Inspiration for Inaction?
Humour, Pain, and the Bystander Effect in English-language Cartoons on the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan, 1931-45

by
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ABSTRACT

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HUMOUR, PAIN, AND THE BYSTANDER EFFECT IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CARTOONS ON THE CHINESE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST JAPAN, 1931-45

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During World War II, North American and British cartoonists published wartime propaganda to demonize Germany, Italy, and Japan. Yet, there were a significantly smaller number of cartoons on Japanese aggression in China. This thesis is occupied with British and Canadian perspectives of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan from 1931 to 1945. It analyzes the political cartoons that were published during this period by three news institutions, the North China Herald in Shanghai, the Globe and Mail in Toronto, and Punch in London. The news institutions are regarded as facets of British opinion on Sino-Japanese relations and that British and Canadian cartoonists demonstrated more interest in the war in Europe than the war in East Asia, as British and Canadian governments demonstrated the same ideology. This thesis examines four cartoons from each news institution as evidence that they inspired inaction in viewers rather than mobilization to aid China.
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Introduction

Prior to the United States entering World War II in 1941, Americans ridiculed the strength of Japan through the use of political cartoons. Some of the most well-known illustrations were created by the author of many children’s books, Theodore Seuss Geisel (1904-1991), also known as Dr. Seuss. In a period when World War II had begun and the United States had not yet entered the war, Seuss took comedic aim at American isolationism and attempted to diminish fears of Japanese power. Japan had started its own war against China just a decade earlier, invading Manchuria in 1931, and later participated in World War II with the Axis Powers of Germany and Italy, from 1940 to 1945. To negate the apparent threat of Japan’s military, Seuss published a cartoon (Figure 1.1) on December 1, 1941 that depicted Japan as a dozy, drowning cat weighted down by a large brick, labelled “China.”

Figure 1.1
The cartoon seemingly illustrated that Japan was less of a danger to American safety when preoccupied with its own imperialist agenda. Nine days later, after the December 7 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Seuss again illustrated the Japanese as felines but this time they were on the offensive. This cartoon (Figure 1.2) is set in an offensively named “Jap” alleyway, featuring the American eagle fighting off a swarm of cats with squinted eyes and buckteeth. “Maybe only alley cats, but Jeppers! A hell of a lot of ‘em!” exclaims the American eagle with a worried expression.

Figure 1.2

Within the course of ten days, Japan had first been visualized as irrelevant to American safety and then as a major danger on the homefront. In addition, American political cartoons accused Japanese Americans and all Asian immigrants of endangering the homefront.
Comparing these two examples of cartoons demonstrates how cartoons were utilized to promote political agendas during wartime. A country that was directly under attack by another country had reason to demonize its enemy through the use of visual culture in addition to a physical military force. A political cartoon was therefore a form of propaganda when it both informed the audience and provoked action.1 American wartime cartoons also mobilized the homefront to demonize Japanese American immigrants, even those who had lived there for decades. Asian Americans, including Japanese and Chinese, looking back at this period “decried the humiliation of being allied to a country which deemed them unfit for citizenship” and expressed frustration at how their lives were distorted into an evil ploy.2 On February 13, 1942, a cartoon by Dr. Seuss entitled “Waiting for the Signal From Home…” (Figure 1.3) perpetuated this fear of Japanese on the American west coast. The illustration depicted a long line of Japanese waiting to receive a block of TNT in a most dishonourable way.

John Dower argues that wartime cartoons often depict the enemy with half-truths and holes in explanation. Thus, in order to get American audiences to believe that Asian Americans were allied with the Japanese military that had just attacked their country, cartoonists concealed positive information and replaced that with negative. In this case, the normal lives of Asian immigrants on the American west coast were used as evidence of a conspiracy that they were attacking American values from the inside. Yet with opposite sides spreading ideology about the

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other, “they often reveal more about themselves than the enemy they are portraying.”

Identifying the enemy was important for the people on the homefront because that justified to them the actions of all those involved in the war, thereby maintaining a motivated, mostly white, unified society in North America. Beyond the context of the American homefront, World War Two, cartoons generated a steady stream of propaganda that ridiculed the “other” while praising the “self” through repetitive metaphors, imagery and stereotyping.

Pro-war cartoonists manipulated their ideology in propaganda to form a persisting binary struggle of “us” versus “them.”

Figure 1.3

It was via the illustrative techniques of wartime cartoons that the cartoonists sought to make a group of people into a “herd,” which was a mass of citizens with

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similar goals in the war. It is from a basic ethnic, national difference that the cartoonist could build the portrayal of a political enemy.

Thomas M. Kemnitz has argued that many of the scholarly works in this discipline have discussed the meaning of particular cartoons more often than questioning how such cartoons are relevant on a broader scale. Political cartoons remain significant to the historical understanding of international events, such as world wars, because they represent a series of public opinions. More importantly, they reflect the social and political tone of news institutions that facilitate the kinds of cartoons they pay their artists to draw. In addition, humour is uniquely rooted in the time, politics and culture of when the cartoons were published. The cartoon’s central message is understood according to its original context, yet it also retains the potential of developing a greater meaning over time. Historians can examine political cartoons with a larger historic context that can elude those who viewed them first hand. Martina Kessel and Patrick Merziger argue that cartoons are not only understood chronologically but through a specific lens. For example, cartoons could be analyzed through processes of discrimination that included or excluded certain people during political crises. However, Rhonda Walker examines cartoons as a snapshot in time and argues that they are understood better in that moment and are not representations of broader themes. Thus, cartoons are more difficult to understand from a historical point of view because the historian did not see them when they were first created. My analysis of historical political cartoons corroborates Kemnitz’s work, as the imagery is most accurately understood when presented with a larger relevant context. More specifically, cartoons

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5 Dower, War Without Mercy, 28-29.
created across several countries and decades can be examined together to assess ideas of social and political views concerning one event.

In a similar vein, Christina M. Knopf suggests that a historian is more effectively able to sum up cultural references from several eras when analyzing individual cartoons. In wartime contexts specifically, a historian considers dominant ideology and values that were frequently defined in visual culture. In particular, cartoons were used as propaganda to communicate to viewers immediate threats at hand and what to do. In wartime as well, artists created stock imagery for characters and caricatures that were created with ethnic and racial stereotypes. Tim Rohrer argues racism is most often unchallenged in political cartooning and is an acceptable public platform for voicing ideologies. Cartoons during wartime are powerful due to their ability to transcend the absorption of an average news story and persuade the viewer towards a certain frame of mind with the use of humour. Such a tense political setting also allows artists to convey a darker tone to pair with usual light-hearted jokes. Knopf refers to military terms for humour used in World War I and World War II, “FUBAR” which stands for “fucked up beyond all recognition” to explain how dark humour appealed to soldiers because they could easily identify with the imagery. So, the feelings of helplessness among viewers of darkly humorous wartime cartoons are something that needs to be addressed further.

Research thus far has examined how cartoons can mobilize viewers into action and proactive thought on contemporary events. By doing so, they reveal the historical tendencies of artists to make jokes about their enemies and create stereotypically racial imagery in order to do

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so. This thesis seeks to read against the grain to find where motivation from visual imagery falls short, and instead promotes inaction. In comparison to American World War II cartoons that actively promoted the fight against Japan, the ones produced by Canadian and British cartoonists present an opposite view in the 1930s and 1940s. Political cartoons created in Canada and Britain from 1931 to 1945 on Sino-Japanese conflicts, were different from typical wartime cartoons that were considered propaganda for mobilization. Their illustrations of Sino-Japanese conflict reflect the reality that Canada and Britain were more concerned with their own battles in World War II (1939-1945) than the war in East Asia. Whereas for the British settlers in Shanghai, the cartoons reflected sympathetic concerns for China but recognized that they could not provide assistance without the support of Britain. I argue that these cartoons are imagery that inspires inaction. Inaction is defined as the bystander effect that a viewer feels after seeing that something horrible is happening but is distanced enough to think that they cannot provide any form of aid. The bystander effect as explained by Bibb Latané and John M. Darley provide context for how inaction occurs in emergency situations.

Witnesses do not look at the scene once and then ignore it. Instead they continue to stare out of their windows at what is going on. Caught, fascinated, distressed, unwilling to act but unable to turn away, their behaviour was neither helpful nor heroic; but it was not indifferent or apathetic either.12

This fits into my analyses of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan (1931-1945), as there had been no permanent resolution to various aspects of the conflict that was complicated by World War II more generally. Also, it reflects how Canadians and British observed Sino-Japanese conflict from the 1930s to 1940s with little action.

This thesis seeks to define the motives behind cartoons that were drawn by Canadian and British cartoonists at home, in comparison with British cartoonists in China. The cartoons were

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published in China’s Shanghai-based *North China Herald*, Canada’s *Globe and Mail*, and Britain’s *Punch*. Political cartoons from these forums offer a lens into historically prevalent stereotypes of the appearance and behaviour of people based on their ethnicity. Societal insecurities and knowledge of political tensions were arguably driving forces that produced these ethnically charged cartoons, yet they frequently do not provide any solutions other than educating and amusing readers.\(^\text{13}\) This study will contextualize relevant secondary source material on political cartoons for each country under study. It will utilize the historiography of imperialist ideologies and world conflict, and examine connections between the two in mid-twentieth century China.

After analyzing a collection of cartoons published by the *Globe and Mail*, *Punch*, and *North China Herald*, I compile four cartoons for each chapter and analyze them based on a theory of inaction.\(^\text{14}\) I argue that cartoons that inspire inaction follow a three step process: 1) Introduction of a problem and an example of how the first attempted solution failed; 2) Recognition that a problem persists but also fear that the consequences are irrevocable; and 3) Re-assessment of the problem near its end and acceptance that the damages cannot be repaired. This theory is applied to the Sino-Japanese conflict from 1931 to 1945 by breaking the period into three parts. The three parts consist of the beginning (1931-33), a period when the League of Nations attempted to remove Japan’s army from China by a series of council meetings and reports; the middle (1937-39), the point when Canada and Britain’s involvement in World War II in Europe was imminent as they were aware that Japanese troops were causing severe harm to


\(^{14}\) This is a three-step theory that I wrote up after selecting these cartoons. To support arguments of inaction and the “bystander effect,” I reference Bibb Latané and John M. Darley. *The Unresponsive Bystander: Why Doesn’t He Help?* (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1970), as evidence of how human realistically react to emergency situations.
Chinese civilians; and the end (1941-45), as Canadian and British forums review war damages in Chinese coastal cities and still refrain from getting involved. On the homefront, motivating the public and gaining widespread support on matters of global warfare made these cartoons a method of propaganda. Wartime cartoons often spread propaganda that motivated and comforted citizens on the homefront through humour and popular culture but, most importantly, they confirmed that the soldiers at war were engaged in a righteous fight with the enemy.\textsuperscript{15} Illustrated propaganda often has an emotional appeal and ideological imagery with a better chance of educating the viewer if it triggers feelings of humour or pain. Cartoons from these three publications will be examined from 1931 to 1945 as a representative period of Japan’s military presence in China and a focal point for global views of East Asian conflicts.

The comparison of regional social demographics, target audiences and the relative tone of the cartoons will help reveal the strategies behind each news institution under study. Also, an analysis of editors and cartoonists from each news institution is considered an important factor to how these cartoons were designed for the public to receive information. Comparing different interpretations of China’s socio-political situation illustrates the variety of ways different audiences interpret humour or anger. This study traces events in China from 1931 to 1945 through these political cartoons, alongside history documented for the public in newspapers. Here, the Chinese War of Resistance will be used to describe the all-encompassing Sino-Japanese conflicts from 1931 to 1945. Within this period, the Sino-Japanese Incident (1931-1937), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Pacific War (1941-1945) are three distinct phases of conflict. While these three different phases will not be actively discussed within this thesis, it is significant to note that Japan was not formally involved in World War II until 1941. In so doing, this research seeks to expose the subtle biases expressed towards these

\textsuperscript{15} Knopf, \textit{The Comic Art of War}, 25.
events and to root them in the localized atmosphere in which they were published. This calls for an examination of the local socio-political environment of each city and the content published in each newspaper alongside the cartoons. The goal of the study is to reveal the degree to which cartoonists drew attention to China’s subjugation and joined in the international criticism and ridicule of the Japanese army. The subject of inaction versus propaganda demonstrates that these cartoons were arguably anti-war, but not always anti-Japanese. They were different from other wartime cartoons in that they are not considered, in this thesis, to be propaganda to mobilize but dark humorous comments about the unpredictable nature of war and how viewers can feel helpless to it. These cartoons are instead propaganda to not to mobilize.

Chapter One provides a historiographical analysis of political cartoons and the emergence of newspaper comics. It explores how newspapers originated in the sixteenth century and tracks the gradual progression of news discourses to the present day. This chapter contextualizes the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan and international news coverage on major events as tensions grew throughout the 1930s. It examines not only what actually occurred in China during this decade but also how much the outside world was made aware of at the time. It investigates common imagery that was used to depict China as a victim and Japan as a ruthless aggressor. Such consistent illustrations bring to question the value of entertainment over fact, when international artists depicted Chinese as victimized and sympathized with their humiliation rather than illustrate a strong Chinese military that had been resisting Japanese aggression for decades. This, in part, is due to the lack of knowledge of the struggle. This chapter then briefly compares different strategies of cartoonists in China, Canada, and Britain to contrast their views on humour.
Chapters Two through Four each focus on a country, China, Canada, and Britain to acknowledge their separate perceptions and experiences of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Each chapter will examine four cartoons from 1931 to 1945 to contrast motivational cartoons from those that promote inaction. In addition, the chapters will consider the unique approaches to humour and how they cater toward certain audiences. Some additional cartoons were selected to emphasize the news institutions’ views of China and Japan before and after the war.

