are the three cartoons celebrating America's involvement and victories in the Spanish-American War. Even the cartoons of the Commemoration Theme are lighthearted in appeal, soliciting the external demonstrations of America's freedom and prosperity. The 1900's are, in many respects, an extension of the 1890's. Holiday festivities and fireworks characterize the Comical Theme in this decade. The euphoria and lightheartedness which typify the 1890's is also evident in the 1900's. In place of the wartime theme, which is nonexistent in the 1900's, is the Warning Theme. This theme, which heavily populated the latter part of
the 1900's, is not concerned with social/political events but, rather, with the physical dangers inherent in fireworks. The warnings are those associated with the improper use of fireworks and the casualties due to this type of celebrating. The Social/Political Issues Theme is in evidence, yet not at its height, and is concerned with both national and international problems and events. Seemingly, America is becoming aware of its international prestige, involvement, and association. Although the Comical Theme continues to dominate in the 1910's, it is diminishing and other themes are becoming more assertive. The Comical Theme begins to move away from humorous episodes involving fireworks to more association with humorous holiday behavior involving typical vacation amusement (parades, picnics, sporting events, etc.). The celebration of wartime victory/military deeds theme reasserts itself during this decade celebrating, mainly, America's valor in the First World War. The Warning Theme continues and is split between warnings of the dangers of fireworks and foreign encroachment on liberty. Also continuing is the Social/Political Issues Theme which centers on international relations. The 1920's witnesses a resurgence of the Comical Theme to its highest point in all nine decades studied. Concomitant with the rise of the Comical Themes is the Commemoration Theme which reaches its zenith in this decade. Also the Social/Political Issues Theme continues to climb. The Comical Theme reverts to the humorous use of fireworks for most of the cartoons. The air of lightheartedness and carefree enjoyment of the "Fourth" which permeated the prior three decades is also found in the 1920's. The Commemoration Theme solemnizes America's past accomplishments and spirit of
patriotism. The Social/Political Issues Theme continues its presence in this decade and turns inward, away from the international concerns of the 1910's to domestic controversy.

The 1930's find the Social/Political Issues Theme at its apex and dominating the decade. Both the Comical and the Commemoration Themes have dropped significantly from their high in the 1920's. The majority of the social/political issues concern domestic problems of the depression (unemployment, discontent, New Dealism, strikes, etc.) while the remainder are involved with international events and personalities centered in Europe. The Comical and Commemoration Themes, although reduced drastically, are a continuation of the 1920's.

The decade of the 1940's is dominated by the Celebration of Wartime Victory/Deeds Theme. The Comical Theme all but disappears and the Social/Political Issues Theme drops significantly as does the Commemoration Theme. This marks the apex of the wartime theme for all nine decades and almost all of the cartoons reflect America's determination to defend her liberty and freedom in the Second World War. The Commemoration Theme is present but mostly after 1945 and reflects the renewed liberty and patriotism of the American populace. Dissatisfaction, which stayed constant for the last three decades (surprisingly so in the 1930's) begins to climb in the 1940's reflecting a dissatisfaction with America's foreign entanglements. The Warning Theme, although not rising and remaining fairly constant over the last three decades, warns of the dangers of foreign involvement.

The 1950's are characterized by the renewal of the Commemoration Theme, which dominates the decade, and the Warning Theme which reaches
its highest point in this decade. The Commemoration Theme solemnizes the American freedoms as enumerated by the Declaration of Independence and the "American way of life." The Warning Theme is overwhelmingly concerned with American security and the threat of communistic subversion of the American "ideals" of government. The remainder of the warnings concern the dangers of fireworks and reckless/drunk driving. The Dissatisfaction Theme continues its rise and exhibits the disenchantment with numerous aspects of American society and political policy including the liberal abuses of liberty (protests), dependency on government instead of individual dependency, and the lack of freedom in other countries. The rest of the themes are insignificant in the decade of the 1950's (technically a war decade with Korea, the Wartime Theme only reflects it once).

The thematic trend of the 1950's flows over into the decade of the 1960's with the Commemoration Theme dominating. The Dissatisfaction Theme reaches its high point in this decade and the presence of the Warning Theme, although dropping, is still felt. The Commemoration Theme is a continuation of the 1950's concerning itself with the affirmation of America's liberty and rights of freedom and being the light of democracy in the dark world of totalitarianism. The Dissatisfaction Theme is in striking contrast to that of the Commemoration Theme centering its discontent over the misuse of American freedoms such as protests, sit-ins, unpatriotic attitudes, questioning of government policy, and the growing dependency on government instead of individual resourcefulness. The Warning Theme, which is the only other theme of consequence in this decade, illustrates the possible
dangers of a too liberal governmental domestic policy, subversion from without and within, and the pitfalls of drunk/reckless driving.

The 1960's continue into the first half of the decade of the 1970's with the Commemoration Theme dominating followed by the Dissatisfaction Theme. Both of these themes have fallen since the 1960's yet are the only two significant categories in this decade. The Commemoration Theme continues its tradition of solemnization and glorification of the American "way of life," values and basic freedoms. The patriotic event which is viewed as the cornerstone of these freedoms is July Fourth and the Declaration of Independence. The Dissatisfaction Theme is concerned with social injustices and inequalities, the "counter culture," and the growing dependency on government for everything.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF FIVE SPECIFIC SYMBOLS
THROUGH NINE DECADES

Guidelines for Symbol Analysis

The interest of clarity dictates that certain methodological procedures be outlined so as to regularize the process of visual hermeneutics in the examination of symbol usage. The following topics suggest themselves as guidelines for symbol investigation.

Historical origins. Is the symbol tied to a historical event or series of events and/or Fourth of July attachments (how did the symbol become associated with the Fourth, if at all)? Also included is a historical outline of the symbol's emergence.

Local versus national recognition. Is the symbol in use of a local origin or is it national (in recognition), and is the meaning derived of a local or national character?

Is symbol specific (referent) or abstract. Is the symbol tied to a historical event or referent, or has the meaning been extended beyond one specific event?

Distribution of symbol by decade and newspaper. The distribution of the symbol by both decade and newspaper is presented for each symbol in a table format. Also, any regularity (or irregularity) is noted and analyzed for pattern formation.

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Visual alterations through time. Is the symbol susceptible to visual changes (how symbol is visually portrayed) through time? If so what alterations and differences accrued, and are the changes related to thematic usage.

Is symbol usage influenced by theme. If the symbol is influenced by theme, which theme and to what extent. And conversely, which themes exercise little or no influence over the symbol.

Uncle Sam Symbol

Historical Origins. Although shrouded in mystery as to the exact details and sequence of events, the popular Uncle Sam symbol originated as an out-growth of Sam Wilson, a local entrepreneur and federal inspector of army provisions for the New York area. Sam Wilson, or Uncle Sam Wilson as he was known to identify him from younger relatives with the same name, carried on a lucrative business in meat, bricks, whiskey and other goods around the Troy, New York area. The Uncle Sam caricature, so legend has it, developed from an incident, or series of incidents, in October, 1812 in which a curious visiting official (some say it was a factory workman) inspecting one of Wilson's meat packing plants inquired why all the barrels were marked U.S. (in actuality the barrels were marked E.A.U.S.—E.A. standing for Elbert Anderson an Army contractor).¹ An employee of the plant informed the official that the U.S. was short for Uncle Sam Wilson (it, of course, stood for the United States which was purchasing the meat goods for the army). Many were amused by the workman's explanation and the story spread.² Later this story was published in the May 12, 1830 issue of the New York Gazette and General
Advertiser. Regardless of the exact nature of occurrences that led to the use of Uncle Sam and the pursuant character, the troops in the Troy-Albany area of New York were the first to make use of the expression "Uncle Sam." They referred to everything received as Uncle Sam's and Uncle Sam was viewed as the caretaker of the army. As Murrell explains:

When army supplies packed and shipped by Samuel Wilson (who was familiarly known as Uncle Sam Wilson) were stamped "U.S." it got about among the soldiers that Uncle Sam was feeding and taking care of his army. And from that time on Uncle Sam was understood to represent the head of the collective American households.

The caricature of Uncle Sam, however, was not patterned after the Uncle Sam Wilson of Troy. The caricature of Uncle Sam as we know it seems to have been the composite of cartoonists imagination. As Krythe explains:

Historians have never been able to locate a picture of Uncle Sam Wilson. During the 1930's a W.P.A. project tried to discover such a likeness, but the search was not successful. A great-nephew, Lucius E. Wilson of New York, when asked what his uncle really looked like, stated that Sam Wilson in form and carriage greatly resembled Abraham Lincoln. Uncle Sam was also described as "large, well-proportioned and clean-shaven, in appearance he did not resemble the usual caricatures of Uncle Sam."

Uncle Sam first appeared in a lithograph cartoon in 1832 entitled "Uncle Sam in Danger." The costume that is generally associated with Uncle Sam was bequeathed by former cartoon characters and an accruement of imagination by such cartoonists as Frank Bellow and Thomas Nast. Perhaps the best remembered caricature of Uncle Sam is the "I Want You For The U.S. Army" World War I recruiting poster.

The Uncle Sam caricature as representing the American government did not evolve on its own, rather the role was bequeathed to Uncle
Sam—along with the costume—from two previous symbols, Yankee Doodle and Brother Jonathan. The Yankee Doodle of Revolutionary fame never caught on in cartooning but its immediate descendent, Brother Jonathan, did. Brother Jonathan typified the American people rather than government and he was popular for approximately forty years beginning prior to the War of 1812. Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan appeared in the same cartoon around 1832 in which Uncle Sam represented the government and Brother Jonathan the American people. The Uncle Sam symbol replaced the other two owning, in part, to the fact that it was more relevant to the issues and times, and, as Krythe states:

The idea of Uncle Sam, the genial farm boy who became successful, fitted the heroic mold of the newly created United States.

The Uncle Sam symbol has continued to be popular and understood as personifying the American government. The 4th of July brought into being not only the American government but the Uncle Sam symbol which represents that government—herein lies its association with the Fourth.

Local versus national recognition. The Uncle Sam is a national symbol in recognition and meaning. Uncle Sam, representing the American government, is the symbol of this national government.

Specific versus Abstract. The Uncle Sam symbol is abstract in that it is not a concrete entity in and of itself but refers to the American government and the abstract qualities and notions of this concept.

Distribution of symbol by decade and newspaper. The distribution by decade of Uncle Sam discloses that the usage centers on three decades of the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's with 19, 20, and 15 occurrences respectively. These three decades account for 54 out of a total of 118
occurrences. The Uncle Sam usage, as Table 9 indicates, started slow, peaked in the three decades previously indicated and declined in the last (1960's and 1970's) two decades. The symbol was well represented and consistently used in all nine decades, beginning with its first appearance in 1895 in the Washington Post and appearing in every decade through 1975.

The distribution by newspaper of the Uncle Sam symbol reveals that the Chicago Tribune is highest in frequency of use with 40, followed closely by the Columbus Dispatch with 36. These two papers dominate the distribution with a combined frequency of 76 out of a total of 118 occurrences. The leaders of each decade shift among the papers (with the exception of the New York Times which does not lead in any decade) with the Chicago Tribune being dominate in four decades, the Columbus Dispatch and Washington Post in two decades, and the Atlanta Constitution in one decade. The Chicago Tribune, seemingly, peaked in the middle three decades (1920's through 1940's) while the Columbus Dispatch reached its apex in the latter five decades (1930's through 1970's). The Washington Post exhibited an interesting dispersion in that it began with a high frequency of occurrences, laid dormant in the middle decades, and then exhibited a high frequency in the later decades. An interesting distribution of symbol use is found in the Atlanta Constitution which produced either one or four occurrences for every decade from the 1890's through the 1940's and then exhibited only one more symbol use through 1975. The New York Times displayed only three symbol uses for the nine decades.
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Visual alterations through time. Since the 1890's Uncle Sam has been portrayed in numerous structural poses. The structural and natural features have been enunciated since the early appearances of the symbol. He has been structurally portrayed in differing sizes, ages, dress, situations, and facial characteristics. A slow visual alteration is noted, however, through the nine decades. From 1895 through the 1920's Uncle Sam is habitually portrayed as smiling/grinning and engaging in lighthearted events and depicting a gladden spirit. Twenty-six of the forty-two cartoons for this time span are of this sort. The remaining sixteen cartoons depict Uncle Sam as a grim, tight-lipped character engaged in a variety of momentous and solemn duties demonstrating both a resolute will and a self-importance. The 1930's to the 1950's is a transition time zone between these two contrary symbol depictions. Out of the 39 cartoons in this era, 19 portray a smiling/grinning Uncle Sam while 20 portray a tight-lipped serious Uncle Sam. In the period from 1950 through 1975, Uncle Sam was depicted as a fun loving, grinning/smiling symbol only 9 out of 37 appearances. The remaining 28 Uncle Sams are tight-lipped and serious. The last 25 years have portrayed Uncle Sam as a solemn, humorless, self-important symbol in action and expression. This is in great contrast to the earlier depiction of Uncle Sam which was happy, fun loving, smiling and lighthearted.

Figure 11 illustrates this contrast in the visual alteration of the Uncle Sam symbol.
ANOTHER DECLARATION FOR AMERICANS

I PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND TO THE REPUBLIC FOR WHICH IT STANDS, ONE NATION UNDER GOD, INDIVISIBLE, WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

Chicago Tribune 1924

HIS BIRTHDAY CAKE

U.S.
THE MOST
AND THE
BEST OF ALL
EVERYTHING
IN THE WORLD

Chicago Tribune 1968

Figure 11

ILLUSTRATION OF THE EARLY AND LATER DEPICTION OF THE UNCLE SAM SYMBOL
Distribution and influence of symbol by theme. Theme #1, the Commemoration theme, controls the usage of Uncle Sam.

TABLE 10

THEMATIC USE OF THE UNCLE SAM SYMBOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL FREQUENCY</th>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
<th>#6</th>
<th>MISC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL = 118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 10 denotes, Uncle Sam seems pliant to the Commemoration theme with 48 occurrences. Theme #4, the Political/Social Issues, is second in total frequency of appearances with 27. Seemingly Uncle Sam is convenient for making visual statements about national and international issues. In no other symbol is theme #4 represented so robustly. It is interesting that 17 of the total 27 occurrences for theme #4 were in the three decades 1910's, 1920's, 1930's and that after 1953 Uncle Sam does not appear in this theme. Theme #2, Celebration of Wartime Victory/Military Deeds, is comparatively low with only 8 occurrences—6 of these occurring in the decade of the 1940's. Theme #3, the Comical, is of interest in that it is only used once (1896) with Uncle Sam. Although Uncle Sam is obviously not amenable to such a theme (with only one appearance) it presents an enigma for he is often portrayed in comical stances, expressions and roles. The Warning theme (#5) has 16 occurrences with 14 occurring in the four decades 1930's through the 1960's—only two occurrences appear before these decades. The Dissatisfaction theme (#6) has 7 of its 17 occurrences in the two decades of the 1930's and 1940's and is consistent from the 1900's through the 1970's.
If themes #1 and #2 are combined on the positive side (view of American society) with a total of 56 and themes #5 and #6 combined on the negative view with a total of 33, it is readily perceivable that Uncle Sam is used in an overpoweringly positive manner in the newspapers studied.

Summary. The Chicago Tribune and Columbus Dispatch monopolized the use of Uncle Sam among the newspapers with a combined total of 76 out of the total 118 appearances. The Uncle Sam symbol is used in a positive manner in the view of American life. The symbol is also amenable to the Political/Social Issues theme, perhaps due to its convenient identification of Uncle Sam with the American government.

Another engrossing facet of the thematic make-up of the symbol's usage is that, while Uncle Sam may be humorous in conduct or dress, the cartoon (as a complete entity) only appears in the Comical theme once and that was in the 1890's. Apparently a cartoon containing the Uncle Sam symbol either doesn't accommodate itself well to comical themes or is too sacrosanct a symbol to be identified with such a theme.

The Uncle Sam utilization is heaviest in the three decades of the 1930's through the 1950's with a combined total of 54 occurrences. The visual hermeneutics applied to the Uncle Sam symbol produced one prominent visual alteration throughout the nine decades. That being the change away from the dominately smiling/grinning lighthearted Uncle Sam in the early years to a grim faced, self-important, solemn Uncle Sam in the later decades. It is possible that this represents the change of mood in a nation as it experienced difficulties, new responsibilities, and world leadership and/or the increased sensing of Uncle Sam as a
governmental symbol for lending guidance and morality for the general populace. In any case, Uncle Sam has proved to be an enduring and flexible symbol for the cartoonists use.

**American Flag Symbol**

**Historical origins.** Referred to by numerous names such as "old glory," "the stars and bars," "the colors," "the star-spangled banner," and "the red, white, and blue," the American flag is one of the oldest national ensigns in existence. It dates back to June 14, 1776 (when it was adopted), and ever since then June 14 has been celebrated as Flag Day—being first proclaimed so by President Wilson in 1916.\(^\text{13}\) Prior to its adoption, the rebelling colonists had no common flag with each colony or volunteer unit possessing their own individual ensigns. The need for a common flag uniting all the individual colonies was readily recognized by the Continental Congress. This concern was discussed with Washington by a committee, headed by Benjamin Franklin, in 1775 at Cambridge when they conferred about the general organization of the new army.\(^\text{14}\) On January 1, 1776, coinciding with the induction of the volunteer militia into members of the troops of the Continental Congress, a flag—the Grand Union—was hoisted atop a mast on Prospect Hill, Somerville, near Boston.\(^\text{15}\) This ensign was adopted as the official flag although a variety of flags and banners continued in use. The Grand Union was clear in meaning having thirteen stripes for the states and a blue canton with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew (the rectangle in the corner) indicating the close relationship with the mother country.\(^\text{16}\) With the irrevocable separation from England, the
canton was changed to a blue field (rectangle) containing thirteen white stars—one for each state. Although this flag was adopted by Congress on June 14, 1776, through an oversight the Congress did not specify the arrangement of the stars on the blue field leading to numerous arrangements of stars on early flags.\textsuperscript{17} Shortly after the adoption of this flag, Congress passed a resolution that each time a new state was added the flag would reflect this addition with a new stripe and a new star—such was the case with the statehood of Vermont (1791) and Kentucky (1792). This flag of fifteen stripes and fifteen stars served for twenty-three years.

With the profusion of territories clamoring for statehood it was soon realized that the addition of a stripe and star for each new state would produce a national banner too cumbersome. Congress changed the law on April 4, 1818 resorting back to the original thirteen stripes (alternate red and white) and a star for every state. Also "that on the admission of every new state in the Union, one star be added to the Union of the flag; and that such addition shall take effect on the Fourth of July next succeeding such admission."\textsuperscript{18} This law has been dutifully followed and the "National Banner" now boasts fifty stars.

\textbf{Local versus national recognition.} The American flag developed as a national ensign, a national symbol uniting and identifying America. Due to its historical origins, then, the American flag is both national in derivation and recognition. Its association with the "Fourth" lies in being a creation of the Revolution War and the surrounding events. The flag is further tied to the Fourth of July through congressional
resolutions and laws with statehood and the corresponding flag alteration being accomplished on the "Fourth."

Specific versus abstract. The flag is abstract in that it is an emblem of unity and identity. It represents the inherent abstract qualities of such an emblem among which are freedom, independence, and liberty.