Chapter Two focuses on China and how Sino-Japanese conflict was experienced differently for the British who lived there. It investigates one of China’s English language newspapers, the *North China Herald*, to gain some idea of the outsiders’ account of the conflict. The Russian cartoonist, Georgi Sapajnikov (?-1949), known popularly by his pseudonym, “Sapajou” is examined for the cartoons he published during his employment at the *North China Herald*. With analysis of the each cartoon contextualized to different phases of war for the city of Shanghai, Sapajou’s cartoons reflect his anti-war views.

Chapter Three is centered on Canadian news coverage of China during the war and how ethnic and racial politics factored into the depiction of the Chinese and Japanese. The chapter discusses social demographics and the geographical significance of opinion from the east to west coast. This analysis frames Canadian cartoonists’ views of Asian immigrants and their fears of the close proximity to Asia. It also considers Canadian immigration policies and how cartoons mobilized a negative view of going to war against Japan, even as the government mandated the internment of Japanese and Japanese-Canadians. The Canadian cartoonists Arthur George Racey (1870-1941), Argus (identity and dates unknown), and Jack Boothe (1910-1973) adopted distinct styles that reflect their viewpoint of Canada’s negligence towards war in China.
Chapter Four analyzes British perceptions of China in World War II through study of cartoons that utilize dark humour. It analyzes *Punch* as a major player in visual news discourses during the twentieth century. British cartoons, alongside American cartoons, are noted to be the most viewed by global audiences and maintained the biggest legacies after the war. Britain’s heavy involvement in World War II is also a large factor in the media coverage across the 1930s and 1940s, which explains why its cartoons express disinterest in the war in China because they were more focused on the war in Europe. Artists for the selected *Punch* cartoons, Leonard Raven Hill (1867-1942), Bernard Partridge (1861-1945), E.H. Shepard (1879-1976) and Leslie Illingworth (1902-1979) are analyzed for their style of cartooning before, during, and after the war.

Each chapter concludes with how the war ended for each country in 1945 and how the news institutions that published wartime cartoons fared in the postwar period. Accordingly, each chapter reflects on post-war relations with China for the British in Shanghai and London and Canadians in Toronto. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the similar themes and illustrative strategies that are exhibited in the cartoons chosen.
Chapter One: Origins of Political Cartooning and Sino-Japanese Conflict

“I once thought that it might be possible to produce cartoons by way of a system or formula. It isn’t.” - Jack Boothe

European cartoons first appeared in the sixteenth century as intensely opposite from “high art,” as they were quickly produced drawings that exaggerated humour in both physical and linguistic ways. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that the term “cartoon” was used in a relatively present day context of political commentary with the founding of the monthly British magazine, Punch in 1841. Before this, the editorial cartoon originated in newspapers and was very early on differentiated by the socio-economic class of its readers. Scholars have debated the reliability of the information provided by politically charged newspapers due to the constant presence of biases. This chapter outlines the transformation of cartoons from a minor role in monthly newspapers to a major component of cultural understanding during serious political events. Further, it will contextualize how the development of political cartoons into wartime cartoons is relevant to understanding Sino-Japanese conflicts from 1931 to 1945 and explain key events in East Asian war.

Carrie Buchanan describes newspapers as a landscape for human social connections through the publication of many rites of passage. Thus, newspapers were a means of conducting a social function and conveying information about the local community. Similarly, Robert Park views the origins of the newspaper as a textual transformation from seventeenth century societal gossip. Park, however, devalues the power of newspapers as a trustworthy source for

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information and states “news is anything that will make people talk.” Thus, the newspaper emerged out of a culture that favoured the quality of entertainment over factual truth. However, as the newspaper developed it needed to become a respectable source of information to stay relevant among readers. Kevin Williams points to the eighteenth century as a period when newspapers became a central medium for political platforms and opinionated debate. For example, Williams argues that newspapers often present themselves as the voice of the people and narrate active struggles with the state for freedom of speech.

Historically, newspapers competed for their ability to publish important information quickly and preserved their readers’ support by maintaining a certain political tone. This competitive atmosphere of new forums, such as newspapers and books, continued into the nineteenth century when they still were divided by political ideology. Richard D. Altick argues that the political tone of each newspaper was not shaped by public opinion but catered to the editor’s particular social, economic, and political taste. Joseph Darracott also asserts that cartoonists in the twentieth century, specifically during wartime, had few options on what kind of content they could publish. If cartoonists wanted their work to be printed they would have to sometimes quench their own political beliefs and follow suit with the beliefs of their employers. Therefore, newspapers and cartoons cannot be examined on a mass socio-cultural level to define the views of an entire nation. It is best to analyze newspapers and magazines on the ground level, concluding what their values are, and then investigating how the publications balance public opinion and government policy. This ground level analysis will benefit the

21 Ibid, 277-278.
23 Ibid, 68-70.
individual assessment of each news institution chosen for this thesis. The *Globe and Mail* and *Punch* were often construed as publications that represented national perspectives. The *North China Herald* was considered the focal point of British presence in China, though it was based in Shanghai.

**Cartooning In and Out of War**

“Cartoon” is a broad term for a large category of graphic forms of art, yet they are drawings that are distinguished from one another by their designated purpose. Kevin Williams notes that newspapers or news outlets play an important part in developing social consciousness. News is provided to people through two types of communication, entertainment, what the people want, and educative instructions, what the people need. Cartoons can provide both of these requirements and shape the minds of readers just as text narratives in a newspaper can. In terms of visual attributes, Josh Greenberg frames the political cartoon as a combination of three crucial aspects: “the visual image, its caption, and the accompanying label or punch line.” The punch line aspect of political cartoons arguably makes it a form of satirical journalism, as it includes opinionated news and a means of mini-narratives about the problems in the world. More important than the punch line as an identifying trait of political cartoons, is the fact of the image demanding deeper reflection.

Historians have traced the transformation of the cartoon in modern media and examined how humorous imagery enabled viewers to understand the basics of social problems. Similar to how newspapers evolved out of gossip, political cartoons kept viewers connected to everyday life. Some scholars view cartoons as only reactive to political events rather than a valid and

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25 Williams, *Read All About It!*, 9-10.
27 Ibid, 194.
respectable source for news. Rhonda Walker rejects this argument in favour of the idea that political cartoons actively contribute to the flow of information on current events and help form public opinions.\textsuperscript{28} Prior to the founding of \textit{Punch} magazine in 1841 and up to the present day, comic strips were complementary to newspaper content. Such cartoons were more trusted by the public when published in newspapers because they maintained relatively similar political and/or social beliefs, whereas in comic books authors were able to publish their beliefs more independently.\textsuperscript{29} According to this belief, comics alone were not accepted as a valid source for political or social information and were mainly for entertainment.

Research regarding the societal impacts of cartoon illustrations from \textit{Dr. Seuss Goes to War} and \textit{Punch} magazine reflects this idea that political ideology could be absorbed by the viewer from a seemingly innocent and comical image. Dr. Seuss and \textit{Punch} both exposed the harsh nature of international conflicts by publishing cartoons that depicted an all-knowing adult educating children on war. \textit{Punch} communicated to viewers the fears of German schools indoctrinating children to support not only war but also chemical warfare. In “Teaching the Will to War,” (Figure 2.1) published on September 13, 1933, a child is shown reading a textbook labelled \textit{Wehrwissenschaft} [military science] a book that advocated war. The book was shown open on a page that read “The Uses of Poison Gas,” and the German professor standing behind the child says “Now, my child, don’t skip that chapter. It’s one of the most important in the whole book.” Similarly, in a Dr. Seuss cartoon on October 1, 1941, (Figure 2.2) children are depicted reading a violent book under the supervision of an adult. Dr. Seuss here was again illustrating his frustration at American isolationism in the face of the German threat, as an adult woman reading from the book “Adolf the Wolf” wears a sweater labelled “America First.” While

\textsuperscript{28} Walker, “Political Cartoons: Now You See Them!” 17.
the children look at the book horrified, the woman says, “...and the Wolf chewed up the children and spit up their bones...But these were Foreign Children and it really didn’t matter.” These cartoons both demonstrate how children or innocent viewers can become desensitized to harsh topics.

![Figure 2.1](image1)

![Figure 2.2](image2)
Historians of newspaper comics have analyzed linguistic systems to help understand political imagery and wartime visual culture. Such research facilitates the idea that comics are a separate language, separate from verbal constructs. According to Walker, political cartoons are often produced with the knowledge that not every viewer will understand them. While other scholars, like Williams, argue that newspaper reputability has decreased in the centuries since their creation and has “dumbed down” society. They radiate simplicity, but Walker suggests it is simplicity in the cartoon that conceals the more complex intentions from the artist that created it. Yet, political cartoons are divided based on the target audience and meanings the artist desires to project. Artists most commonly create joke cartoons, where humour is necessary, or cartoons of opinion, where humour can be evoked but is not needed for the overall message.

The Setting of World War II

The intended purpose of political cartoons is relevant to the time and place that they were published. As mentioned above, cartoons can provoke thoughts of the future by illustrating events of the day. It is particularly interesting when cartoons are published in a period of global war because the cartoonist uses the topic to make a political statement. War provides an opportunity for cartoonists to comment on issues and frame them in a new way. In this way, cartoonists spread ideological ideas of patriotism and morality. Metaphorical techniques are

32 Williams, *Read All About It!*, 10.
33 Walker, 17.
simply transformed into new “winners and losers” or “aggressors and victims” to frame the conflict in a way that audiences might relate to or at least understand.\textsuperscript{36}

The following sections demonstrate how political cartoons can rally their viewers into action by raising issues for improvement on the homefront and portraying the enemy through humorous and negative imagery. These two methods of persuading the viewer into agreement can lead to the consequentially long-lasting effects of ideological racism through the repetitive use of imagery after the wartime. The cartoons included in this thesis will be utilized to describe the social issues in wartime that remain as a form of cultural disunity because such illustrations foment public opinion on how to win the war.

**Propaganda: The Ideology of the Home Front**

Political cartoons can be constructed so that there is one key enemy or issue that is threatening the safe status quo. On the homefront, motivating the public and gaining widespread support on matters of global warfare make these cartoons a method of propaganda. Cartoons were illustrated to motivate and comfort the citizens on the homefront through humour, but also to affirm that the soldiers at war were righteously fighting the enemy.\textsuperscript{37} Erin Steuter and Deborah Wills state: “propaganda is the fuel that feeds the machinery of war,” and therefore it is crucial in gaining public support so that the war will be successful.\textsuperscript{38} Propaganda, however, often has a more emotional appeal and is not entirely for educating viewers but to center their mindsets. The point that is forgotten about war cartoons is that they are still a form of entertainment and aimed at audiences that are not necessarily in service of the army. In this way, Christina M. Knopf explains that cartoons of this variety rarely have any real depictions of what life is like at the


\textsuperscript{37} Knopf, *The Comic Art of War*, 25.

\textsuperscript{38} Steuter and Wills, *At War With Metaphor*, 17-18.
front or how politics necessarily work in global crises. It is problematic when cartoons depict an unrealistically calm and humorous time for soldiers at war and visualize the enemy abroad as weak.

War hate and ethnic hate were not new concepts in the twentieth century, and John Dower explains how war technologies advance in the same way that imagery found new ways to dehumanize the enemy Other. With the enemy depicted more different in character or species, the capacity for moral killing increased exponentially. Rather than outright racist imagery, political cartoons are more complex in illustrations by depicting enemies as insects, devils or demons, and small animals or children. When Allied nations are portrayed with the same metaphor, they are stereotypically heroic animals that are natural predators. Political cartoons take conceptual metaphors to a more humorous but sobering extent when certain repercussions come into effect, in this case with the marginalizing of groups and denying them the ability to speak for themselves. Racism is direct and unquestioned as a consequence of war cartoons because they consistently affirm that “they” are all alike in appearance and therefore alike in their actions or intentions. The human mind from here learns not to distinguish the others as people separate from their group, and discriminates against the group accordingly.

Joseph Darracott explains that there is a difference between the uses of animal or object metaphors in times of peace versus a period when one country is depicted as an enemy. For example, cartoonists from Allied countries such as Britain, Canada, and the United states passed around similar animalized versions of each other in the twentieth century. The British lion, the American eagle, and the Canadian beaver are meant to be obvious depictions of those countries

42 Steuter and Wills, At War With Metaphor, 27.
playing on international stereotypes. Some other examples include the Russian bear, the Australian kangaroo, and the New Zealand kiwi.\textsuperscript{43} As these are Allied countries and mostly Commonwealth countries with Britain, excluding the United States and Russia of course, their caricatures for the most part remain the same through periods of war and peace. The depiction of Japan in and out of the war is a point of interest, and when it is considered an enemy, it is visualized more as a samurai warrior than the typical caricature as a red sun, reminiscent of their flag.\textsuperscript{44} Renée Dickason views animalization and the use of caricatures as a constant way to depict an enemy and mock them. Yet there can be more significance in what the enemy is doing in the cartoon and less about what they look like.\textsuperscript{45} So caricatures of nations are simply defining traits of who it is instead of what its actions speak to.

Dower insists that World War Two was an event that encouraged an ongoing racial consciousness in the world and that public forums were able to discriminate against others with few challenges. It was a war that was defined by racial discrimination and a high death count.\textsuperscript{46} This stance essentially argues that racist ideology remained dormant in the interwar years and emerged easily through the use of propaganda, including political cartooning. Lincoln Quillian defines racial prejudice as generalizations about a certain group that evoke negative emotions. Discrimination is seemingly linked to prejudices as they provoke hatred towards a certain group, however, discrimination is defined as “only acts to intentionally harm the target group,” and prejudice is often the leading force behind discrimination.\textsuperscript{47} Jocelyn Greenwood analyzed American war propaganda that instrumentally dehumanized Japan, Japanese people, and culture

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\textsuperscript{43} Darracott, \textit{A Cartoon War}, 13.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 13-15.
\textsuperscript{46} Dower, \textit{War Without Mercy}, 4.
\end{flushleft}
through the use of cartooning. Greenwood argues that such cartoons were a definitive form of propaganda, which spread ideology that war against Japan and Japanese people was an American moral duty.\textsuperscript{48} Thus, racial discrimination was instrumental to the purpose of spreading race hate and advancing the war effort.