Distribution of symbol by decade and newspaper. The American flag symbol is fairly evenly distributed throughout the nine decades with the exception of the decades of the 1960's (with a high of 14) and the 1950's and the 1920's which are second highest in frequency with 11. The distribution, as illustrated in Table 11, is highest between 1950 and 1970 with 25 occurrences for the combined two decades. The significant point is, however, that each decade is well represented with the American flag.

The distribution by paper of the American flag is more revealing. The \textit{Chicago Tribune} dominates the distribution with over half (40 of the 79) of the occurrences. The \textit{Chicago Tribune} has used this symbol at least once in every decade and was the first paper to employ the American flag in the Fourth of July cartoon, doing so in 1894. The \textit{Chicago Tribune} dominates every decade in frequency except for the 1900's, the 1950's, and the 1930's (tied with the \textit{Columbus Dispatch}). The \textit{Columbus Dispatch} is next in frequency with 19 occurrences followed by the \textit{Atlanta Constitution} with 11, the \textit{Washington Post} with 8, and the \textit{New York Times} with only one occurrence. Of interest in the newspaper distribution is the pattern of the \textit{Washington Post} in which the American flag is represented in four out of the first five decades but doesn't
TABLE 11
DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG SYMBOL BY DECADE AND PAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>FREQUENCY BY DECADE</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
appear after that time (after the 1930's). Of similar interest is the *Atlanta Constitution* in which the American flag is represented in the first two decades, absent in the next three (1910's, 1920's, 1930's) and reappears for the latter four decades (1940's through 1970's).

The distribution by paper of the American flag indicates that the *Chicago Tribune* is the main employer of this symbol and has been consistent with its use over the nine decades. No other paper exhibits this constant implementation of the American flag in the Fourth of July cartoons and no other paper uses it with the frequency of the *Chicago Tribune*. A few papers use it sparingly and at differing intervals while the *New York Times* uses it only once.

**Visual alterations through time.** From the very beginning the American flag is portrayed in numerous structural poses. Its structural and natural features have been enunciated since the 1890's. It has been structurally portrayed as furled, unfurled, elongated, tattered, hung, held, and draped. Some visual alterations, however, have appeared over the course of the nine decades. From 1894 to 1920 (24 occurrences) the American flag, with one exception, is shown in its entirety. Beginning in 1920 the American flag is often only partially shown and is often portrayed in a fragmented fashion. This abridgement of the American flag continues and from the 1940's on it becomes the rule, rather than the exception, that the flag be only partially shown. Out of 38 appearances from 1940 through 1975 the American flag is shown partially 22 times while appearing in its entirety only 16 times. The American flag also possesses natural features that are easily expanded and played upon. The flag is an open area upon which letters
and words may be attached to specify, and to add meaning to the cartoon
(not unlike a blackboard), as well as providing a tasteful background
for the cartoon—both of these phenomena occurring after the mid-1930's.
Figure 12 demonstrates the early usage of the American flag in its
entirety and the later abridged usage of the flag.

**Distribution and influence of symbol by theme.** Theme #1 dominates
the usage of the American flag (over half being subsumed under that
category).

**TABLE 12**

**THEMATIC USE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG SYMBOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL</th>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
<th>#6</th>
<th>MISC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FREQUENCY</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 TOTAL = 79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 12 indicates the American flag seems amenable to the Commemora-
tion theme. If, for heuristic purposes, themes #1 and #2 are united on
the positive side (total = 48), and themes #5 and #6 are combined on the
negative side (total = 18), it easily establishes the positive usage of
the American flag symbol in the newspapers studied. The largest con-
centration of the American flag symbol of the Commemoration theme was
the 1950's (10) followed by the 1960's and the 1920's with seven ap-
pearances. It is significant that all of the American flag symbols
appearing in the decade of the 1950's (with the exception of one mis-
cellaneous) were of the Commemoration theme. Theme #2 exhibits only six
American flag appearances and these are clustered around the Spanish-
American War (2), World War I (1), and World War II (3). Theme #3
Figure 12
ILLUSTRATION OF THE EARLY AND LATER DEPICTION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG SYMBOL.
likewise exhibits a comparatively minuscule number of American flag symbols with seven appearances. Of this Comical theme, no appearances are recorded after 1931. Theme #4 exhibits the least symbol appearances with five and three of these occurring in the decade of the 1890's. Of the Social/Political Issues theme, no appearance is recorded after 1928. The Warning category, theme #5, is small in number (7) and is spaced over six decades. Theme #6, The Dissatisfaction theme, is the second largest with eleven occurrences but is far behind theme #1. Of interest with theme #6 is that 5 of the 11 flag symbols are clustered in one decade, the 1960's. It can be generally stated that the latter decades (1950's on) are more congenial towards the Commemoration theme than the former decades.

Summary. Apparently the American flag symbol is the province of the Chicago Tribune and is amenable to the Commemoration theme. This symbol lends itself to the positive in its view of American life and usage rather than the dissatisfaction perspective (perhaps because of its association with unity). Little use of the flag was made for the two neutral themes of Comical Events (#3) and Social/Political Issues (#4). Perhaps the "Call of the Colors" doesn't accommodate itself to a burlesque and lampooning theme, such as comical events, and the everyday social and political issues.

Declaration of Independence Symbol

Historical origins. Perhaps the most revered document in American history, the Declaration of Independence has even sanctified the date of its signing--July 4, 1776. Building upon the long chronicle of
political events and the current motion before the delegates of Congress, presented by Virginia, for the separation of the colonies from England; a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence. The Committee was composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.19 The main task of writing the first draft, however, fell upon Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration that Jefferson penned was composed of two parts, the first being a "treatise" of man's natural rights (similar, and one is compelled to say a striking similarity, to Locke's Second Treatise on Government which was published in 1690) and a list of grievances against England and George III.20 John Adams and Franklin made a few small changes in Jefferson's proposal for independence but it was Congress which made the numerous alterations which resulted in a total of eighty-six changes before its adoption on July 4, 1776 (only two delegates, the president and the secretary of the Second Continental Congress, signed the document on that date).21 An interesting anecdote on the speedy passage of the Declaration was Jefferson's observation that the extremely hot weather and swarms of flies which landed on the delegates'silk stockings and stung so horribly that one was not inclined to linger longer than necessary.22 On July 19th the Congress voted to put the Declaration of Independence on parchment and signed by the members of the Congress.23 After the adoption of the Declaration, it was sent to the printer so that copies could be distributed throughout the colonies (the original copy was lost but one of the broadsides remains) and the Pennsylvania Evening Post of July 6th carried the full Declaration of Independence.24 The Declaration was also read
several times to cheering crowds at Independence Hall to the accompaniment of the Liberty Bell and celebration followed (at least on the part of those approving of such drastic measures).

The influence of the Declaration of Independence is incalculable and the justification and inspiration it afforded the colonist of early America endures in our technological age. As Samuel Morison observed:

If the American Revolution had produced nothing but the Declaration of Independence, it would have been worthwhile. The bill of wrongs against George III and Parliament, naturally, is exaggerated. Facts will not sustain many of the alleged "injuries and usurpations." But the beauty and cogency of the preamble, reaching back to remotest antiquity and forward to an indefinite future, have lifted the hearts of millions of men and will continue to do so.25

The Declaration of Independence is inextricably bonded to the Fourth since it was the adoption of this document on the Fourth of July which gave birth and significance to this date.

Local versus national. The symbol of the Declaration of Independence is national in recognition and the meaning derived from this symbol is national in character. Being adopted by the Congress and its subsequential representation, identity, and promulgation of the cause of independence gives it this dispensation.

Specific versus abstract. Although referring to a concrete document, the Declaration of Independence symbol is abstract in that it has come to represent the abstract qualities and notions of this revered document.

Distribution by decade and newspapers. The distribution of the Declaration of Independence, as exhibited in Table 13, centers on the latter six decades with the highest frequency (12) being in the decade
TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY DECADE AND PAPER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL BY DECADE       | 1    | 2    | 2    | 6    | 9    | 12   | 8    | 8    | 5    | 53            |
of the 1940's. It only appears five times in the first three decades. Each of the nine decades is represented with the symbol beginning first in 1894 with the Chicago Tribune and continuing every decade through 1975. The general use of the Declaration of Independence seemingly developed in the 1920's and gathered momentum peaking in the 1940's. The four decades of the 1930's through the 1940's account for 37 of the total 53 symbol appearances. Although used sparingly in early decades, the Declaration of Independence is a modern symbol in usage.

The distribution by newspaper reveals that the Chicago Tribune dominates with a little over half, 27 out of a total 53, of the symbol occurrences. The Columbus Dispatch is next in total frequency of symbol use with 14, followed by the Atlanta Constitution with 7, the Washington Post with 4 and the New York Times with one. The meager use of the Declaration of Independence symbol by the New York Times (and the low number of Fourth of July cartoons found in this newspaper overall) is accounted for by the policy of the newspaper which was to print the text of the Declaration of Independence on the front page every Fourth of July. This, obviously, did not count as a Fourth of July cartoon (the text being printed in lieu of a cartoon) but explains the relative lack of "Fourth" cartoons in this newspaper. No paper exhibited symbol usage in all nine decades; The Chicago Tribune and Columbus Dispatch each missed one decade. The Washington Post used the Declaration of Independence in only two decades while the Atlanta Constitution did not employ the symbol until the last three decades.