After 1945, the flow of political war cartoons and academic interest in them declined, possibly in the efforts to bring forward a new era. In recent decades, however, Ray Morris argues there has been a revived interest in the effects of these cartoons as a result of cultural studies and feminism that tend to study the history of political agendas and the global perspectives of certain groups.\textsuperscript{49} Many scholars noted their confusion over how such national support of race hate and the war effort could dissipate so rapidly after war ends. It can also be argued that this racist material did not disappear but evolved in later decades. Dower argues that regardless of negative US-Japanese relations during World War II, they developed a strong relationship in the postwar period. Thus, stereotypical perceptions of the Japanese were transformed to mobilize American audiences into believing in cooperation between the nations.\textsuperscript{50} This did not mean, however, that negative imagery of Japanese and Chinese people was non-existent in the postwar period.

Cartoons illustrated by Dr. Seuss provide a good basis for analyses of wartime imagery in the fact that they are straightforward, which enables most viewers to understand the general idea. Dr. Seuss creates an interesting dynamic in his cartoons where some images are abruptly offensive, while others are less daring and more suited for children; however, there is usually a hidden meaning. In a study of children in school from kindergarten through to grade six, Diane


\textsuperscript{50} Dower, \textit{War Without Mercy}, 301-302.
Barone evaluated how many students could grasp abstract ideals and make contemporary relevance to the cartoons illustrated by Dr. Seuss in the *Butter Battle Book*. The most significance was found when the students, usually of higher grades, noted that the book was a metaphor for war. With the study conducted in 1993, almost five decades after Dr. Seuss published the war cartoons analyzed in this paper, the ideas were still apparent through his storytelling that led the students to make judgments on the reasons for war and how images can help predict the future by re-framing a story of the past.\(^5\) Cartoons throughout World War Two and those that are more recent can lead to a greater understanding of the past and the present.

**War in China**

Japan’s relationship with mainland Asia was long and complicated prior to the 1930s. They shared cultural and economic values, but also quarrelled over territory leading back several centuries. Northern China and Korea were frequently the settings in which these disputes were fought, two times in the thirteenth century when Mongolian troops led by Kublai Khan (r.1260-1294) attempted to capture Japan and again in the sixteenth century when Japanese warrior commander Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) attacked Korea.\(^6\) By the start of the twentieth century, Japanese leaders again had the goal to gain power in the northern regions for decades, as a desirable place for expansion. When Japan defeated Russia in war in 1905, it wrested control over the railway system in south Manchuria.

Japan was deeply invested in Northeast China, and in 1932 the Japanese military asserted informal colonial control over the region. At the same time, Japan was heavily involved with the League of Nations, formed in 1920 after World War I, to foster international cooperation.


Complications were revealed when the League of Nations challenged Japan’s actions in Korea, Manchuria, and China overall as Japanese soldiers began to advance their position in the regions in the first thirty years of the twentieth century. Historians view this as a turning point for Japan’s image, as it was viewed as an untamable aggressor when refusing to loosen its grip on mainland Asia.

In 1922, nine signatories of the League (the United States, Belgium, Britain, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal) gathered to officiate the Nine-Power Pact that concentrated on lessening foreign controls on China. The treaty members recognized that the unequal treaties forced on China, including the Treaty of Nanking (1842), were out-dated. Upon revising these agreements, the pact decided that the U.S.-backed Open Door Policy would prevail and that China would not be subject to imperial conquest: China would retain its own sovereignty. In 1926, a tariff conference in Peking even considered the abolishment of extraterritoriality, the law that excluded foreigners in China from abiding with Chinese laws. 53 This law was not only beneficial to foreigners in China on an individual basis but allowed countries to maintain a socio-political and economic stake along the coastal cities, which some would consider semi-colonial spheres of influence. 54 Extraterritoriality in China was not officially repealed by foreign governments until 1943, but the threat of it happening twenty years earlier can be included as one of the many significant reasons why Japan was motivated to take greater control over China.

In addition there was an unexpected stability and growth of Chinese government policy when the new Nationalist government was established in 1927. The government was led by

Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and helped the growth of nationalism in China. Yet, historians argue this was not as responsible for strengthening China as some think. Fortunately for Japan, China’s Nationalist leader Chiang was preoccupied with a civil war with the Communist Party of China (CCP) and viewed internal political conflict as more important. In the mission to make China the weak and divided nation that Japan viewed it as, the Japanese Kwantung Army mobilized in mainland Asia. Optimistic Sino-Japanese relations were shattered when Japanese forces invaded Manchuria in 1931 and proclaimed it the state of Manchukuo the next year. The Mukden Incident, as it was commonly known, also severed Japan from a reputable foreign policy and led to Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933.55

Chinese resistance to Japanese aggression ensued with various conflicts leading to the Xi’an Incident in 1936, in which two subordinate generals detained Chiang until he agreed to prioritize the fight against Japan over the preceding fight with the CCP.56 China and Japan were thus embroiled in an eight-year long war when neither side refused to surrender until 1945 when World War II ended with Japan’s defeat.57 However, before Japan surrendered in 1945 a large population of Chinese were living in occupied territory. At its height, the Japanese military control extended along China’s coastal cities and maintained power over Chinese railways.58 In December of 1937, the city of Nanjing was bombed and the attack lasted for over six months. The mass killing is historically referred to as the Nanjing Massacre or the Rape of Nanjing,

56 This paper does not engage in deeper discussion on the civil war in China and the ongoing disputes between the CPC and the Guomindang government, but focuses on China’s relationship with the rest of the world and their resistance to Japanese aggression.
57 Barret and Shyu, China in the Anti-Japanese War, 15.
which resulted the deaths of an estimated 200,000 Chinese.\textsuperscript{59} From 1937 to 1945, the human death toll in China was estimated at 15 million and at least 1.3 million were Chinese soldiers.\textsuperscript{60}

News coverage of the Nanjing massacre was rare, as journalists in unoccupied parts of China were unable to witness the events with their own eyes. It was also difficult for the American and British correspondents that stayed in Nanjing during its siege in 1937 to smuggle their reports out of the city. Suping Lu addresses the outstanding value of these reports made by foreign journalists during the War of Resistance Against Japan and commended them for staying positioned there even with the abuse they suffered. While the journalists compiled their eye-witness reports on the ongoing Nanjing massacre, the Japanese limited their travels in and out of Nanjing, so there was little coverage of the events overall.\textsuperscript{61} Yet, what the world did know about the war added to the idea that China was a victim of assault.\textsuperscript{62} This image of Chinese victimization is what was most commonly depicted in global cartoons during World War II and contributed to most of the world’s understanding of the conflict.

This thesis analyzes how English language newspapers of Shanghai, Toronto, and London produced their cartoons on the Sino-Japanese conflict as a result of the stream of news coming from China’s foreign correspondents. More importantly, it gauges their political approach to the dispute based on the tone of their publication and their style of cartooning as unique to their particular view of the war in China. The North China Herald, Globe and Mail, and Punch were all founded in the mid-nineteenth century, and presented themselves as independent. Yet they were developed in different environments, experienced their own forms of

\textsuperscript{60} Dower, War Without Mercy, 295.
\textsuperscript{61} Suping Lu, They Were in Nanjing: The Nanjing Massacre Witnessed by American and British Nations, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 27.
\textsuperscript{62} Fogel, The Nanjing Massacre in History, 12.
competition, and reached their peak in different eras. Each news institution staffed different cartoonists who expressed their individualism in and out of wartime.
Chapter Two: The North China Herald

The North China Herald, otherwise known as the North China Daily News, was a Shanghai-based foreign-owned newspaper founded in 1850 and was the city’s most notable of its kind. It was an English-language newspaper and was mostly British owned until it closed in 1941. Founded by Henry Shearman (1813-56), the North China Herald was originally a weekly newspaper but became a daily in the 1860s. The newspaper was not only popular in Shanghai but also overseas, in London, Washington, and many other big cities. Journalists for foreign newspapers in China possessed a duality in the news world for publishing stories locally in Shanghai but also working as correspondents for the newspapers in their home countries.

Yong Z. Volz and Chin-Chuan Lee categorized three main groups of readers in twentieth century Shanghai to describe why major newspapers like the North China Herald maintained status in such a heavily competitive atmosphere. The bulk of readership was foreign residents in China of English-speaking nations, such as the United States and Britain. Following them were upper class Chinese, those who went to school abroad or studied English, and members of the government who monitored foreign policies towards China. Other readers included internationally based subscribers to the newspaper. Maintaining a core readership from each of these groups relied upon journalists’ respectful relationship with the Chinese government regarding what they were able to publish, as well as a deep knowledge of Chinese life and

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In 1864, the North China Herald began publishing a daily newspaper. The North China Daily News was published under the parent company of the North China Herald, which also published a gazette of the British Supreme Court. Most scholars discuss the company by referring to the North China Daily News, but in this thesis I will refer to it as the North China Herald as an all-encompassing analysis of the newspaper company. However, all of the cartoons selected for this chapter are from the weekly edition of the North China Herald.

culture. Yet, Robert Bickers argues that prior to the 1930s the *North China Herald* condemned Chinese nationalism and ridiculed Chinese character.

During the crucial political period in China in 1927, an American journalist, Rodney Gilbert (1889-1968) became acting editor of the *North China Herald* and the newspaper expressed distaste for Chinese politics. In 1927, the *North China Herald* and *North China Daily News* published a series of books voicing concerns of a “red” China. Three books entitled *China in the Grips of the Reds: A Bolshevized China, the World’s Greatest Peril*, and *The Soviet in China Unmasked* used articles written in the pages of the *North China Herald* and the *North China Daily News* to illustrate the broader context of political crises in China and that affected British and Americans in Shanghai. From the 1920s to the 1940s the *North China Herald* employed Georgi Sapojnikov (?-1949), a Russian World War I veteran that was later stateless, as their main cartoonist. Sapojnikov went by the name “Sapajou” in his cartoons that documented political strife and social commentaries through China’s interwar period, the Chinese War of Resistance and the Civil War.

Cartoons published by the *North China Herald* in the mid-to-late 1920s also illustrate this concern by mocking Chinese politicians and China’s relationship with the Soviet Union. On January 3, 1925 a cartoon “Miss China Under the Mistletoe,” (Figure 3.1) illustrated three political figures, Feng Yuxiang, Sun Yat-sen and Zhang Zuolin arguing over who would get to kiss China, who waited impatiently in the background. The cartoon is evidence that the *North China Herald* did not believe that China was capable of establishing a united front. On August 27, 1927 a cartoon entitled “Rehearsing for the Next Performance,” (Figure 3.2) depicted China

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as a circus acrobat practicing on hanging aerial rings while a ringmaster, labeled “Moscow” held
a large whip and said “A little rest now and then we resume!”

Figure 3.1

Figure 3.2
Bickers argues that it is not surprising that an American journalist was able to attain such a prestigious position at the *North China Herald*, and it was evidence that extraterritoriality gave foreigners socioeconomic power in Chinese coastal cities.\footnote{Bickers, *Britain in China*, 28.} Gilbert was editor until 1929, and Edwin Haward (1884–?) was acting editor of the *North China Herald* from 1930-38. Haward was also a journalist, and acted as a foreign correspondent for Britain in India during the early twentieth century. Peter O’Connor argues that Haward’s placement at the *North China Herald* was evidence that Britain desired to keep China within imperial reach, as his career had previously been centered on Britain’s imperial relationship with India.\footnote{Peter O’Connor, *The English-language Press Networks of East Asia, 1918-1945*, (Folkstone, UK: Global Oriental, 2010), 16.} After Haward, R.T. Peyton-Griffin (1890-1950) was editor of the *North China Herald* from 1938 to 1941, when the paper was forced to close. Prior to his position as editor, Peyton-Griffin wrote gossip columns under the pen name “In Parenthesis.”\footnote{R.T. Peyton-Griffin, *Shanghai’s Schemozzle*, (Hong Kong: China Economic Review Publications, 2007), 7.}

Under Peyton-Griffin the newspaper actively chose to ostracize Japan and sympathize with China. Yet, under Peyton-Griffin the *North China Herald* made fun of every part of Shanghai life in the cartoons of Sapajou. Humorous imagery by Sapajou mocked Chinese behavior and traditions, politicians and crime in Shanghai, and the pretentiousness of Shanghailanders.\footnote{Paul French, *Through the Looking Glass: China’s Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 162-163.} Thus, it can be argued that the *North China Herald* maintained a voice of British superiority in Shanghai. However, these Sino-Japanese conflicts presented the fact that the British had disassociated from the British Shanghailanders and their interests in China had dwindled. In an analysis of British foreign policy in China, Phoebe Chow argues that the Shanghailanders were not considered worthy of protection during the Chinese War of Resistance.
or World War II in total. Chow says, “policymakers were also hesitant to use force to protect British subjects from the chaos and violence in China,” and that the British in Shanghai were outwardly frustrated with their home governments disinterest in their safety.

Commonly referred to as the “Paris of the Orient,” Shanghai had a highly cultured environment in the early twentieth century. According to Leo Ou-fan Lee it was also a competitive market for foreign newspapers and businesses. The city arguably reached its peak in the 1930s and was undoubtedly the most significant major city in Asia after the Tokyo earthquake in 1923. Located at the mouth of the Yangtze River, it was China’s major commercial city of the time and in the center of the city was the international zone. Shanghai was a cosmopolitan “contact zone” that provided a vision of multi-national functionality both socially and in the workplace. It was a place of multicultural activity, filled with over 80,000 foreigners of different nationalities and ethnicities. Scholars define the booming foreign business industry of Shanghai “spheres of influence.” Foreigners were able to exert some control over the development of the city.

The foreign press was part of a semi-colonial system that enjoyed extraterritorial rights whereby each group, or country, competed for greater agency and influence in China. According to Barbara Mittler, Shanghai was the news capital of China, and the center of Chinese nationalism amid the clusters of foreign concessions. Newspapers fared well in Shanghai because of their potential to develop a commonality in readers by writing pieces that enabled

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75 Ibid.
foreigners to understand their relation to the world around them.\textsuperscript{76} Britain planted the first successful English-language newspapers, starting with the \textit{North China Herald} in 1850, but it was not until the twentieth century that the American press in China initiated competition in the industry. In total, there were more than one hundred foreign news outlets across China in the early twentieth century but in 1930s Shanghai alone, there were eight British newspapers and six American.\textsuperscript{77}

The founding of the Japanese occupied state of Manchukuo in 1932 was a pivotal point for foreign journalists to choose sides. While some newspapers, like the \textit{Shanghai Times}, demonstrated that they were pro-Japanese, most established newspapers in China viewed Japan’s plans as worrisome. The \textit{North China Daily News}’ editor in the 1930s, Edwin Haward was conflicted by the controversy surrounding the Mukden Incident but tended to side with the Japanese. Shuge Wei argues that this is evidence the British were more pro-Japanese at this point than the \textit{North China Herald}.\textsuperscript{78} Japan’s growing position of power in Manchuria complicated the situation for foreign journalists and businessmen in Shanghai. Their consistent interest in Manchuria motivated them to report on changes there. At first, Japan’s interest in China was viewed as a source of investment for the continuous development of multicultural Chinese coastal cities, but once it was revealed that Japan had more militaristic pursuits, Westerners felt threatened.\textsuperscript{79} The \textit{North China Herald} catered mainly to its English speaking audience, but that was complicated by the war in Europe when European readers noted biases in the newspaper against Germans and Japanese. German nationalists reportedly switched to German-language

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, 559-560.
\textsuperscript{79} R.T. Peyton-Griffin, 13.
foreign publications in China when they sensed hostilities against Germans rising in the 1930s.\(^{80}\)

Volz and Lee note that the *North China Herald* was highly dedicated to British foreign policy and that became a reason why non-British readers grew less fond of the newspaper, especially during World War II when it only involved Europe, from September 1939 to December 1941.\(^{81}\)

Upon the start of conflict with Japan in 1931, Chinese cartoonists mobilized to create anti-Japanese content. Prominent Chinese cartoonist, Liang Baibo (1911- ca. 1970), among many others joined the Cartoonist Association for National Salvation [*Shanghai manhuajie jiuwang xiehui*] in 1937.\(^{82}\) Wang Dunqing (1899-1990) founded the journal, *National Salvation Cartoons* [*Jiuwang manhua xuanchuandui*], as Shanghai was under attack in 1937 to use art to resist Japanese cruelty and to mobilize allies. Following the Nationalist retreat in 1938, they based their office in Wuhan and rebranded as *War of Resistance Cartoons* [*Kangzhan manhua*]. As many as forty-one artists collaborated with the association throughout the war.\(^{83}\) Liang produced imagery that mirrored women’s perspectives of foreign invasion and brought to light sexual violence committed by the Japanese military.\(^{84}\) Zhang Leping (1910-1992) illustrated an overweight Japanese samurai/sumo wrestler slicing himself into pieces with his sword, suggesting the Japanese were both repulsive and incapable.\(^{85}\) Thus, Chinese cartoons present a dramatically different vision of Chinese resistance against Japanese aggression because they were more personally invested in the issue. As a stateless Russian, Sapajou was distanced from

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\(^{80}\) Paul French, *Through the Looking Glass*, 184.

\(^{81}\) Volz and Lee, “Semi-Colonialism and Journalist Sphere of Influence,” 563.


\(^{84}\) Li, “The Visual As Memory,” 213

the issue and his cartoons represented his foreign privilege. He was not actively targeted by the Japanese military, though he received threats, and could provide no national aid on behalf of the Soviet Union because he was independent of those politics. As such, while he sympathized with the Chinese, Sapajou created more open-ended cartoons that allowed the viewer to decide their allegiance while Chinese cartoons produced violent cartoons that illustrated their support for Chinese resistance.

At the start of his career at the *North China Herald*, Sapajou was held in high regard and was the only cartoonist that the newspaper employed. Sapajou loved to travel, and when he decided to take vacations the newspaper found no reason to hire a temporary replacement and there were no cartoons until he returned. He was consistently able to create new and relevant content; he drew two cartoons a day for the daily publication and one cartoon a week for the weekly edition.\(^8^6\) This enables a consistent analysis of the political tone of cartoons that were published by this newspaper throughout the entirety of Sino-Japanese conflict from the late 1920s to the early 1940s when they ceased publication, and Sapajou was forced to find employment elsewhere. As a British newspaper employed him, his ideology was affected by British political strategies and their opinions of events in China. While his cartoons were received as mainly pro-Chinese, his most consistent political stance was neutral and his cartoons addressed his anti-war views before anything else.\(^8^7\) Compared to the popular satirical magazine in Russia, *Krokodil [Crocodile]*, which published controversial and daring cartoons, Sapajou’s cartoons could be viewed as less persuasive for mobilization. Sapajou customized his style based on his employers’ political agendas.\(^8^8\)

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\(^8^7\) Niderost, “Sapajou: China’s Russian Cartoonist,” 42-43.

When the *North China Herald* was shut down in 1941, Sapajou feared unemployment so greatly that he was willing to work for a pro-Nazi journal, *XX Century* (1941-45), owned by a German named Klaus Mehnert (1906-1984) and he began drawing for the “other side” bringing into question his loyalties.\(^{89}\) It is fair to assume that he was working as a result of fear tactics and political pressure. After years of building his career with illustrations that mocked the Japanese, Sapajou had become a target. Soon after Shanghai was occupied in late 1937, Sapajou received a cartoon from an anonymous artist that featured him in a prison cell chained to an iron ball that bore the Japanese flag.\(^{90}\) After his departure from the *North China Herald* in 1940, he had first attempted to form a united cartoonist front in Shanghai, by forming the Shanghai Cartoonist Club in 1942. Unfortunately the group soon disbanded for members’ safety.\(^{91}\) Regardless of how complicated his career became after the occupation of Shanghai, Sapajou was known to have influenced a new generation of Chinese cartoonists. Zhang Leping and Hua Junwu were among those cartoonists who admired Sapajou’s style and were inspired by the humanity that he incorporated into his work.\(^{92}\) In this view Sapajou was most certainly anti-war and anti-Japanese, yet his cartoons examined below do not demonstrate an optimistic way out of conflict. That either represents a relative disinterest in war or his style as less aggressive than other wartime cartoonists.

This chapter focuses on foreign cartoonists’ visions as distinct from Chinese cartoonists within China during the War of Resistance. English language newspapers such as the *North China Herald* provided a unique view of the Sino-Japanese conflict due to their position as outsiders yet with insider views and first-hand knowledge of the situation. In addition, several

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89 Niderost, 43.
90 Djordjevic, xxxii.
92 Niderost, “Sapajou: China’s Russian Cartoonist, 43.
types of humour emerged from Chinese cartoonists through several transformations regarding how to endure and resist the Japanese occupation from the 1930s to the 1940s. Louise Edwards argues that Chinese artists tended not to comment on military issues prior to the 1930s and instead focused on politics and advertising. The War of Resistance presented a new opportunity for Chinese cartoonists to be actively involved in the war effort. Instead of being reactive to events in China, Chinese cartoonists during the wartime were able to establish new levels of humour that could influence the views of the public, emotionally, socially, and politically. East Asian humour was similar to other kinds of humour in that it was educative, satirical and sometimes harsh. Complementary to Edwards’ argument, Barak Kushner argues that Chinese humour was changed by concerns about Japan in the early 1930s. Chinese artists not only extended their reach of humour contextually but across several media forms such as newspapers, advertisements, and film to use as platforms to represent their views of Japan to the public.

Chinese-language newspapers emerged in Shanghai in the 1870s and provided an outlet for a broader Chinese audience than Western-style, English-language newspapers. Rudolph G. Wagner argues that late nineteenth and early twentieth century Shanghai was a hybrid space of cultural identities. Thus foreigners in Shanghai developed their own cultural identity as “Shanghaiiren” or “Shanghailander.” Yet, the emergence of Chinese-language newspapers was a separation from that and allowed Chinese identity to flourish more in this multicultural space. For example, the Shenbao, known in English as Shanghai News [Shen-pao] catered to British Shanghailanders and Chinese readers, not only because it was in Chinese but it also catered to

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95 Edwards, “Drawing Sexual Violence in Wartime China,” 563.
their values as multicultural citizens in Shanghai. However, John A. Lent and Xu Ying argue that in wartime, the Chinese press shifted to communicate to mainly Chinese readers. In periods when the Chinese press was censored because of war, cartoonists layered their cartoons with a series of codes and specific references for the Chinese audience to understand. Thus, in the postwar period after 1945, Chinese cartoonists tended to create cartoons that were more subtle and easier to understand.

While it has been noted above that some cartoonists utilized the technique of using metaphorical imagery (animals, story characters, and phrases), Chinese cartoonists were unique based on their distinctive use of humour and language. Anti-Japanese and anti-war cartoons featured in the Chinese press with depictions of the Japanese as savage and animal-like. One important fact that can be argued about cartooning practices during the war is that Chinese cartoonists visually attacked the Japanese in humorously dark ways whereas the English-language newspapers made humorous comments about Chinese problems. This thesis will not compare Chinese humour with North American or British humour beyond this portion of the chapter. In this chapter the comparison provides ample context for how Russian cartoonist Sapajou fits into providing an internal vision of China while working for a British newspaper alongside competition with American newspapers. The cartoons reproduced here, mainly by Sapajou, present depictions of inspiration for inaction. Such imagery informs the viewers of European and North American descent of the conflict without invoking a purpose or pro-active reaction in them, but simply states what is happening and how the situation cannot be helped.

100 Ibid, 85-88.
The Beginning (1931-33): The South Manchuria Railway and Kellogg-Briand Pact

The first cartoon examined here (Figure 3.3) was published on October 20, 1931 in the wake of the Japanese military occupation of Manchuria. The image, titled “No Admission” presents the gated entrance to Manchuria, blocked by a toy-like Japanese soldier standing still, smiling widely, and holding an oversized rifle with a bayonnet. The female illustrated as the League of Nations and the American Uncle Sam are pictured looking at the soldier in shock while Uncle Sam tightly clutches a paper labelled “Kellogg Pact.”

![Cartoon Image]

**Figure 3.3**

Based on how the three characters are illustrated, there can be some assumptions made about Japan’s internationalism at this first stage of Sino-Japanese conflict in the early 1930s. First, the League has been feminized in this illustration. The League of Nations is depicted here
as a woman who appears to be fearfully gripping her male companion’s arm as they both look at the Japanese soldier. Also, even though the League is clearly taller than the Japanese soldier the soldier has feet over double the size, a means of suggesting who had a bigger stake in China. The wide stance of the Japanese soldier and his overly large feet and hands was an illustrative strategy to assert Japan’s dominance on the world stage. This cartoon was featured on the front page of the Saturday, October 20 *North China Herald* weekly issue and the newspaper expressed a deep interest in the League’s council meetings on the Manchurian Crisis. An article featured below the cartoon voiced disappointment that the League’s first set of meetings on the Manchurian Crisis in late September had led to a “deadlock.”\(^1\) A bigger article on the next page discussed the debates between Chinese and Japanese representatives approaching the League with information on their dispute and how to solve it. The consensus among writers at the *North China Herald* was that while Sino-Japanese conflict was a very big issue to the function of international policy, this matter was in a standstill when Japanese and Chinese representatives both claimed they were in the right.\(^2\) The *North China Herald* does present itself here to be pro-Chinese.

The incorporation of the train in this image is significant in two ways. First it illustrates Japan’s defence of its assets in the region as a cause of the occupation as well as suggesting its influence in Manchuria. From 1894 to 1905, Japan had fought two successful wars for more power in Manchuria and the battles were mostly fought there. The Sino-Japanese War of 1884 to 1895 and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) were concerned with the economic and political

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\(^1\) “Epoch-Making,” *North China Herald*, Saturday, October 20, 1931, page 77.

assets in Manchuria.\textsuperscript{103} In 1905 the Treaty of Portsmouth ended the Russo-Japanese War and Japan gained possession of the Liaodong leased territory and the previously Russian built and owned railway through the southern sphere of Manchuria.\textsuperscript{104} The South Manchuria Railway (SMR) lines covered 520 miles from Changchun to Port Arthur, including all of the branches. As a result of this, the SMR was founded in 1906 by the Japanese government with political, economic and cultural plans for development of the region. These plans were a combination of secure military conquest, economic development by means of the SMR, state capitalism, and the mass migration of Japanese into the region.\textsuperscript{105} Possession of the SMR was advantageous for the Japanese because it secured their position and profits. As a company, the SMR gave the Japanese access to industrial revenues from coal mines, steel mills, and electric manufacturing plants.\textsuperscript{106} In addition, the company facilitated travel and tourism under the ownership of hotels, spas and more across major cities in Manchuria. In the early twentieth century Japanese forces entered northern China under the guise of tourism and the desire to build a multicultural region under their guidance. Cities along the railway line were filled with Japanese migrants, Japanese style accommodations and SMR sponsored establishments.\textsuperscript{107}

It is also important to understand how Sino-Japanese conflict began near the SMR line. The alleged incident occurred on the night of September 18, 1931 when an explosion on the SMR in Mukden caused the local Japanese military to mobilize. Scholars such as Arthur K.