Visual alterations through time. From the beginning the Declaration of Independence was exhibited in many structural configurations and
constructions. The first four decades (11 cartoons) depict a more novel visual portrayal of the symbol than the later decades. Although attaining the approximate messages and assertions as later decade usage, the earlier structural use of the Declaration of Independence was more dramatic and uniquely formed and manipulated. As the symbol was increasingly utilized, it became visually more bland and placid. In later decades the Declaration, itself, seemingly became sanctified and is structurally portrayed as such. This self-sanctification is accomplished through being shown in its natural format (a flat depiction of the document or prominent phrases from it which form the background and main ingredient of the cartoon). This visual alteration is evidenced by the fact that it is depicted in its "natural format" in only 3 of the first 30 cartoons (through 1946) and from 1947 through 1975 it is visually depicted as such 12 out of 23 cartoons. Figure 13 demonstrates the contrasting visual portrayal of the Declaration of Independence symbol. Seemingly the more the symbol was utilized the more visually homogeneous it became—the document itself becoming the consumptive feature of the cartoon.

Distribution and influence of symbol by theme. Theme #1, the Commemoration theme, dominates the distribution of the Declaration of Independence as exhibited by Table 14.

### TABLE 14

| THEMATIC USE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SYMBOL |
|------------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Themes:                                   | #1 | #2 | #3 | #4 | #5 | #6 | MISC. |
| SYMBOL FREQUENCY                          | 24 | 3  | 1  | 5  | 6  | 14 | 0     |
| TOTAL = 53                                |    |    |    |    |    |    |       |
Figure 13

ILLUSTRATION OF THE EARLY AND LATER DEPICTION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SYMBOL
The Declaration of Independence symbol can clearly be seen as accommodating the Commemoration theme. The Dissatisfaction theme (#6), however, is well represented with 14 occurrences which is the second highest in frequency. If themes #1 and #2 are combined to form a positive view of society and themes #5 and #6 are united representing a negative perspective of society, the symbol use is relatively close (27 positive versus 20 negative) and is dexterous in reference to the polarity of social views. The symbol, thusly, demonstrates a great flexibility in thematic usage. The Commemoration theme (#1) was only represented once (1913) before 1922. It was well represented in the decades 1920's through 1975 with a high frequency of 5 in the 1960's. The Dissatisfaction theme (#6), on the other hand, followed a similar pattern being only represented once (1908) before the 1920's. It is well represented from the 1920's through 1972 with a high of 4 occurrences in the 1940's (it had only one occurrence in the decade of the 1950's). Theme #2, Celebration of Wartime Victory/Military Deeds, had only 3 occurrences—two during World War I and one during the Korean action. Theme #3, Comical Events, is interesting in that it was only represented once with this symbol (1948). The Declaration of Independence apparently doesn't adapt to this theme or this symbol should not be viewed humorously. Theme #4, Social/Political Issues, only had a frequency of five and no occurrences after 1943. The Warning theme (#5) likewise had a low frequency with 6 occurrences. Four of the six occurrences appeared in the decades of the 1930's and 1950's with 2 apiece.

Present, also, is a difference in the visual portrayal of the symbol among themes. The positive view of American society, themes #1 and #2
depicted the Declaration of Independence (and well known phrases from it) as a backdrop and the main feature of the cartoon. This is the case in 14 out of the 28 symbol occurrences in the two positive themes. The negative view of American society, themes #5 and #6, depicted just the opposite with only 5 out of 20 portrayed in this visual manner. It is interesting to note that none of the two neutral themes (#3 and #4) portrayed this visual use of the Declaration of Independence.

**Summary.** The Declaration of Independence symbol is dominated by the Chicago Tribune with 27 occurrences out of a total frequency of 53. Although the symbol had been used sparsely in the early decades it is relatively modern in use with the emphasis of application on the latter decades. From the beginning the symbol exhibited numerous visual configurations with an increased utilization producing a more homogeneous symbol. In the latter decades the Declaration of Independence and prominent phrases from it are used as a background and seemingly sanctified in its own right. While the highest frequency occurs in the Commemoration theme, the combined positive view of society is 27 and the combined negative view is 20 which exhibits the comparative status of the symbol usage within themes. This penchant for the use of the symbol in this diverse manner reflects the flexibility of the Declaration of Independence symbol in thematic use. The employment of the Comical Events theme only once is of significance for it indicates that the Declaration of Independence is too revered a symbol for comical consumption.
Numeral "4" Symbol

Historical origins. The "4" symbol is unique in that it is a numeral which became significant to this culture due to the signing of the Declaration of Independence on that date. Mere chance dictated the 4th as the signing and it just as well might have been the 2nd, 8th, or the 15th. Regardless of the randomness involved, the 4th is considered the day of Independence and the birth of America. The numeral "4," thusly, possesses a meaning (when used in a non-mathematical connotation) not shared by other numerals. Writers and cartoonists were quick to pick up on the social significance of the numeral "4" and employ it in their work.

The unique qualities of this symbol necessitates a different method of procedure to ascertain its distribution and structural composition and transformation. Only the cartoon with the numeral "4" in the body of the cartoon proper were selected as a "4" symbol. The caption under the cartoon, then, was disregarded as a symbolic use of the numeral "4." Eight cartoons exhibiting the Declaration of Independence with the July 4, 1776 inscription were likewise excluded since the Declaration of Independence was elsewhere considered as a separate symbol inclusive of this date. The remaining forty-nine cartoons were analyzed in accordance with the visual hermeneutic methodological procedures delineated in the beginning of this chapter.

Local versus national recognition. The numeral "4" symbol derives its meaning from the date of the signing of the Declaration of Independence which gave birth to the American nation. Due to the historical origins of this symbol it is both national in derivation and recognition.
Specific versus abstract. The Numeral "4" symbol is abstract in that it refers to the abstract concepts embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the ideals of the American Revolution. Furthermore, it represents the date of the separation of the Colonies from England and the historical events associated with this date.

Distribution by decade and newspaper. The distribution by decade of the numeral "4," as illustrated on Table 15, indicates the 1900's were highest in frequency with 13 appearances. This is almost double the 7 appearances in the next highest decades—the 1920's and the 1960's. The distribution is intriguingly divided between the first four decades (with a combined frequency of 28) and the latter four decades (with a combined frequency of 21), with the pivotal decade, the 1930's with zero appearances. The numeral "4" was first employed in the Washington Post in 1896 and appears in every decade through 1973 with the odd exception of the 1930's.

The distribution by newspaper exhibits the Chicago Tribune controlling the newspaper usage with 19. In the decade of the 1920's 6 out of the total 7 symbol occurrences appeared in the Chicago Tribune. The Columbus Dispatch is second highest in frequency with 10 appearances, followed closely by the Atlanta Constitution with 9, the Washington Post with 6, and the New York Times with 5. The 5 total appearances of the numeral "4" in the New York Times is the highest frequency of appearance for any symbol studied for this newspaper. No paper is represented in all nine decades. The Chicago Tribune comes the closest to full representation—6 of 9 decades. The sudden termination and discontinuance for the numeral "4" in the 1930's remains a mystery. Perhaps
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
<th>TOTAL BY PAPER</th>
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<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>New York Times</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BY DECADE</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the social and economic despair of the depression influenced an alteration or transformation in symbol usage to one more relevant or germane to current affairs.

**Visual alterations through time.** The Numerical "4" cartoon exhibits visual and structural changes in its form through its long use. From the earliest decades it exhibited a unique form and structural pose. Two structural categorical uses controlled the implementation of the "4" symbol. The first was the incorporation of the "4" into the cartoon by a caption included in the cartoon or by a sign, saying, or emblem labelling the "4" symbol. This usage accounts for 18 of the total 49 uses. The second, and more popular structural use, is the incorporation of the symbol in the compositional text of the sketch. In this manner the symbol is an interrelated part of the cartoon and plays upon other components. This usage is credited with the remaining 31 Numerical "4" occurrences. Figure 14 demonstrates the two visual categorical uses controlling the implementation of the "4" symbol.

The most engaging visual feature change concerns the complete absorption of the numeral "4" into the text of the cartoon. The "4", while still entrusting its symbolism, is visually adapted to perform as a primary component of the cartoon. Five cartoons contain this complete symbol absorption—four from the Chicago Tribune and one from the Atlanta Constitution.

The first assimilation is that of a man, with an injured arm in a sling, forming a 4 (1909).

The second assimilation is a mass of people and holiday activities which form a 4 (1910).
THE FIRST CELEBRATION

July 4th, 1776

Columbus Dispatch 1907

New York Times 1954

ILLUSTRATION OF THE EARLY AND LATER DEPICTION OF THE NUMERAL "4" SYMBOL

Figure 14
The third assimilation is a spout on a cask of whiskey in the shape of a 4 with the Declaration of Independence on the front of the cask (1927).

The fourth assimilation is a man in colonial garb standing in the shape of a 4 among farmers in a field. One farmer is saying "yep! knee high!" (by the fourth), (1955). Figure 15 exhibits this unique assimilation as an example of the complete absorption of the numeral "4" into the text of the cartoon.

The fifth assimilation is the grim reaper driving a car and the steering wheel spokes are formed in a 4 (1958).

This is the epitomization of the visual/structural practice of condensing the symbolic with the practical. Another interesting visual portrayal of the "4" symbol is its use on the calendar. The number 4 (on the calendar and with no other numerals present) is exhibited in a prominent location in the cartoon. The symbol "4" is thusly incorporated into the cartoon through the use of a household item. Five cartoons exhibit this usage of the symbol "4."

Distribution and influence of symbol by theme. Again the Commemoration theme (#1) controls the distribution as exhibited in Table 16.