\textsuperscript{105} Louise Young. \textit{Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism}. (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1998), 4.
Kuhn argue that this “emergency” event might have been a strategy used by the Japanese to secure their presence in China and advance their planned attacks moving forward. The event sparked a media controversy over who was to blame for the impending conflict. The two British run news outlets, the *London Times* and the *North China Daily/Herald*, were put at odds when the former reported that the Chinese were at fault for the bombing and the latter argued the opposite. The two responses are explained by their sources. The *London Times* published their article first within 24 hours of the event because the Japanese War Ministry released a statement on the incident and there had been nothing reported on the Chinese side. The rebuttal arrived a day later when the *North China Herald* voiced the Chinese government’s argument that Japan’s actions on September 18 were malicious and un-called for. The contrast between the two newspapers reflects two things. First, that the London press was more likely to take Japan’s side and that the foreign press in Shanghai would favour China’s and, second, newspapers reacted and adapted their publications based on when facts were announced. These points bear little importance to the interpretation of the cartoon, but it does bring into question how news during wartime gets transmitted.

The paper in the grasp of the American, Uncle Sam looking figure featured in the cartoon holds the Kellog Pact, signed in 1928 by countries involved in World War I (1914-18) to not initiate an international war in order to solve conflict. Formally known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, or the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War, it was the product of American Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg (1856-1937) and Aristide Briand (1862-1932), Minister of Foreign Affairs in France. The treaty was officially effective in July 1929 with thirty-one signatories,

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including China and Japan.\textsuperscript{110} Weeks prior to the Japanese attack, a Japanese council member for the League, Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933), had written about his strong belief that Japan was devoted to maintaining this peace agreement in the interwar period.\textsuperscript{111} Hence, its display signifies to readers that the League would follow this contract and would not be sending aid to Manchuria for resistance against Japan. Even while the pact failed to keep peace during the interwar years with several of its signatories starting their own wars, the League did not choose to intervene. Also under academic debate is how the League should have taken action after this incident to prevent the outbreak of hostilities.

From this first image, it is clear that Sapajou followed international cartoon practices of mocking the Japanese based on their appearance. The small stature of the soldier paired with the practically invisible eyes met the ethnically stereotypical features that would later be passed around World War II cartoonists. Apart from the overall goal to depict the Japanese as childlike and dehumanized or animal like, stereotypical Japanese features included squinted eyes and bucked teeth. In stature they were usually drawn as short and/or weak to enhance their dramatized difference from their enemy depicted alongside them. Any of these illustrative features were utilized in the goal to poke fun at the Japanese in an attempt to make them look inferior or enhance their evil persona for viewers.\textsuperscript{112}

Yet this cartoon is one of the few drawn by Sapajou that mocks Japanese features more than their military strategy. This is the only cartoon examined in this chapter that shows the Japanese depicted as a human, where the others find the Japanese as objects or animals or not

\textsuperscript{110} Hathaway and Shapiro, \textit{The Internationalists}, 129.
present at all. This is not to say there are not ethnically discriminatory cartoons in Sapajou’s large collection of illustrations, but it does showcase that he did not demonize the Japanese as harshly as the American cartoonists did. However, there are more American cartoons that have dehumanized the Japanese for the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 and less on their attitudes towards the Sino-Japanese conflict.

There is a complicated duality to how the events of the 1931 Manchurian Incident were interpreted amongst involved parties. The cartoon illustrates the central obstacle that the League faced in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese conflict in the 1930s. The figures in the cartoon are put at odds when the League, appealing to China’s pleas, attempts to confront Japan about the military occupation and Japan insists there is no such occupation, but rather a police action. Concerned about the actual circumstances of Japan’s position in Manchuria but unable to act on their suspicions without breaching the no-war pact, the League was left with little choice but to leave the issue momentarily unsolved. The Japanese rejected the notion that they had broken either of the recent war treaties, the Nine-Power Pact of 1922 or the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. While standing by their statement that there was no war underway in China, the Japanese also refuted the claim that they had interfered with the agreement to not stake any territorial claims in China. The Nine-Power agreement had stated that China, while maintaining the Open Door policy that enabled foreigners to hold extraterritorial rights, would not lose sovereignty over its own territory. At this point, Japan had insisted that the military would retreat once the situation was calmed and safety was ensured. Meanwhile, Japan had seized Manchuria and in less than six months had restructured the government and proclaimed it the state of

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Manchukuo. This left the League additionally at a standstill when Chinese and Japanese authorities did not officially declare war until 1941, which meant that the Kellogg-Briand pact had not been completely violated at the time this cartoon was published.\footnote{Richard Garratt Wilson, \textit{When Tigers Fight: The Story of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-45}, (New York: Viking Press, 1982), 64.}

**The Middle (1937-39): Japanese Occupation of Nanjing**

1937 was arguably the height of the Sino-Japanese conflict and there was resistance on both sides as a result of the military standoff on the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing. Soon after, Shanghai was embroiled in conflict as the Japanese moved south. The siege of Shanghai lasted for three months, and the Japanese army formally seized the city in November.\footnote{Ibid, 64.} China’s capital, Nanjing, was attacked on December 13 and the brutality of the Japanese army led to mass deaths of civilians and unarmed Chinese soldiers. The historical event prominently remembered as the “Rape of Nanking,” confronted international viewers with the reality of the war.\footnote{Suping Lu, \textit{They Were in Nanjing: The Nanjing Massacre Witnessed by American and British Nationals}, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 11.}

The cartoon (Figure 3.4) published by the \textit{North China Herald} that same year illustrates that there were two sides responsible for the mass deaths of civilians. The image entitled “Danse Macabre,” the “Dance of Death,” was published on August 18, 1937 and depicted the destruction of Shanghai. China and Japan are illustrated as weaponry, shrapnel and aerial bombs, featured mid jump into the massive pool in the city street labelled “civilian blood.” Featured in between China and Japan as weaponry and standing tall above the smoke is the Great World building.

This cartoon is a reference to the early Japanese attacks on Shanghai that began on August 13, 1937 and the accidental bombing by Chinese pilots of the Great World that occurred

\footnote{Ibid, 1.}
the next day. As the Japanese military started its attack on Shanghai, the Great World opened its doors to refugees. The building was famously home to an indoor amusement arcade, and was a six-story structure that was prominent in the 1930s Shanghai city landscape. In resistance to Japanese aggression, Chinese bomber pilots mobilized on August 14, a day after attacks started but unfortunately missed their targets in three separate incidents.118

Figure 3.4

One of those mistaken aerial bombs fell just outside the entrance to the Great World and killed approximately two thousand civilians. In the cartoon the city is shown immersed in chaos and fighting, wrapped in clouds of smoke. On the city street are a series of crashed Western looking vehicles in the foreign concessions, depicted to show that they were no longer functioning or that the cars had crashed as a result of avoiding plunging into the pool of blood.

Beside the massive pool of blood is an overturned umbrella, with the owner nowhere to be seen. This small detail reminds the viewer that this attack on Shanghai was sudden and overturned the lives of innocent civilians; this was not a military front but a city filled with unarmed people. While the image sparks a reminder for the reader that innocent civilians have been forgotten in this political conflict, it does not offer any solution on how to help them. By depicting China and Japan in this cartoon as objects, Sapajou dehumanizes them. China is certainly depicted with the same, if not more, amount of blame as Japan for putting civilians in harm’s way. The cartoon insinuates that China has bigger responsibility for the destruction of itself while attempting to fend off Japan and begs the question whether China was causing more harm than good by fighting back. However, the title of the cartoon points more to the idea that war itself is the enemy and the reason for this dance of death.

In the August 18 weekly issue of the *North China Herald* in an article entitled “A Tragic Lesson,” this event was harshly criticized.

The Chinese Air Force made a ghastly debut. In a few short hours it did more harm to its country’s cause in the eyes of the world than could be achieved by months of political blundering. Its attack on the Japanese cruiser proved how far human capacity falls short of the deadly efficiency of the weapons it has invented for destruction. The objective was unscathed with the result that the Chinese bombers indulged in what was virtually blind bombing.\

Here, the narrative of the *North China Herald* does not take sides and mutually blames Chinese and Japanese militants for allowing civilians to be killed during their conflict. Civilians are described as not only of Chinese and Japanese heritage but of the numerous foreigners that also resided in Shanghai. The article later states: “It is useless to argue that they are engaged in defending their own people.” However, blame was not cast on Britain for their lack of action during the Sino-Japanese conflict thus far with knowledge that many British citizens lived in

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120 Ibid.
Shanghai. The *North China Herald* was quick to defend the British government in an article on the front page of the August 18 newspaper after a Chinese correspondent wrote that Britain should be obligated to defend China against Japanese aggression not only to prove the strength of their relationship but to protect foreign commerce in Shanghai. The ordeal was deemed “A Mistaken Notion,” and claimed that Britain was committed to a peaceful resolution and agreement among all parties rather than military action. Thus, Britain’s friendly cooperation should be respected because that was all they could provide for China and problems in Europe occupied their attention more.

The situation in Europe itself is a bar to any acceptance of commitments involving potential military or naval action in the Far East on such a scale as would be of any significance in the present crisis.121

The cartoon, “Danse Macabre” suitably points blame at China and Japan for their violent dispute and lack of consideration for civilians rather than imposing Britain’s role in the war.

The title “Danse Macabre” is a dark aspect of the cartoon. The artistic symbolism of the Dance of Death goes back to the fifteenth century, most popularly found in Hartmann Schedel’s (1440-1514) “Imago Mortis” woodcut image in the Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493. The image featured dancing skeletons, which would be the center of many artistic takes on death in the centuries to follow. In 1874, the poem “La Danse Macabre” by French composer Camille Saint-Saens (1835-1921) refers to dancing skeletons under magical possession at night and retreating back to their graves before sunrise, and Walt Disney’s (1901-1966) symphony in 1929 featured the same dance in animation.122 Imagery that embodies the Danse Macabre commonly features the dead or something that resembles and/or causes death. Sapajou incorporates both in the

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cartoon examined above, the civilian blood and the weapons of war to reflect how this circumstance of death is unfolding in China.

The phrase “Danse Macabre” was also used by Punch in a cartoon published a month later, on September 1, 1937. The cartoon also addressed Sino-Japanese conflict, but this time the British weighed in on Russia’s part in the war. The cartoon was illustrated by Bernard Partridge (1861-1945), a cartoonist who will be examined in chapter four. This “Danse Macabre” cartoon (figure 3.5) features an unarmed Soviet bear peering from behind a wall at a Manchu and Japanese in intense battle. While looking admirably at the fight ensuing between them in traditional military garb that was out-dated by centuries, the Soviet bear says: “I come from a dancing family, and I can’t help feeling interested.”

Similar to other cartoons depicting Sino-Japanese relations, Japan appears to be the aggressor and China is acting in defence. This is a clear reference to Russia’s history of quarrelling with China and Japan. This cartoon provides social commentary among the British by questioning why the Soviets had not participated in the Sino-Japanese conflict thus far. Similarly the image suggests that the Soviets were waiting to see if the Manchu and the Japanese would simply eradicate each other without the risk of actually going to war. Punch’s “Danse Macabre” cartoon is interesting not only because the feud is illustrated differently, but also the Manchu and Japanese fight with swords and are actively trying to defeat one another. Whereas in the North China Herald’s cartoon, China and Japan are illustrated as advanced weaponry and holding hands in tacit acceptance.
Both “Danse Macabre” cartoons accurately demonstrate the vulnerability of human life; especially the innocent civilians caught in the middle of a war they did not start. It communicates one central message: death comes to us all.\textsuperscript{123} Thus Sapajou addresses both China and Japan as architects of death, blaming both of them for the mass number of deaths thus far in the war. Knöll and Oosterwijk, however, argue that any use of the Danse Macabre metaphor that is changed from the original and catered to a specific event is inherently biased. While using the Danse Macabre in a layered context is not wrong, they say, it cannot be accurately compared to the original and discussed with the same meaning.\textsuperscript{124} While these two Danse Macabre cartoons

\textsuperscript{123} Knöll and Oosterwijk, \textit{Mixed Metaphors}, 10.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid, 2.
may not convey the all-encompassing meaning of the phrase, they do communicate the fact that China and Japan are both victims and enemies to themselves and each other.

Around the same time as this imagery, a different cartoon negated the sense of turmoil felt about the Sino-Japanese conflict and shows China and Japan on a more equal playing ground. The theme of death as a shared quality among enemies suitably transfers over to another of Sapajou’s cartoons published in 1937. On August 4, 1937, the cartoon “Double Suicide?” (Figure 3.6) placed a tiger, labelled as “the aggressor” and China, a young woman, in an open field. Japan is aggression, which looms large and ready for attack, but China has an equally dangerous idea in mind. Holding a bottle labelled “war arsenic,” the Chinese woman says, “I’ll die but eating me you’ll die too…” The standoff between the two reinstates this same theme that in this war they are victims of each other.

The two figures in the image are illustrated as polar opposites; the tiger is large, striped and angry while the woman is slim, wearing a dress with decorative circles on it, and calm. Again, there is a noticeable difference of feet between Japan and China, which is depicted here with miniscule feet while the tiger’s paw is bigger than her face. This effectively feminizes China, making it look more fragile. While China appears to be putting on a strong standoff to the tiger, her left hand is clenched into a tight fist. This points to Chinese resistance. The cartoon is quite symbolic with the title “Double Suicide” as it suggests a fault in Japanese imperialism in China, and that attacking China would be the death of Japan.

The cartoon represents dual themes of resistance and submission; the woman is to some degree subduing the aggressive tiger with her strong-armed proposition but is also accepting that it is likely she will perish. Wartime cartoons frequently illustrate China or victimized individuals as women to heighten the viewers’ understanding that the conflict is a case of assault. Depicting
women as victims of sexual assault and other forms of physical harm was a tool of propaganda to mobilize the mostly male army to fight with honour and revenge in mind.\textsuperscript{125} Sapajou portrays a unique circumstance in this cartoon by representing the woman as a possible victim of assault but not showing the viewer if either her or the tiger survive. A clear method to mobilize the viewer is to illustrate women in severe distress, but the woman here is calm and poised. In addition, action would not be taken if the woman were to suffer from the tiger’s attack because the image communicates that the tiger would also perish. In that case, this could also be projecting a motive for imperialist action from the West, taking advantage of both parties.

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.6.png}
\caption{Figure 3.6}
\end{figure}

Wartime propaganda is proven the most effective when women are only portrayed in cartoons as the victims of war. Japanese propaganda published by the SMR claimed that Chinese soldiers were abusing Chinese women.\textsuperscript{126} In an attempt to divert international suspicions about how Japanese troops were treating women in their occupied territories, the strategy was clear in


\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, 570.
the media war to make their enemy appear the most evil. This was not a tactic used by Sapajou, who in none of the cartoons examined here portrayed either side as victimized, but at severe odds and as the reason for the suffering of innocent civilians and the destruction of cities.

This cartoon with China depicted as a woman would have borne a greater weight if it had been published alongside reports of institutionalized rape, which occurred for the entirety of the war, from 1932 to 1945. Yet it still suggests that meaning due to the knowledge that comfort women were stationed all across Japanese occupied cities. “Comfort women” is a euphemism for women of Japanese, Chinese, Korean and other heritages that were forced into state institutionalized sexual slavery for the Japanese army. While it may have been well-known among foreign correspondents and cartoonists like Sapajou during this era, it was rarely spoken about on an international scale until the late 1940s. Prior to these first accounts given, the Japanese army had destroyed evidence of the “comfort stations” by burning the buildings and killing large numbers of the women who succumbed to this harsh system.127 This cartoon does not provide the viewer with a solution and does not provide a narrative for outside involvement or aid. The image insinuates that the Sino-Japanese war was not an international affair and was a private engagement. It implies that China was not crying for help but was fighting her own battles.

These two cartoons published in 1937 are significant not only for how they contrast but how they relay the same message to the viewer that does not inspire them to take action. They maintain the same strategy of Sapajou’s impartial attitude in the whole ordeal; he does not point

to a victim or perpetrator but two opponents on an equal playing field. The cartoons suitably reflect the middle stage of the inaction process, not only because they were published halfway through the war but by the change in narrative. For Sapajou, the 1931 cartoon depicting a tense standoff was tame compared to his works in the late 1930s. Where “No Admission” (Figure 2.1) had provided the viewer with an outsider view and no clue as to what was going on beyond the Japanese guarded gate, the “Danse Macabre” (Figure 2.2) and “Double Suicide?” (Figure 2.3) put the viewer right in the center of the war. This period is defined by death and the universality of human weakness, presenting the typical kind of emergency event that makes a witness a bystander. Latané and Darley trace the bystander effect in the cases of emergency, where they first notice the event, recognize it as an emergency, and then choose their point of action. The point of division comes when they decide whether they are obligated to act or if they can provide necessary aid.

The captions accompanying Sapajou’s cartoons in 1937 provide the viewer with the understanding that there is not an emergency. The image of a city under attack with significant loss of life and a woman standing beside an aggressive tiger give the idea that China is in both a state of emergency and needs assistance. Yet, the captions negate the viewer’s concerns and distort how they are supposed to act. By mutually making a comment about the inescapability of death, these two cartoons do not invite external aid and provide the audience with more of a hopeless acceptance than a rallying cry for resistance. This is due to the fact that foreigners in Shanghai had little power to aid the situation and their only option was to observe. However, that is not to say to Sapajou never mentioned outside aid during the ongoing Sino-Japanese conflict.

128 Scholars argue that Georgi Avksentievich Sapojnikoff (Sapajou) was neutral because he was stateless and assumedly removed from political ties, but was lenient to support the biases of his employers. Paul Bevan, *A Modern Miscellany: Shanghai Cartoon Artists, Shao Xunmei’s Circle and the Travels of Jack Chen, 1926-1938*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 173-174.
The End (1940-1945): The Burma Road

On July 10, 1940 the *North China Herald* released a cartoon (Figure 3.7) to illustrate the relationship between the United States, France and Britain with China during the Sino-Japanese conflict. The cartoon, “Keepers of the Open Door” features a train full of supplies travelling from the open gate through Burma and straight into the heart of Sino-Japanese conflict in China. Standing idly by the gate to Burma stands a caricature of the American Uncle Sam and a fellow Caucasian, the personification of the Soviet Union, as they watch the train speed into a cloud of chaos in an undetermined Chinese city under siege.

![Figure 3.7](image)

This cartoon reflects the wartime challenge to transport supplies to China by sea as Japan gained more power over the coastline cities and had made it increasingly difficult for Britain to send aid to China in 1941. The Japanese military had spent the decade capturing Chinese coastline cities from Manchuria to Hong Kong. For the British, Burma became a strategic place to protect India from the Japanese if they continued their Pan-Asian mission. In American eyes,
it was a good offensive position for the fight against Japan and in support for China. However, this road was mainly a supply line and not a war front prior to 1941.\textsuperscript{129} The Burma Road was considered the safest and easiest route left available, and the only land route possible at this point in the war. The Allies were then able to send supplies to Chiang Kai-Shek (1887-1975), whose administration was then based in Chongqing.\textsuperscript{130} Another road was built to connect the Chinese city of Kunming in 1938, a construction process that was hastily rushed and employed Chinese labourers. Working conditions were dangerous and the labourers were ill equipped, often forced to work with their bare hands to dig away at the rough terrain. Ironically 2,000 Chinese men died building a road to help the Chinese.\textsuperscript{131} Needless to say, this route was valuable for American supplies to be transported, especially when the Burma road was at risk of closing.

The route through Burma was threatened in the early 1940s when the Japanese army forced the road to close. In December of 1941 the Japanese launched a four-month siege of Southeast Asia and captured Burma’s capital, Rangoon. Not prepared for a fight, the British immediately retreated.\textsuperscript{132} Roy Douglas argues that up to this point in World War II, Britain had experienced little success in battle and did not have enough to financially or militarily to engage in war with the Japanese.\textsuperscript{133} Yet the support that the United States rallied for the re-opening of this road made the mission a partnership and in 1943 it reopened. Thus, the road through the British colony of Burma was the most frequent route to send aid to China after 1940. As China’s “back door,” Burma proved to give the Allies a strategic position for entry. However, scholars note that this was largely an American fuelled mission and questions whether Britain would

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\textsuperscript{130} Mark Bryant, \textit{World War II in Cartoons}, (University of Michigan: Gallery Books, 1989), 144.
\textsuperscript{131} Myint-U, \textit{Where China Meets India}, 86-87.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
have supported sending aid to China to the same extent on their own. Thant Myint-U argues that the Washington government was heavily concerned with China’s ongoing resistance against Japanese attacks. Hence, it was mainly American supplies that were sent to the British colony of Burma to then be sent across the border to southern China.\(^{134}\) When the Japanese had initially captured Burma, the British and American plans of action could not have been more different. While the British pursued the recapture of Burma as a colonial asset and a means to restore their pride, the Americans wanted to reopen the road.\(^{135}\) This arguably illustrates that the United States was more emotionally and financially devoted to supporting China during the war.

It is rational to think that the figure standing beside the American Uncle Sam caricature is Aristide Briand. Based on the clothing and hat it is safe to assume that it resembles the World War II French military uniform, and the large moustache resembles portraits of Briand. In addition, Briand was a major player in the League of Nations and international policy involving Japan before his death in 1932. Most famously known for his contributions in the Kellogg Briand Pact (1928), it is logical that Sapajou would illustrate Briand here to symbolically represent American and French interests in the Sino-Japanese conflict. While French interests and power in China had significantly decreased after the First World War, the French government maintained a stake in Indochina. Indochina encompassed mostly mainland Southeast Asia, now home to countries of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. Thus, Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia in the early 1940s concerned the French government because it threatened their assets there. Also it threatened France’s contributions to sending China weapons and supplies into southern

\(^{134}\) Myint-U, Where China Meets India, 86.
\(^{135}\) Ibid, 87-88.
On the other hand, the caricature bears similar characteristics to Soviet leader Joseph Stalin based on the moustache, uniform, and Russia’s own interest in maintaining the Open Door policy. In the July 10 *North China Herald* publication, a headline reads “Russia Wants Burma Road Open.” The article claims that Soviet commissars have expressed that Russia was in support of Chinese resistance and feared that the closing of the Burma Road would weaken China. It is revealed that Russia had been sending goods to China and therefore had a stake in the fate of the road.\textsuperscript{137}

One interesting element of this cartoon is how Sapajou illustrates Uncle Sam (United States) and Briand or Stalin as aiding China during this conflict without actually devoting themselves to the effort hands-on. This illustration communicates that any money or supplies provided for the cause to help a struggling China may not be an effective way to end the conflict. Instead it demonstrates how both Americans and French supported China’s continuous fight against the Japanese. Yet, on behalf of the British view of Sino-Japanese conflict, the cartoon appears to mock other countries’ attempts to help China and criticizes them for not involving themselves directly in the war effort in China. Most particularly, it shows that these resources were being sent into areas of severe conflict, with no telling if or how the supplies were aiding the Chinese civilians and soldiers. Pictured in the cartoon, the members of the League observe this scene safely from the borderlines and do not demonstrate any interest in seeing into the cloud of chaos that is war. This continues the narrative in Sapajou’s 1937 cartoon “Danse Macabre” (Figure 2.2), in which foreign concessions are displayed as wreckage and useless to stopping the fighting.


Soon after this cartoon was published, foreign and Chinese newspapers were gradually shut down, by the early 1940s. First, foreign journalists were threatened by the Japanese army for traveling to China in attempts to report on the war and next it was those who had lived in China for decades. Journalists and media organizations were entered into a Japanese watch list and were refused entry to war zones, which limited their ability to publish.\textsuperscript{138} All newspapers that expressed anti-Japanese sentiments were shut down and the news institutions’ communication devices were confiscated. Foreigners in Shanghai were closely monitored and rarely went outside of their homes.\textsuperscript{139} Carl Crow and his wife fled Shanghai after residing there for twenty-five years and Sheldon Ridge, owner of the British newspaper the \textit{Peiping Chronicle} ceased publishing after receiving death threats.\textsuperscript{140} In 1941, the \textit{North China Herald} was forced to close due to censorship under Japanese occupation and suspended publishing completely soon after the war ended. One of the \textit{North China’s Herald’s} journalists for the daily newspaper, Ralph Shaw (1913-1996), was held in Shanghai’s internment camp as a Japanese prisoner of war and was not able to publish his eyewitness reports until he was liberated at the end of the war.\textsuperscript{141}

Though this cartoon, “Keepers of the Open Door,” (figure 3.7) does not represent the actual end of the war, it does show the \textit{North China Herald’s} last comments on the war at this stage. This cartoon reflects the last stage of the inaction process by demonstrating that things of material value such as food or weapons could not repair damages resulting from the war so far. While external aid does bring obvious benefits to the Chinese military and civilians, it allows the war to persist rather than offering a solution to the conflict. It appears to be a continuation of the

\textsuperscript{138} Wei, \textit{News Under Fire}, 98.
\textsuperscript{140} French, \textit{Through the Looking Glass}, 206-207.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid, 223.
League’s distance from the situation in China as mentioned in discussion of the first cartoon by Sapajou in 1931, “No Admission” (figure 3.3). Whereas the League was refused entry then, members now standing at an open gate do not choose to enter and cannot witness the scene of chaos. Latané and Darley relate such inaction to the 1964 murder case of Kitty Genovese, when almost forty witnesses watched from their windows as she was killed but none took action. In the case that one of these witnesses had chosen to go outside to where Genovese and the attacker were, they would be more obligated to act and be at risk of attack as well. Though this is a different context, it is an example of the bystander effect. Regardless of how helpful the supplies sent must have been to the Chinese, the cartoon does not illustrate that and that is the major point to be addressed here.

Shanghai was at its twentieth century height of fame in the 1930s and regardless of the Japanese occupation, it maintained autonomy for most of the decade. Yet by 1945 the damages of the war showed and the city’s reputation was squandered by economic and political instability in the postwar period. For Robert Bickers, 1945 is viewed as a definitive year that ended Britain’s period of hegemony in China. In 1943, extraterritoriality had been abolished by Britain and Shanghai was no longer dominated by foreign concessions. Yet this was one of the reasons Shanghai’s international significance decreased in the postwar period. Scholars argue that postwar Shanghai was defined by seclusion as many foreigners made the decision to leave for their home countries in order to save their assets. Yet, some “settler Britons” in Shanghai did not associate strongly with a “British” identity. Bickers argues that not only were the

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143 Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 32.
“British” in Shanghai a mixture of different ethnicities, religions, and socioeconomic status but they also identified themselves more as Shanghailanders.146 With little allegiance to Britain or British imperialism, their concerns were local, so when Shanghai was no longer a suitable place for business moving back to Britain was not the only option. Thus, the postwar period saw the rise of Hong Kong as a center for foreign business. Peyton-Griffin, acting editor of the *North China Daily News* when the paper closed in 1941, attempted to start publishing the paper again in the postwar period. For five years, Peyton-Griffin published the daily edition newspaper but found it was difficult to cater to audiences in a new Shanghai. The city was now a place of “hostile labour unions, drastic cuts in news print, considerable interference from Guomindang censors and a noticeable intensification of anti-British sentiment.”147 The *North China Herald* officially shut down in 1950 and Peyton-Griffin died in December of the same year. There were no hopes of another resurrection of the newspaper when China ushered in a new phase of communist politics.