TABLE 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYMBOL FREQUENCY</th>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
<th>#6</th>
<th>MISC.</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE COMPLETE ABSORPTION OF THE NUMERAL "4" INTO THE TEXT OF THE CARTOON
Although the distribution is positive in the view of American society, the two neutral themes of Comical (#3) and Political/Social Issues (#4) are well represented with a combined total of 15 occurrences for the nine decades. Theme #2, The Celebration of Victory/Military Deeds, is low with only 1 appearance—that being in 1919. Theme #6, Dissatisfaction, is likewise low with only 3 occurrences for the nine decades. Apparently the symbol "4" does not accommodate itself well to dissatisfaction. This may be due to the easier manipulation of other symbols to gain this end. The Warning theme, #5, is second in overall frequency. The "4" symbol seemingly fits well with warnings of fireworks and reckless driving. Of the 10 Warning theme occurrences, 7 were of this nature. Also theme #5 is visually the most interesting with numerous visual variations on the numeral "4." The "4" is utilized as a numeral on a clock face, a warning on a billboard, a man injured from fireworks, a warning on the side of a truck in the shape of a firecracker, and incorporated in the spokes of a steering wheel. Although this visual imagination was applied to the Warning theme the same does not hold true for the Dissatisfaction theme. Numerically this theme was not only low but was visually insignificant. While the Commemoration theme (#1) had the highest frequency, only one cartoon was visually significant. Three of the five cartoons containing the visual structural assimilation, however, are embodied in this theme.

Summary. The Numeral "4" symbol is dominated by the Chicago Tribune with 19 out of the total 49 occurrences. The symbol was employed more in the first four decades than the latter four decades with no
occurrences in the decade of the 1930's. From the beginning the numeral "4" exhibited a unique form and visual posture with two visual categorical uses controlling the symbol. The first being the incorporation of the "4" into the cartoon through the use of a caption, saying, or emblem labelling the "4" symbol. The second, and more prolific, is the incorporation of the symbol in the compositional text of the cartoon. The most interesting visual use of the symbol, however, is the complete absorption of the Numeral "4" into the visual/structural makeup or text of the cartoon. The thematic use of the Numeral "4" symbol is positive with the Commemoration theme overwhelmingly controlling the symbol's usage.

Liberty Bell Symbol

Historical origins. Although not formally referred to as the "Liberty Bell" until around 1852,26 The "Bell," since inception, has had strong ties and recognition with liberty, independence, and the "birth" of America. The Bell was ordered from England in 1751 for the fiftieth anniversary of the province of Pennsylvania (William Penn having founded the city in 1682 and the province received a second charter in 1701) and arrived in August of 1752. From the beginning the Bell was beset with problems, cracking by a stroke of the clapper soon after its arrival in America. Since the captain of the vessel which delivered the Bell would not accept it on board for return, a local firm undertook the task of recasting the Bell. In recasting, the shape, size and lettering were kept and a small amount of copper was added to alleviate the brittleness of the metal. After a second
recasting, to enhance its tone and resonance, the 2,080 pound Bell was hung in June, 1753.27 One inscription on the Bell, which proved prophetic, declared, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."28

The bell rung on special occasions, mass meetings, and to summon the members of the Pennsylvania assembly. Perhaps the most famous ringing of the Bell was the summoning of the Continental Congress and the signaling of the reading of the Declaration of Independence (July 8, 1776). The Liberty Bell sounded on each succeeding Fourth until 1835.29 In that year the Bell cracked while ringing for the funeral solemnities for John Marshall.30 The large fissure which is generally associated with the Liberty Bell was the result of an abortative attempt in 1846, by separating the sides of the Bell, to restore the Bell's resonance so it could be rung on George Washington's birthday.

The Liberty Bell has been rung on suitable occasions since by being lightly tapped with a mallet. But the ringing of the Bell which gave rise to numerous metaphors of the "ringing of freedom" and "tolling of liberty" remains deaf. The Liberty Bell, however silent, remains a popular symbol of America's struggle for freedom and liberty and is directly tied to the Fourth of July heritage and is associated with this holiday.

Local versus national recognition. The Liberty Bell is a national symbol in recognition and meaning. The Liberty Bell, being tied directly to independence and the revolution, is both national in derivation and recognition.
Specific versus abstract. Although representing a concrete entity, the Liberty Bell is abstract in that it has come to represent and stand for the abstract qualities of freedom, liberty, and independence and is seen as a symbol which depicts such meanings.

Distribution of symbol by decade and newspaper. The distribution by decade of the Liberty Bell symbol indicates its usage centers, as Table 17 indicates, on the three decades of the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's with 6, 11, and 8 occurrences respectively. These three decades encompass 25 out of the total 34 occurrences for the nine decades. The Liberty Bell symbol appeared first in 1907 in the Columbus Dispatch and appeared at least once in every decade except two, the 1890's and the 1920's. The skyrocketing usage since the 1940's indicates that, although its origins date back to 1907, it is a modern symbol applicable to modern proclivities. The distribution is dominated by the Columbus Dispatch (15) and the Chicago Tribune (11) with a combined total of 26 of the total 34 occurrences. Of interest is the appearance of three World War I cartoons (1916, 1917, 1918) from the Columbus Dispatch and then only one occurrence, in all five newspapers, until 1940. The Liberty Bell seems to conform well to the war years and years of social and political unrest with the exception of the depression.

Visual alterations through time. The cartoons of the Liberty Bell exhibit visual changes in its form and natural features through its long use. The first appearance was in 1907 as a miniature bell tied to the tail of the British lion (first cartoon, Figure 14). Since that time the Liberty Bell has been altered visually to accommodate the issues and tastes of cartoonists. In 1917, to awaken America to action, the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEWSPAPER</th>
<th>1890</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
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<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Dispatch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta Constitution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Post</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL BY DECADE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Liberty Bell posed as an alarm atop of a clock titled "Big Sam." In 1945 the Liberty Bell rings from Independence Hall (visible in the far background). In 1958 the Liberty Bell masquerades as a mold and casts patriots. While in 1963 it miniaturizes into a handheld dinner bell rung by Uncle Sam calling the world to freedom. In this manner cartoonists have taken advantage of the Liberty Bell's seeming flexibility to employ this symbol's prestige to their own cause. By making conspicuous certain prominent features of the symbol, the symbol becomes animated and adaptable to new situations. The symbol, in brief, acquires new qualities which enables it to communicate more readily. Through animating natural features the Bell is taught to talk. (Figure 16 illustrates the animation of the "Bell"). Words are discharged from the opening (lips) and the clapper serves as the tongue to pronounce whatever the cartoonist has in mind. This oralization of the Liberty Bell enables an honored, respected symbol of American freedom and heritage to "speak" to an issue. The issues which the Liberty Bell addresses, with her new found voice, include independence from foreign entanglements, liberty and patriotism, individual freedom, and the sacred rights which freedom enjoys. The "Bell" is able to be very vocal when the situation deems necessary—or more tranquil when reflecting liberty's benefits.

Perhaps the most significant visual alteration concerns the manifestation of the crack. The cartoonists make use of the crack in the Liberty Bell to accentuate their point. The crack is a natural feature of the Liberty Bell with which the cartoonist may exaggerate in order to emphasize his position. This may be accomplished through actually
RING IT LOUDER AND LOUDER

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE NO FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENT

Columbus Dispatch 1941

Figure 16
ILLUSTRATION OF THE ANIMATION OF THE LIBERTY BELL SYMBOL
widening the crack on the Bell in the drawing and/or making reference to it in the caption. In keeping with this technique, of capitalizing on a visual feature of a symbol to enlist its aid in the sanctification of the cartoon's position, Baldy, in the Atlanta Constitution does just that. In both cartoons the one natural crack is expanded into numerous cracks each labeled with a social ill.

The final feature of the Liberty Bell which has changed visually and adapted to new situations and circumstances is the imaginary lines of the Bell's peal. The peal of the Liberty Bell is adaptable to any issue, any country, any distance, at any time. The "Bell" seemingly discharges freedom and independence through its opening thus drowning out any tyranny and dissonance. (Figure 17 illustrates the peal of the "Bell".) The Bell seems to retain its qualities—liberty, freedom, and American heritage—which seem eternal. The Liberty Bell symbol has accrued shared cultural meaning which enables it to lend authority to a particular setting, event, or happening.

**Distribution and influence of symbol by theme.** With the exception of two cartoons, the Liberty Bell falls neatly into three themes as illustrated by Table 18.

**TABLE 18**

**THEMATIC USE OF THE LIBERTY BELL SYMBOL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol Frequency</th>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
<th>#6</th>
<th>MISC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>TOTAL = 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE OLD BELL STILL RINGS

Chicago Tribune 1938

Figure 17

ILLUSTRATION OF THE PEAL OF THE LIBERTY BELL SYMBOL
In the Commemoration theme the Liberty Bell is used as a symbol of liberty, freedom and individual rights. The "Bell" is portrayed in a number of positions and forms. It is interesting to note that the crack in the Bell is downplayed and the wholesomeness and holistic nature of its form accentuated. In fact, seven out of the twelve cartoons portray the Liberty Bell as having no crack at all! This is in keeping with the Commemoration theme which solemnizes the basic American institutions and way of life. The theme affirms the unity and harmony of American democracy and life. The configuration of the Liberty Bell, as exhibited in this theme, intensifies this affirmation.

In contrast to the Commemoration theme, the Dissatisfaction theme (§6) presents a lucid disapproval and opposition to current social and/or political, and/or economic occurrences. Where the Commemoration theme is positive in nature the Dissatisfaction theme is negative in connotation. The Liberty Bell is used to symbolize this discontent with American society. The visual features of the Liberty Bell in this theme is in great contrast to that of the Commemoration theme. The crack in the Liberty Bell is accentuated to correspond with the corresponding flaw in the social fabric. In some of the sketches of the Liberty Bell numerous fractures appear, besides the main crack. These fissures are labeled with ailments of society and the caption "more cracks" reaffirms the cartoonists contentions. In three of the cartoons, lamenting the growing welfare state and dependency on government, a spacious, highlighted crack dominates the Liberty Bell; "Our Independence" adorns the Bell and the crack divides the word In/dependence.

The Liberty Bell, the American emblem of liberty and individual freedom,
lands its symbolic weight to the cartoonist's social commentary.
(Figure 18 illustrates the difference in the portrayal of the Liberty Bell between the Commemoration and the Dissatisfaction themes.)

The Warning theme (#5) employs the Liberty Bell as the guardian of the American legacy; warning democracy of impending perils. The "Bell" symbol in this theme is not as explicit, nor is its configuration as exaggerated, as that in the Dissatisfaction theme. At the same time, however, the Bell is not as docile in form and position as in the Commemoration theme. The crack is visible yet not overstated as in the Dissatisfaction theme.

Summary. The Liberty Bell symbol is dominated by the Columbus Dispatch and the Chicago Tribune with a combined sum of 26 of the total 34 occurrences. The symbol is modern in use with the decades of the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's being most prominent. It has also exhibited numerous visual configurations the most notable being the natural feature of the crack. This natural feature is displayed in thematic use with the Commemoration theme downplaying the crack while the Dissatisfaction theme accentuates the crack. The Liberty Bell symbol falls neatly into three themes with the negative view (themes #5 and #6) holding a slight edge (20) over the positive usage (themes #1 and #2) with 13. This is the only symbol studied where the negative symbol use holds a margin over the positive use.
Illustration of the difference in the visual portrayal of the Liberty Bell between the commemoration and dissatisfaction themes.
FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER V


2Ibid., p. 49.

3Ibid., p. 49.

4Ibid., p. 49.


6Krythe, op. cit., p. 50.

7Krythe, op. cit., p. 50.

8Krythe, op. cit., p. 50.

9Krythe, op. cit., p. 51.

10Murrell, op. cit., p. 310.

11Murrell, op. cit., p. 311.

12Krythe, op. cit., p. 50.

13Krythe, op. cit., p. 1.

14Krythe, op. cit., p. 2.

15Krythe, op. cit., p. 2.

16Krythe, op. cit., p. 3.

17Krythe, op. cit., p. 3.

18Krythe, op. cit., p. 5.


21 Krythe, op. cit., p. 66.

22 Krythe, op. cit., p. 66.


24 Krythe, op. cit., p. 66.

25 Morison, op. cit., p. 223.

26 Maymie Krythe claims that the name Liberty Bell first appeared in print in The Field Book of the Revolutionary War by Benson J. Lossing published in 1852.


28 Ibid., p. 60.

29 Ibid., p. 70.

30 Ibid., p. 76.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This final chapter will serve the threefold purpose of (1) bringing together the major strands and findings of the study by the affirmation or negation of the six working hypotheses delineated in chapter one; (2) the implications that these findings have for sociology and education; and (3) suggested areas for further study.

Popular Culture

Hypothesis: Cartoons, being one form of popular culture, are related to larger historical questions and concerns.

If one writes a history of trolley-car transfers or matchbox covers no one would take it seriously unless it were related to themes of larger concerns.

-Sidney Hook-

In an attempt to build a theory of July 4th cartoon usage focusing on themes and symbols, the cartoons are regarded not as mere entities in themselves but as a reflection of historical ideas and movements in transformation thus connecting ideas with "the concrete experiences of history." The cartoon data, by illuminating and being connected to larger significant historical concerns, propels it past mere "trolley-car transfers and matchbox covers" and legitimizes its undertaking.

The materials of popular culture, of which cartoons are but one, are merely the substance in which social scientists work in order to disclose elements of man's past social behavior, values, and attitudes. They do not constitute history in their own right but reveal popular
attitudes bearing on social behavior as it relates to larger historical categories and movements. Popular culture is a means for extending the historical comprehension and insight to larger and broader historical concerns and issues. The artifacts of popular culture, therefore, cannot be studied as a historical imperative in their own right but in an interaction with larger social-historical concerns such as immigration, urbanization, industrialization, and technological growth.

As Cohen infers:

Popular culture is not, therefore an independent historical force; rather the character and content of popular culture is shaped and molded by such specific forces as demographic trends, production, consumption and living pattern, ideological positions and scientific-technological developments to name but some of the broader more important external variables. Individually, these specific forces can be examined in general for what they tell us of the societal map at any given time, so that culture, broadly speaking, may be seen as a product of the interaction of these and other identifiable historical forces. Those who are inclined to rise popular culture to the level of a historical force and see it as the 'spearhead' of history tend to ignore the interaction of such forces and become deterministic in the application of their findings. Like their traditional counterpart, they examine culture materials for what they reflect about attitudes and values with little attempt to relate these findings to important historical questions.

The editorial cartoon, by being a reflection of popular thought and behavior (at least within certain circles) sheds light on how individuals, and their collective communities, reacted and responded to social change and the concomitant cultural stress. They are, then, a barometer of popular attitudes concerning large historical experiences and the resulting societal behavior. The editorial cartoon thusly furnishes a social researcher with diversity and variety in his instruments for investigating historical events. While it may be true that
a particular cartoon could be a unique and particularistic product of a given cartoonist/editor—relationships between cartoons and history, cartoons and cultural milieus, and cartoons and the evolution of the industrial state are determined by the similarities between a number of diverse cartoons produced within the same time period. The thematic categories, which will be discussed next, are concerned with broad historical questions and exemplifies how cartoon data (popular culture) supersedes mere fadism and reveals popular attitudes and behaviors associated with such historical categories.

Themes

Hypothesis: Themes exist in the Fourth of July cartoons which, while representing or reflecting the editorial position of the papers over time, are not innate structures but reflect extensive post-facto reasoning.

The following summation or synopsis of the interplay of themes and decades, albeit simplified, reveals the thematic framework of the popular attitudes as expressed through nine decades in Fourth of July cartoons.

The first four decades (1890's through the 1920's) are predominately characterized by comical events and humorous portrayals associated with Fourth of July behavior. The cartoons exhibit an insouciance of being, a giddy or frivolous state of national consciousness reflecting, in part, a less complicated era in which to celebrate the nation's birthday. Indeed, problems and momentous events occurred as illustrated by the rise in cartoons celebrating America's military endeavors both in the 1890's and the 1910's, yet the tenor of the Fourth celebration is lighthearted, innocent, and ethereal. The
holiday celebration is also festive in its implementation with an
abundance of fireworks as well as picnics, parades, and sporting events.
The activities of the Fourth, then, were action filled and participatory.
The 1920's witnessed the apogee of the comical as well as the emerging
Commemoration theme. The Commemoration theme duplicates the Comic
theme in lightheartedness while indulging in national self-congratulatory
conduct.

With the economic collapse and the social and political upheavals
of the 1930's the themes and emphasis changes. The spiritedness and
lightheartedness which characterized the four earlier decades are releg-
gated to obscurity as the pressing problems of individual and social
survival intercede. Not surprisingly the Social/Political Issues theme
dominates the decade of the 1930's. This change represents a break from
the previous four decades of American history in that the social climate
turns from a gaiety and jovial celebration to one of dispair and domes-
tic concern. The disjunction between the forty previous years and that
of the 1930's is drastic, not only in the number of Political/Social
cartoons addressed to the depression, but reflected in the lack of use
of alternative themes. The decade of the 1930's is a watershed in
American political cartooning and society itself, for never again would
American society be as lighthearted. America had lost her innocence
and was coming of age.

The war years of the 1940's helped extract America from her
wretched economic lodging and relieved the strain on her social and
governmental institutions. The economic burden of the past decade was
replaced by the all out effort and concern with military victory in the
Pacific and European theaters. This shift of focus of concern is duly mirrored in the cartoons as the Celebration of Wartime Victory/Deeds theme becomes most prominent in this decade. The war related cartoons are inspiring in their patriotic zeal while lampooning the "Enemies of Democracy." Some cartoons, in fact, present America's involvement in the Second World War as one, in a long series of conflicts, for independence. With the conclusion of the Second World War the Commemoration theme governs the balance of the decade. This theme, however, is not as carefree and cheerful as in former decades and exhibits a serious and almost self-righteousness in its extolling of American virtues and past accomplishments.

The self-righteousness of the Commemoration theme spills over into the next decade and dominates the 1950's. Although this decade is characterized by the solemnization of American ideals and "way of life" a tenuous note of caution is exhibited by the Warning theme concerning American security and the menace of communistic subversion. A growing dissatisfaction with governmental policy and the "liberal" movement is reflected in the cartoons. It is interesting that this is the first war decade (Korea) that is neither reflected nor solemnized in the appropriate theme. The 1950's, then, is a decade caught up in schizophrenia, being on the one hand congealed in the security of its ideals and prosperity while at the same time overly self-conscious to the threat of subversion and foreign involvement. This same paranoia is exhibited in the 1960's with a large Commemoration theme being evident and a rise in the Dissatisfaction theme. Although the Commemoration theme reflects the same affirmation as the 1950's (of America's basic freedoms and
democracy), the Dissatisfaction theme exudes concern over the misuse of such freedoms and the "liberal" social/political policy. This seemingly breach in preaching and practice engulfs this decade in a whirlwind of controversy.

The first half decade of the 1970's is a continuation of the 1960's in that the Commemoration and Dissatisfaction themes prevail. This era is less disruptive and the polarity of views that these two themes represent are toned down with their reduced occurrences. The outpour of emotions which marked the prior decade have lessened although dissatisfaction is evident with current social and governmental policy while the Commemoration theme exalts the present and past freedoms, values, and ideals of America.

This thematic perspective presents another view or organization through which to perceive American social history from the 1890's through the first half of the 1970's. It represents an additional panorama of the kaleidoscopic concerns of American society and press with the broader historical movements and processes. The thematic categories illustrate the concerns of the American populace at given points in time as reflected in the American press. In essence, the six themes are a framework through which the anatomy of social history may be observed.

Although it was incumbent upon this researcher to consolidate and clarify the themes in the interest of parsimony, the data dictated the partitioning into discernible categories. The data was not imposed nor forced into the thematic categories from a theoretical orientation, rather the categories emerged from the data itself. The themes, then,
are a reflection of the social concerns and attitudes of the general populace exemplified through the editorial stance of the newspapers studied.