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Chapter Three: The *Globe and Mail*

The newspaper that would become the *Globe and Mail* was founded in Toronto in 1844. It was a notable newspaper in Canada even before it became a national newspaper in the early twentieth century. The *Globe and Mail* was one of the most highly regarded daily newspapers of the time, and it remains a strong Canadian publication to the present day. Founded originally under the name the *Globe* by George Brown (1818-1880), the newspaper is regarded by historians such as Mary Vipond as Canada’s first modern publication. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were crucial periods of economic, political, and social change that created a demand for newspapers to provide wide ranges of material to accommodate readers. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, readership for the *Globe* totalled approximately 47,000 and a decade later 88,000. The *Globe*’s main rival was the Conservative Toronto newspaper the *Mail and Empire*, which followed close behind in popularity in the 1909 and 1920 census. The two competitors merged companies in 1936 and officially became the *Globe and Mail*.

According to Mary Vipond, the *Globe* built a reputation early on with the ability to publish for the masses. Scholars have also noted that the *Globe and Mail* maintained a balance on the political spectrum in comparison to other newspapers that allied with a specific party. The objectivity and one-cent price of the daily newspaper made the *Globe and Mail* more appealing for mass audiences who were also becoming progressively more urban. With its focus on keeping relevant with the social atmosphere, the *Globe and Mail* tended to change its point of

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150 Ibid.
151 Ibid, 21-22.
view based on political or cultural changes. Immediately after World War II, for example, the *Globe and Mail* flipped the negative view of Japanese Canadians as the untrustworthy enemy into positive model minorities, providing them with a voice to succeed in the postwar world.¹⁵³ In Ontario, in 1909, there were forty-five politically themed daily newspapers and nine independent.¹⁵⁴ The *Globe* succeeded in a relatively competitive market of middle-class publications and benefited from the fact that it was one of the few independent daily newspapers. That does not mean the newspaper did not have its political biases.

George McCullagh (1905-1952) was responsible for the union of the Liberal *Globe*, and the Conservative *Mail and Empire* in 1936 when he bought both companies. McCullagh was the *Globe and Mail*’s publisher and president until his death in 1952. While there is some debate on where McCullagh and his newspaper stood politically, he asserted that the *Globe and Mail* was independent. Publications by Brian J. Young and Wilfred H. Kesterton in the 1960s argue that the *Globe and Mail*’s nonpartisan viewpoint was due to McCullagh’s own wavering allegiance between the Conservative and Liberal parties.¹⁵⁵ Prior to his career with the *Globe and Mail*, McCullagh frequented Liberal business circles and worked for the *Globe* as a salesman in the 1920s. He was a strong supporter of Liberal premier of Ontario, Mitchell Hepburn (1896-1953) in the 1934 campaign and frequently wrote to the Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950).¹⁵⁶ Before McCullagh purchased both newspapers, the *Globe* was closely allied to the Liberal party, but in the mid-twentieth century allegiance dramatically switched.¹⁵⁷ McCullagh’s views on the Liberal party and his close confidant Hepburn changed

¹⁵³ Hawkins, “Becoming a Model Minority,” 143.
¹⁵⁷ Kesterton, 85.
after the 1937 General Motors labour strike in Oshawa, Ontario.\textsuperscript{158} From 1937 on, McCullagh and the \textit{Globe and Mail} opposed the King federal government and transitioned their political commitments to the Conservative party of Canada.\textsuperscript{159} The example of the \textit{Globe and Mail} demonstrates how newspaper owners and editors have control over institutions that can be flexible with political ties. More significant is how McCullagh had a strong grip on what the \textit{Globe and Mail} supported during the war. In this period there was clear support for British values and Canadian obligations to Britain within the material published by the \textit{Globe and Mail}.\textsuperscript{160} After McCullagh died in 1952 and several other notable men succeeded in ownership of the \textit{Globe and Mail}, its political allegiance changed again in the early 1960s. Under the leadership of James L. Cooper (dates unknown) from 1965 to 1974, the \textit{Globe and Mail} was a Liberal ally before again showing support for the Conservative party.\textsuperscript{161}

News from the \textit{North China Herald}, the leading foreign publication in China as discussed in the previous chapter, radiated across the globe to Canadian viewers. The newspaper’s main cartoonist Sapajou was also familiar to Canadians who followed the business and social scene in Shanghai, especially when Canadians were mentioned.\textsuperscript{162} One particular figure of interest in Sapajou’s cartoons on the Canadian position in China was Lawrence Moore Cosgrave (1890-1971), the Canadian government’s trade commissioner in Shanghai from 1924-1935. As such, he was the highest representative of the Canadian government upon the emergence of the Sino-

\textsuperscript{158} Young, “C. George McCullagh and the Leadership League,” 206-207.
\textsuperscript{159} Kesterton, \textit{A History of Journalism in Canada}, 86.
\textsuperscript{160} Young, 208.
\textsuperscript{161} Kesterton, 86.
Japanese conflict. During his time in Shanghai he maintained a strong relationship with the *North China Herald* newspaper and his office was located in the same building.¹⁶³ Yet, regardless of how friendly this relationship was between a Canadian trade commissioner and a Chinese foreign-language newspaper, the British negatively viewed Canada’s foreign policies. As per the 1908 Immigration Act, Canada had not only rejected the immigration of Chinese people but also Europeans who were living in China. This act created tension with both the Chinese government and the multicultural Shanghai population. The Chinese government pled with Canada to change immigration laws and foreigners in Shanghai complained that they were not allowed to immigrate to Canada unless they decided to do so from their country of origin.¹⁶⁴ In addition, Canada’s relationship with China was complicated by its reluctance to ostracize Japan after the Manchurian Crisis in the early 1930s. John Meehan argues that when Canada and other nations did not ostracize Japan it set an unfortunate future in motion.¹⁶⁵ No measures were taken against Japan by the Canadian government until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. This does not mean that positive Canada-China relations were non-existent though. Diana Lary argues that personal relationships among Canadians and Chinese were strong in the 1920s and were prevalent before China was engulfed in the War of Resistance.¹⁶⁶ Yet the work of some Canadian missionaries does not account for the entirety of the Canadian population who were not actively involved with the church in China. Cosgrave, along with many Europeans in Shanghai expressed that they were emotionally distant from the

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¹⁶³ Ibid, 70.
¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 73-74.
¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 79.
emerging Sino-Japanese conflict in northern China.\textsuperscript{167} Lary states that the Western view of the war in East Asia was tamed by the reluctance to go to war during the height of economic depression in the 1930s. Yet when war began in Europe in 1939, Canada’s devotion to Britain still remained clear. So beyond the empathy expressed for China and the subtle mockery of Japan, there was no formal aid that Western countries offered during the start of the Sino-Japanese War, especially on behalf of Canada.\textsuperscript{168}

Comic strips were not commonly found in Canadian newspapers prior to the twentieth century. Wilfred H. Kesterton has demonstrated that in the early 1900s, one-panel cartoons began to emerge exclusively in Saturday newspaper publications. The popularity of comics grew when Canadian news institutions started buying comics posted in American newspapers. This business relationship of buying comics from American newspapers continued in Canada into the 1960s.\textsuperscript{169} Canadians were not internationally known for their production of comics, but Kesterton views cartooning as a Canadian skill. This is arguable because of the political nature of cartooning and Canadians in the early twentieth century were able to produce imagery that reflected information on several political levels.\textsuperscript{170} Kesterton argues that World War II ushered in the success of Canadian cartoonists where they demonstrated their potential to be internationally recognized. During World War II, cartoons were published across Canadian newspapers and were a regular part of the editorial pages in dailies.\textsuperscript{171}

Prior to World War II, there were few cartoons on China or Sino-Canadian relations published in the \textit{Globe and Mail}. In terms of Japan, there was one cartoon that was published in 1905 on the Russo-Japanese War. Entitled “Pulling the Dragon’s Teeth,” the cartoon illustrated

\textsuperscript{167} Meehan, \textit{Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai}, 79-80.
\textsuperscript{168} Lary, “Canada-China Relations in Wartime China,” 91.
\textsuperscript{169} Kesterton, \textit{A History of Journalism in Canada}, 141.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid, 142.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
the Japanese capturing a large Russian ship. Yet, *Globe and Mail* cartoonists did not create this cartoon—it was originally from a British newspaper, the *Daily Graphic*. Thus, it can be argued that it was during World War II that cartoonists for the *Globe and Mail* made the first impressions of how the news institution would depict China and Sino-Japanese relations. Newspapers on the Canadian west coast had published more anti-Japanese content prior to the Chinese War of Resistance. However, this was due to Canadian opposition to Japanese immigrants and hatred formed from the accusations that the Japanese were stealing local jobs. In 1907 a riot in Vancouver urged the government to restrict people of Asian descent from the right to vote and as a result the Canadian government agreed to restrict Japanese immigration in 1908. From 1937 to 1945, Vancouver residents and the *Vancouver Sun* were more vocal about Chinese sympathies and anti-Japanese sentiment but this can be attributed to the larger population of Chinese immigrants in British Columbia. Yet, John Price argues that Canadian attentiveness to the Sino-Japanese conflict overall was lacking. In a study of 150 items published in ten Canadian newspapers in December 1937, only 15 items were related to the ongoing events in China. According to Price, the *Globe and Mail* illustrated more concern at this time for the foreigners in China during Japanese attacks. The investigation of the *Globe and Mail* from 1931 to 1945 is significant for the reason just stated above and the fact that it was recognized as Canada’s national newspaper.

**The Beginning: The League of Nations in 1933**

The first cartoon published by the *Globe and Mail* on the Sino-Japanese conflict was on February 20, 1933. It was originally published in the *Montreal Star*. Entitled “The Advancing

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175 Ibid, 41.
Tide in China,” (Figure 4.1), the cartoon portrays the power dynamic between Japan and the League with knowledge of the annexation of Manchuria and the establishment of Manchukuo. With the looming presence of Japan as a tidal wave about to crash onto the Manchukuo-Jehol shore, the image features a small member of the League of Nations whose entire body is smaller than either Japan’s head or hands. The figure has British characteristics with a beard, top hat, and umbrella, on the beach observing, sitting on a Western-style chair.

Figure 4.1

The cartoon’s punch line, “This modern Canute seems to be no more successful than his predecessor” is reference to the story of King Canute (990-1035). The story, King Canute and the Tide, was written in the twelfth century, and told of Cnut the Great, or Canute, who ruled
over Denmark, England, and Norway in the eleventh century. A century after his death, Henry of Huntingdon (1080-1160) construed his life as a tale of failure and humiliation. Canute was portrayed as a deranged king who believed that he had supernatural powers that could stop the ocean tide by positioning his throne on the shore. Upon his failure he renounced his title and declared that he was unworthy of his status as king.

The cartoon was produced by artist Arthur George Racey (1870-1941) a leading cartoonist for the Montreal Star from the early-to-mid twentieth century. To understand this cartoon, the average twentieth century Canadian viewer needed knowledge of a twelfth century historical European. Yet regardless of differing levels of knowledge among newspaper readers, the cartoon does get the message across that Japan menaced Manchuria’s shores and the League was stubborn enough to think that it could stop it based on their will and a hand that is not even as large as one of Japan’s fingers. Thus, the wave of Japanese forces was going to gain the territory it desired in China regardless of the League’s insistence that it would not. Just as a wave is a force of nature, Japan’s imperial advances in East Asia could not be stopped.

For scholar Colin Hay, King Canute’s story reflects two important factors of human agency that humans are powerless to the forces of nature and that human pride leads to the neglect of natural resources or strategies that could protect them. Hence, the “Canute” sitting on the shore could have averted disaster by building stronger defences or accurately estimating when the tide would recede naturally. So, in theory the League was only testing its authority based on selfish pride and by not using strategy or the full potential of their political agency it proved it was not completely invested in stopping Japan. The message here rather insinuates a

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helplessness in future situations that would occur due to the knowledge that the League was not able to turn that tide.

The image of the pathetic League caricature reflects its insistence to stay true to the Kellogg-Briand Pact. This pact demanded that states would not engage in physical combat in the name of world peace. Yet the central flaw in the pact was the unclear consequences for breaking the rules and starting a war. After a series of debates on what a proper consequence would be, it was agreed that any of the signatories of the pact who violated the rules would be subjected to any action that the remaining members saw fit. This vague punishment did not intimidate any of the signatories that decided to start their own wars. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and, in 1935, Germany occupied the Rhineland and Italy attacked Ethiopia. In a period when war was supposed to be outlawed, the Kellogg-Briand Pact left the League at a standstill when a war began and it had no secure solution to stop it without also breaking that pact on their own. Thus, the League’s inability to use preventative methods in the 1930s led to the further victimization of China, and all other nations invaded. Political cartoons in the late 1930s reflected the real consequences of inaction.

“The Advancing Tide In China,” was the first (and only) cartoon published in the Globe to address Sino-Japanese conflict in the early 1930s until 1937, when China’s resistance formally began. The Globe and Mail did not produce the cartoon, it was purchased from the Montreal Star and published before the newspaper merger in 1936 while it was still the Globe. Despite the absence of relevant cartoons, the Globe and Mail did report on the Sino-Japanese conflict. On the front page of the Monday, February 20, 1933 newspaper was a bold headline “50,000 Troops

178 Meehan, Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai, 128.
March To Invade Jehol Province."179 This was posted above the cartoon. Thus, the Globe informed readers that conflict in East Asia was coming but did not inform readers how this involved Canada. John Price argues that Canadian newspapers were less occupied with reporting on the destruction of Chinese cities than they were with discussing how Sino-Japanese conflict affected international politics. With few investments in China or Japan, Canadian newspapers tended to ponder how Japanese imperialism would be problematic for Euro-American interests.180 This trend is noticeable in articles featured alongside cartoons during the next stage of war.

**The Middle: Negating the Threat of Japan**

On August 7, 1937, the *Globe and Mail* published a dark cartoon on China’s victimization by the Japanese army. Similar to “Danse Macabre,” (Figure 3.4) the second cartoon examined in the *North China Herald*’s publication the same year, Canadian audiences were also confronted with the full force of what the Sino-Japanese war had wrought. Canadian cartoonists chose to depict China and Japan as humans, unlike Sapajou (Figure 3.4) in his 1937 cartoon when he depicted them as objects. Entitled “Kill or ‘Cure’” the cartoon (Figure 4.2) shows a Chinese man chained and strapped to a table being stretched, a form of torture called rack and screw, surrounded by three Japanese soldiers. The caption reads: “Japan thinks of China as a sister; we want to correct her faults, not kill her.”