While, seemingly, explicit themes did emerge in this particular study it is not conclusive that these themes were innate to the communication data. A researcher dealing with historical materials has the distinct advantage of hindsight, and through this retrospective posture views the panorama of prior events. This post-facto reasoning, however, does experience drawbacks in the area of validating inferences, for direct intervention or control of all variables are not possible. In other words, it is easy to assume some causal connection simply because some event or phenomenon occurs before another (posthoc, ergo propter hoc). Also the predilection of the researcher may nourish and dictate one framework (theme) over a possible other. For these reasons this researcher suggests that in future study more than one (and possibly a panel of investigators) manipulate the visual data to discern if the same themes emerge. Future study should also address the question of the applicability of these six themes to other historical visual materials. The themes are inextricably tied to the data which gave rise to them; to claim that these themes govern other materials other than the data studied is, at this time, unsupportable. Future research should transpose the themes to other holidays to test their applicability and, if they hold, to broader categories of visual communication.
Symbol Formation

Hypothesis: Some symbols used in the themes are dependent, initially, on time, place, and event for meaning but developed their own meaning over time and became independent of such constraints.

It is generally recognized and clearly comprehended within Western culture the paramount importance of the use and role symbols play in communication. What is not so obvious, however, is the selection, development, and formation of symbols. Although this is true for the verbal as well as the visual, it is the visual symbol which has sustained considerably more neglect. The lack of a general understanding concerning symbol comprehension and demarcation has tended to obfuscate the broader question of symbol formation and development. What characteristics must an entity possess before the symbol status is accorded? Are there inherent qualities present or must the symbol be tied to an event to acquire meaning? Why are some symbols transitory and cease after a short period of use while others persist in time? These queries necessitate an acknowledgment and response before a theoretical understanding of symbol formation and selection is a reality.

Of the five symbols studied in this dissertation, all but one exhibited a particular (in fact, the same) historical event from which they derived their initial meaning. This event, and its subsequent impact on symbol formation, has been sufficiently discussed under "historical origins" in the symbol chapter. It is clear that the separation of the American colonies from England and the ensuing war were the impetus for the endowing of certain historical events, characters, and artifacts with symbolic status. The exception to the above
was the Uncle Sam symbol which didn't appear full blown till many years after the American Revolution. In the case of this symbol its initial beginnings are shrouded in legend and myth. This is the only symbol of those studied whose origins and identity do not lie in the American Revolution.

The five symbols rapidly enlarged upon their initial beginnings as to encompass expansion in meaning. The American flag became more than the ensign of a new nation and represents the freedom and liberty associated with the American nation. The Declaration of Independence, initially a document of intent, is symbolized into the ideals, freedom and independence of which it spoke. The Liberty Bell, although used frequently before 1776, is known for summoning the Continental Congress and has since been understood to "ring out independence" and symbolize freedom. The Numeral "4", tied to the date of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, now symbolizes the independence and freedom qualities of the document. Uncle Sam, while evolving later than the other four symbols and having the role bequeathed to him from Yankee Doodle and Brother Jonathan, has evolved from the caretaker of the army to the symbol of the American government.

The findings, concerning the formulation of symbols, of this study substantiate the initial working hypothesis that symbols are tied to a particular time, place, and event for their comprehension and rely on this temporal location and occurrence, initially, to derive identity and meaning. Expansion in meaning takes place through time, however, and as these "shared cultural meanings" are added the original time, place, and event loses importance as a factor in identity and meaning.
Also, the symbol, in the process of expanding in meaning, becomes abstract. That is, the symbol is recognized as representing a general idea or concept apart from its concrete reality.

**Symbol Flexibility**

**Hypothesis:** Flexibility, or the ability to be modified in some form, enhances a symbol's or set of symbols utility in the visual language of the culture; and this, in turn, enhances the longevity of the symbol.

Although a substantial number of symbols were identified throughout the nine decades of the study only five appeared with recurrent frequency. All five of these symbols exhibited the ability to be modified in form throughout time. The flexibility of the symbols has been illustrated in the symbol chapter under "Visual changes through time," however a brief critique concerning the visual changes in form of the five symbols will be presented here.

**Uncle Sam.** The Uncle Sam symbol has, since the 1890's, been portrayed in numerous visual poses. In early years of use (1895 through the 1920's) the symbol was habitually depicted as smiling/grinning and engaged in lighthearted events. By the last twenty-five years of use (1950-1975), however, Uncle Sam is customarily portrayed as tight-lipped, serious, humorousless, and self-important in action and expression.

**Declaration of Independence.** In the early years of use (1890's through 1946) the Declaration of Independence was portrayed in visually novel ways. Since 1947, however, the symbol has been dominantly portrayed in its "natural format" (flat depiction of the document) with little imagination. Accompanying the symbol's increasingly visual
blandness and placidness is a self-sanctification which is highly evident after 1947.

**American Flag.** Although its structural and natural features have been enunciated since the 1890's, the American flag symbol is not portrayed in its entirety until 1920. Beginning in 1920 the American flag is often only partially shown and is often portrayed in a fragmented fashion. This abridgement continues and, by the 1940's, nearly becomes the rule.

**Numeral "4".** In the early use of the Numeral "4" symbol the emphasis was on the incorporation of the "4" into the cartoon by caption or sayings. After the 1930's the visual change was toward the incorporation of the symbol in the compositional text of the sketch. In this manner the symbol is an interrelated part of the cartoon and plays upon other components.

**Liberty Bell.** The Liberty Bell symbol exhibited visual changes in its form and features throughout its long use. It has been portrayed as a clock, a dinner bell, a dress, and a mold. By making conspicuous certain prominent features of the symbol, the Liberty Bell becomes animated and adaptable to new situations. Thusly, the Bell is taught to talk and words peal forth. Also the crack is played upon and visually altered or exaggerated to emphasize a position or ideology. Throughout its use, the Liberty Bell has exhibited constant visual changes.

The above summation of visual alterations in the five leading symbols suggest that the flexibility of a symbol plays a prominent role in its frequency of use and popularity. The five symbols have a stabilized set of meanings which, when visually altered and modified to
accommodate certain thematic and temporal considerations, still carry the basic symbolic message. While this appears as a valid conclusion, to state that a symbol's flexibility determines its use and longevity would be too encompassing a proposition and misstatement of the case. The five symbols, while all displaying flexibility, exhibited a difference of longevity of use. The Liberty Bell symbol appeared only one fourth as often as the Uncle Sam symbol and mostly confined to the latter four decades. The American Eagle symbol, while miniscule in frequency and not among the top five symbols, displayed flexibility yet was not popular in use. Flexibility is a seemingly necessary but not sufficient prerequisite for a symbol's utility and longevity in a culture. Other considerations weigh in favor of one symbol being chosen for use over another. Some symbolic associations are not as defined or definite as others. Uncle Sam, therefore, may be more representative of the American government than the eagle and this representativeness increases proportionally through time and use. In a study of women's images in the same Fourth of July cartoon data, Meyer found that:

Cartoonists reflected contemporary male favoring norms and actual gender practice, which utilized even heroic women (Betsy Ross, Molly Fricher) only infrequently.2

This may explain, for example, why the Lady Liberty symbol was used so infrequently. In some instances a symbol becomes so inextricably bound to a cause that when that cause dissipates so does the symbol. This is seemingly the case with Lady Liberty as this symbol was tied to the League of Nations in that controversy. When the United States failed to ratify the League, the Liberty symbol followed the League into remission. Other explanations for the lack of use of certain symbols is
the inflexibility of some symbols; or that it had not reached maturity in abstractness; or was too fragile and evaporated under the acid of the cartoonist's pen.

Although it is recognized that there are numerous elements in the shaping of a symbol's utility and longevity in the visual language of a culture, the flexibility of a symbol plays a prominent role. The five most frequent symbols studied and the subsequent visual modifications verifies the supposition concerning flexibility and utility. Hopefully future research will ascertain and delineate other elements which shape a symbol's use in an attempt to unravel the complexities of symbol usage in the visual communication process.

**Emotional Versus Logical Use**

**Hypothesis:** Historical visual symbols tend to foster emotional appeal over the logical mode of thinking.

The same five symbols yielded interesting results concerning the emotional versus logical properties of symbols. Although symbols seemingly may be either emotional or logical the determination is related to thematic use and context and is seemingly not inherent in the symbol itself. The two positive themes of Commemoration and Wartime Victory exhibit symbol use for emotive appeals in the solemnization of American ideals and institutions. The two negative themes, on the other hand, employ the symbols in an emotive appeal of the dangers and opposition to the direction of current social and political policies are taking. The middle two themes, the Comical and Social/Political Issues, are neutral in outlook and the symbols employed. With minor exceptions, the symbols portray this neutrality are more identifying and
informative in nature. The symbols, then, as employed in the Fourth of July cartoons, are emotive or logical depending on the context and theme and not in their intrinsic characteristics. It must be remembered, however, that the mere use of a symbol conveys a cluster of shared cultural meanings (which is what a symbol partly is) and this may be construed as bringing sentiment to a visual statement.

Used in a negative or positive connotation the emotional tone of the symbol is amplified as to insure the proper inference that is intended. Uncle Sam, for instance, is exerting harmony, patriotism, and reverence when employed in the positive themes. Conversely, although with the same emotive zeal, Uncle Sam is portrayed as grim, concerned, and disapproving in the negative themes. The emotional tone that is utilized in both the positive and negative themes is accomplished through the modification, while attaching the dignity of the symbol, of the symbol's posture, facial expressions, positioning, context, and so forth. Thus, when condoning a political idea or action Uncle Sam is surrounded by patriotic artifacts and is full of exuberance, and self-confidence. When, however, condemning such a political idea or attitude, Uncle Sam is surrounded by disreputable characters or events and is grim and disapproving. This amplification of the motive tone of a symbol does not occur, to any large measure, within the two themes of Comical and Social/Political Issues. A symbol, such as the American Flag, is employed for identification of the United States within the cartoon or providing information and clarity as to a position held. Even where humor is employed, as in the Comical theme, the historical symbol is most often used in the identification manner associating the occurring
event(s) with the Fourth Holiday. An emotive appeal, which is often evaluative in nature, is not as noticeable within the two neutral themes as within the positive and negative themes.

While the findings of this study do not invalidate the working hypothesis concerning the fostering of the emotional over the logical in symbol use, additional research is needed to clarify and substantiate such a relationship. While historical symbols are most often used in the emotive sense, the logical use is also employed as illustrated by the symbol usage in the two neutral themes. Although most often used in an emotive appeal over the logical mode of thinking, it is the context and thematic use which seems to dictate the emotive versus logical use of the symbol. It is quite obvious that much more research and exploration is needed in this area of visual symbol usage and the characteristics of the symbol. The nature of symbol usage (emotive versus logical) is a complex area of investigation, far too complex to be unwound in one study. The differences in the thematic use of the symbol found in this study should be expanded in the future to ascertain if other holiday cartoons exhibit the same trend. Other, more modern symbols, should also be studied to discover if there exists a difference in the symbol characteristics between the modern and the historical (which are so rich in cultural meaning). In this manner it is hoped that the elusive nature or properties of the symbol (if any) will be exposed. This would greatly aid the accumulating body of knowledge in the quest of comprehending the role of the visual symbol in the communicative process.
Summary of Results:
Attributes of Historical Symbols

A historical symbol is:

1. Initially tied to a particular time, place, and event for identity and meaning.
2. Expansion in meaning occurs as shared cultural meanings are added.
3. As this expansion occurs the original time, place, and event lose importance in identity and meaning (process of abstractness).
4. The flexibility, or ability of the symbol to be modified, plays a prominent role in that symbol's utility in the visual language of the culture. Although flexibility is a seemingly necessary element in determining symbol usage, it is not a sufficient prerequisite for a symbol's utility and longevity in a culture as other considerations intervene.
5. While employed in an overwhelming majority of cases as emotive appeal, the symbol may also exhibit a logical use.
   a. The emotive or logical use of a symbol is dependent on thematic use and not on the inherent properties of the symbol.
   b. The emotional appeal of a symbol is accomplished through a modification and amplification of the symbol's characteristics. The logical use is accomplished through the use of the symbol as a non-evaluating, identifying, and informing agent.
Social Control

Hypothesis: Cartoons function as a means of social control within a society. By defining a situation they act as a visual force to conform individuals to that definition.

While not all of the 355 Fourth of July cartoons exhibited direct social control aspects most, none the less, functioned to buttress the legitimacy of the state and the dominant world view. A great number of the cartoons prescribed appropriate behavior in the area of social/political beliefs, correct commemoration of traditional values and institutions, and informed as to the dangers of any "deviation" away from the dominant perspective. The cartoons likewise situated minorities, such as Blacks, Japanese, and women, in a subordinated position within the dominant perspective. Such techniques as stereotyping, function ranking, subordination in size and action, and omission were employed to achieve this end. Even the cartoons which seemed to serve no other end than that of "harmless" humor were in context seen as social control agents. Humor functions as control by ridiculing behavior which deviates from the norm while at the same time providing an acceptable definition and use of humor. Acceptable Fourth of July humor engaged in exhibiting amusing aspects of traditional 4th behavior and events while lampooning that which deviated from these activities. In this manner the existing social structure and perspective is maintained by determining what acts, beliefs, and values are appropriate and which individuals and beliefs deviate from this perspective and thusly perceived as harmful.

The concept of social control is one which has been of central concern to the discipline of Sociology. The breadth and pervasiveness of
this concept has empowered its embodiment in all spheres of social, political, and institutional life. It is realized that the process of social control is not an area which engenders a broad consensus within sociology. There exists differing models in support of competing theoretical positions within the discipline. However, it is likewise appreciated that there is agreement as to the regulation of behavior that social control imposes and the concomitant ramifications this poses within a society regardless of whose values and dominance is being legitimatized.

Editorial cartoons, and for that matter most forms of mass media, enter the social control process as disseminators and reenforcers of the dominant social values and beliefs. In this manner they are regulators of the societal equilibrium in that they alleviate conflict by building (or at least implying) consensus. Essential to this regulatory role, within the visual realm, are the twin conductors of prescription and implication. At times (within the cartoon data) the appropriate behavior and beliefs are explicitly prescribed and spelled out by the cartoon while at other times the dominant values and behavioral rules are implied through the social context of the characters and action. While the latter conductor is less apparent, it may be of greater force being more pervasive, less conscious and functions as the "hidden curriculum" of social life.

The implications that social control hold for education and social alike should vault that concern to the vanguard of future communication research. Despite the ubiquitous opinion that visual communication possesses a capacity as a manipulating media, little empirical
research has explored and isolated the mechanics and elements of this control function. While it is recognized that themes and symbols may be just one small part of the mechanism of social control in visual communication it is nonetheless an embarkation point upon which to build a solid understanding of this process within the visual realm. In spite of the absence of comparative data, which future research should strive to obtain, it is safe to suggest that, on the basis of the Fourth of July cartoons studied, social control is a feature of cartoons and functions as disseminators and enforcers of dominant social norms and beliefs.

Implications For Sociology and Education

This study has implications and ramifications for the disciplines of sociology and education which transcend the surface findings. If one accepts the interpretation of sociology as being concerned with understanding the workings of society and the human relationships therein, the process of visual communication is manifestly relevant to those concerns. If visual data is considered as legitimate evidence to be explored and pursued, then new avenues open up for the sociological exploration of society. The departure, for many, of the use of visual media for merely "visual aids" objectives has produced new applications for this medium. This new application realizes that most occurrences of social importance are captured, transmitted, and examined through one type of film media or other. This reservoir of social "happenings" provides an imaginative sociologist with a visual file of this society's history and interaction for the past one hundred
years. With the increasing technological advances in visual recording and transmission, the reservoir of visual information is constantly expanding. Even recorded events with little social/political import are valuable for sociological investigation for they exhibit social interaction, nonverbal behavior as a regulator of social action, a register of social beliefs, characteristic of collective action, and new interpretations of traditional sociological concepts. Using imagery as data, in essence, aids research by revealing information that is not amenable to the naked eye while providing a new source of data which is different contextually than the verbal approach. As Barndt notes:

The medium of photography provides us with new ways of perceiving, opens up new approaches to old subjects, and perhaps even points us to new subjects.⁴

The visual approach to the study of society does, in no way, negate the traditional verbal/written sociological approach of data gathering; it merely provides a different type of information and analysis that may be more amenable to the visual age. To continue to disregard the potentialities of imagery for the ongoing analysis of society is, in effect, to limit the scope and comprehension of the social system.

The question is, then, not whether imagery is relevant for sociological investigation, for we live in a visual age, but what methodological models may be employed for the translation of visual data into a sociological useful form. Also of importance is the development of a perspective on how this visual communication functions, the elements (or sub elements) which construct this communication, and
the control this visual format yields. This study was addressed to
this end in the hope that it would provide a small building block upon
which to develop a comprehensive understanding of the visual communi-
cation process and its sociological uses.

In a very real sense communication is education. It is the pro-
cess of communication in which knowledge is exchanged, identity estab-
lished, understanding realized, and thought occurs. According to
Dewey:

> When communication occurs, all natural events are subject
to reconsideration and revision; they are re-adapted to
meet the requirements of conversation, whether it be
public discourse or that preliminary discourse termed
thinking.⁴

In this sense it makes little difference whether the communication is
verbal or visual. What is of importance, however, is the dominant
communication mode of the society in which one operates. In Western
culture the visual is seemingly superseding the verbal as the main
ingredient of mass communication. The ramifications that this simple
observation holds for education are many, not the last of which is
the realization that much of one's understanding, knowledge, and cog-
nitive processes are accomplished through and by the visual mode. The
lack of awareness and limited incorporation of the visual realm into
the educational institutions has produced a situation in which the
visual media has usurped many of the formal educational functions. The
school is no longer the sole disseminator and administer of knowledge.
As Gerbner observes:

> The media's chief impact stems from their universality as
the common bond among all groups in our culture. The media
manufacture the shared symbolic environments, create and cultivate large heterogeneous publics, define the agenda of public discourse, and represent all other institutions in the vivid imagery of fact and fiction designed for mass publics. Teachers and schools no longer enjoy much autonomy, as the public dispensers of knowledge. The formal educational enterprise exists in a cultural climate largely dominated by the informal 'curriculum' of the mass media.  

The proliferation of the image in all forms of communication (education) is not a new revelation, rather, it is the culmination of vast technological advancements which threaten (or promise) a continuance in the same direction. With such significance for education connected with the visual media one would suspect a prodigious amount of research in this visual educational sphere. Such, however, is not the case as the exploration into the communicative aspects and elements of the visual medium are laggard. Of even greater significance is the lack of a perspective on the visual medium and analytical techniques for the analysis of social/political and personal issues in said medium. This legitimate concern, over the deficiency in critical analysis skills and the acquisition of same by the general populace, is a sentiment historically shared by the discipline of Social Studies Education. It is this discipline which has its roots in the pragmatic tradition and for which the nexus of education is critical analysis of social/political and personal issues. This study is addressed to this tradition within the social studies in the hope that the scope of investigation and data will be enlarged to include the visual so as to erase the existing dualism in methodological application. Hopefully this study will assist the furtherance of the extention of the pragmatic position into the visual realm.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER VI


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Miscellaneous