The cartoonist “Argus,” illustrates China and Japan so that there are discernable features to distinguish them, specifically their eyes.181 Argus drew Japan with completely closed eyes and China with upward-slanted yet open eyes. By not illustrating the same Asian eye stereotype on both China and Japan here, Argus shows that it is important the viewer understands the

179 “50,000 Troops March To Invade Jehol Province,” *Globe and Mail*, February 20, 1933, page 1.
180 Price, *Orienting Canada*, 42.
181 Argus is a pseudonym and there is no record shown of what the cartoonists’ real name is.
difference between them and points to the clear victim, China. Also presented here is the visual representation of how Japan’s words and actions about its position in China counteracted one another. Japan publically promoted Pan-Asianism and wanted a stronger Asia without Anglo-American imperialism. Peter Zarrow argues that in the 1920s, friendly cooperation and a positive atmosphere for mutual success and modernization were popular ideas for Chinese and Japanese governments. Yet, Japanese writings and military action in the 1930s suggested Japanese supremacy over other Asians. Japanese imperialism in China followed a similar path of Anglo-American viewpoints, the idea that China was inept at being an independent country.

![Figure 4.2](image)

*“Japan thinks of China as a sinner: we want to correct her faults, not kill her.”*

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183 Ibid.
The cartoon simultaneously depicts the dangerous consequences of the Sino-Japanese conflict by showing viewers that China is under severe strain. Illustrating a man under severe mental and physical stress has certain importance here for analysis. Whereas women are typically depicted as victims of assault in order to trigger viewers’ sympathy and in turn military action, seeing a man in this view has an entirely different connotation. Louise Edwards theorizes that cartoons on sexual violence project a different message based on what gender the victim is. Thus, illustrating the man as a victim in this cartoon was a tactic to associate feminine qualities with the Chinese without simply illustrating China as a woman. To depict a man as chained down, tortured, and vulnerable to the decisions of other men suggests that a man who is assaulted is stereotypically not “manly.” The cartoon is explicit: the soldiers refer to the chained down Chinese man as “her” and “sister,” effectively feminizing China. On the other hand, men’s vulnerability is associated with feelings of helplessness because they are supposed to be strong and physically able to protect themselves and others.\textsuperscript{184} As such, this cartoon inspires a dread in the viewer rather than a sense of purpose.

This cartoon was published on page 6 of the \textit{Globe and Mail} in the Saturday newspaper, August 7, 1937. Alongside this cartoon is a lengthy article on the contemporary status of the Sino-Japanese conflict and how European interests complicated Canada’s involvement in the war in East Asia. Titled “Europe Anxious But Aloof,” the story describes Europe and the League of Nations as humiliated and red-faced on the Sino-Japanese dispute.\textsuperscript{185} The brief article communicates the idea that the war in China is a problem for Europe and does not reflect Canadian concerns. Yet, on the front page of the same newspaper is the bold headline “Terror Grips Sino-Japanese War Zone.” The article expresses concern for foreigners in Shanghai and


Nanjing and outlined General Chiang Kai-shek’s battle plans. Arguably, this Saturday publication provides mixed messages of how Canadian readers should have been reacting to the Sino-Japanese conflict. The brief article on page 6 involves a discussion of European investments in China and how Japan is threatening the positions of Britain, Germany, and Russia in Chinese markets. Russia is described here as the country most invested in aiding China not only for economic reasons also but social and political ideals. The article leaves the reader with the understanding that while Japan continues its campaign in northern China there is no help on the way:

Japan is moving in on the Northern Provinces on the very safe assumption that no nation is prepared to commit itself in the Far East. Unless China is physically capable of looking after herself she might as well concede the demands and have done with it.

So, alongside the cartoon “Kill or Cure” (figure 3.2), readers of the *Globe and Mail* are encouraged to question if China is strong enough to fight the war against Japan. This suggests that Canada should not support China’s fight against Japan but rather China’s surrender.

A cartoon published the following year on November 4, 1938 illustrates an entirely different power dynamic between Japan and China but communicates the same disinterest in getting involved. The image “China Subdued!” (Figure 4.3) depicts China as a giant monk with a solemn expression holding his arms up in protest to a miniscule Japanese soldier who has chained them together. The armed and frustrated Japanese soldier points his gun at China’s face and says, “Will you come quietly?” The appearances of both China and Japan are interesting points for discussion of how Canada viewed Sino-Japanese relations one year into their official war. Japan is drawn as miniscule and clinging to China in an apparently monkey-like style while

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China is large, peaceful and looking healthily fed. Their size is drastically different in this cartoon than in ”Kill or Cure” (figure 4.2), published a year prior.

![Cartoon Image]

Figure 4.3

While China is handcuffed on one hand and has a gun pointed at him, he appears to be un-phased by Japan’s threats. In comparison with China’s size, facial expression, body language and clothing in “Kill or Cure,” China is illustrated here as a country capable of defending itself. In addition to the obvious facts that China is larger than Japan, standing upright and wearing an expression that appears to be smug patience toward Japan, China’s hands are more relaxed. In “Kill or Cure,” China’s hands in chains are strained and his fingers spread open in protest. In the cartoon above, China’s hands are limp and relaxed. As well, in “Kill or Cure” China is
outnumbered by Japanese soldiers three to one and ill-prepared to defend himself. In “China Subdued!” China is larger and only fighting one small enemy.

“China Subdued!” presents Japan’s fight against China as exhausting on the former’s part and suggests to viewers the idea that China could fight for itself. The cartoon gives the illusion that China has been able to fight back with little effort and suggests the idea that a smaller country like Japan could not defeat such a large country in battle. This illustration supports the belief that due to China’s size it is theoretically impossible to maintain control over all of it. In the 1920s, the Central Government of China based in Peking was a locus of control yet it had little effect on the surrounding region.188 The small Japanese holding control of one of China’s wrists via handcuffs suggests that the cartoonist did not believe that Japan had the resources or strength to control the giant. Also, the difference in how China and Japan are dressed in this image illuminates the struggle for Japan to change China the way it wished. Japanese imperialism was justified by arguing that the government wanted to improve China. Thus, Japan depicted in a khaki military uniform is significant when placed beside China in traditional garb.

The Globe and Mail publication of Friday, November 4, 1938 that included “China Subdued!” did not include any context for contemporary Sino-Japanese relations on page 6 alongside the cartoon. On page 17, however, is a headline article, “9-Power Pact Guaranteeing China at Stake,” explaining Japan’s persistent promises that Manchukuo, China, and Japan were in a healthy relationship of cooperation. Japan insisted that because of its position in China and Manchukuo that all foreign policy in China should be passed by the Japanese first. Yet, the other eight countries in the nine-power pact reiterated the qualities of the Open Door policy.189 The

article demonstrates that the *Globe and Mail* still viewed the Sino-Japanese conflict as a complicated affair between China, Japan and the West.

These two cartoons, “Kill or Cure” and “China Subdued!” published by the *Globe and Mail* in the “middle period” negate the threat of Japan by mutually joking about China and Japan as victims of each other. The cartoons do not beg the viewer to promote outside interference in this complex fight between two East Asian nations. A *Globe and Mail* political cartoonist who worked under the pseudonym “Argus” created both of these cartoons. Argus is not listed among other popular Canadian cartoonists of the early-to-mid twentieth century and there is no evidence that leads to their real name. What is known about Argus is that they worked for the *Globe and Mail* as the newspapers’ main cartoonist at least from the late 1930s to the early 1940s, when cartoonist Jack Boothe (1910-1973), to be discussed below, started at the same newspaper. In 1940, the *Globe and Mail* published an article that discussed the style and credibility of current Canadian cartoonists, remarking that: “Our own Argus is one of the most pungent of Canadian cartoonists, past or present.” These comments about the bitter and sharp illustrative style of Argus can provide some explanation for the harsh imagery in “Kill or Cure” (Figure 3.2) and the sarcastic “China Subdued!” (Figure 4.3).

The cartoons arguably represent Canada’s higher priority in the emerging war in Europe in the late 1930s. Scholars note that even though Canada entered World War II as a country with individuality and a reputation for its contributions in World War I, the Ottawa government still found more benefit in fighting Britain’s wars. Canada held stronger ties to Europe and Britain in particular, which led to an emotional and physical distance to the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, Canadian forces were disheartened by the attempt in 1941 to assist the British forces in

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Hong Kong. Scholars regard this mission as doomed from the start, as Canadians joined a weak garrison that was ill supplied. Meehan notes that many who did not die in battle or in internment camps were killed by disease and malnutrition.\textsuperscript{192} Iarocci and Keshen state that regardless of the success or failure of the mission, no reinforcements were coming.\textsuperscript{193} As a result, out of the 2,000 men sent, over 600 men were killed from either fighting or as prisoners of war held by Japan. This fast and total defeat resulted in Canada’s official exit from active combat in the Sino-Japanese war.\textsuperscript{194} John Price argues that the Canadian government supported mobilization for the war in Europe more than the war in Asia due to underlying anti-Asian sentiment in Canada. The Canadian government had restricted Asian immigration in favour of European immigrants for decades and Price argues that Canada’s choice to prioritize Britain’s war was a conscious move to ignore Canada’s connection to Asia further.\textsuperscript{195}

It is interesting however, that Canada did offer aid to China through means of supplies and some military action but that was not frequently illustrated in political cartoons. This could suggest that the \textit{Globe and Mail} was still supporting the bulk of public opinion and did not publicize Canada’s involvement in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Yet, Robert B. Bryce argues that Canada’s attempts to provide aid to China were not successful. By 1942, sending supplies to China grew more difficult as the Japanese occupied Burma and thus closed the road that allowed outside aid to enter southern China. Thus, the only route left was flying the supplies over the Himalayas, which was very dangerous. When the Canadian government finally organized a shipment of supplies to send to China in February 1944, the goods were held for over a year in

\textsuperscript{192} Meehan, \textit{Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai}, 142.
\textsuperscript{193} Andrew Iarocci and Jeffrey A. Keshen, \textit{Nation in Conflict: Canada and the Two World Wars}, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 94.
\textsuperscript{194} Lary, 96-97.
\textsuperscript{195} Price, \textit{Orienting Canada}, 56-57.
Karachi (present day Pakistani province Sindh). The Canadian government was also criticized for sending military trucks, which could not be physically sent to China because the Burma road was closed. A second shipment of mostly light weapons was sent later that year, but after that most proposals to send supplies to China were vetoed by Canadian General Albert Wedemeyer (1897-1989). In this way, Canada’s intended goodwill towards China did not translate well in action. John D. Meehan argues that the Ottawa government supported China’s fight against Japan in the hope that Nationalist China would fend off communism and Japanese imperialism. Hence, Canada’s support for Sino-Japanese conflict was a political movement and not inherently a social one. The central mission was still for Canada to fight in Europe, and there was no benefit in deterring the Canadian army and people from supporting WWII, especially when they had lost to Japan in battle already. In addition, Canadian soldiers participated more consistently in major campaigns from 1943 to 1945 after a lull following the battles in Hong Kong and Dieppe, France. Moving north from Italy in 1943, Canadians mobilized through France, the Rhineland, and the Netherlands until the war against Germany was over. Canadian soldiers were constantly travelling and engaging in intense warfare for the last years of the war, which could explain their reluctance, to again, fight against Japan.

The End: The Canadian Homefront and the Failed Uganda Plot

In Canadian political cartoons of the Globe and Mail, any mention of fighting against Japan was suggested in the spring of 1945 when Germany’s military decline was clear. Published on April 12 and entitled “‘Warrior’ Leader Threatens Japan,” the cartoon (Figure 4.4) features Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950) brandishing two large

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197 Ibid, 160-162.
198 Meehan, Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai, 142.
199 Iarocci and Keshen, Nation in Conflict, 111.
swords. He stands on the Canadian west coast cursing Japan across the sea and proclaims: “I will permit men who have been fighting against Germany to fight also against Japan…If they wish to do so!” to which a Japanese man responds in the distance, “Oh so heaven’s sake!” Beside Mackenzie King two Canadian settlers, a man and a woman are labelled as “home army” and “Quebec votes.”

Figure 4.4

This cartoon epitomizes the Globe and Mail’s opposition to the Liberal King government and his approach to the war in East Asia. Compared to the other cartoons examined in this chapter, where the context of the cartoon may be printed a small, obscure place. This cartoon “‘Warrior’ Leader Threatens Japan,” has a relevant article placed directly under it. Under this cartoon was a bold headline “Canada Must Grapple With Japan Or Admit Separatist Domination.” This title pairs well with the political insinuation in the cartoon that Mackenzie King was clashing with the Conservative party, notable with the words written on the swords he
holds: “We Must Defeat the Tories.” The *Globe and Mail* arguably viewed the decision to go war against Japan as an issue of Canadian identity. The article was written by James H. Elmsley, a veteran of the First World War, who believed war against Japan was the righteous thing to do.

…To me as a Canadian and a British subject there is a far greater significance in our future policy in the war against Japan, as it will be a vital test of our loyalty to our sister Dominions and Great Britain, to our allies, and our qualifications for nationhood in the eyes of the world; and the eyes of the world can be exceptionally cold and calculating in war or at a postwar peace conference.\(^{200}\)

To Elmsley, the prospect of war against Japan was a positive development as long as the Allies were prepared to fight at sea and did not underestimate the Japanese military. The only problem was politics, and the clash between Conservative and Liberal party goals. The Conservative party, Elmsley argues, would undoubtedly be pro-war and the Liberal party would be divided with some pro-war and some who would entirely oppose Canada’s participation in the war.\(^{201}\) Elmsley ends his article with,

I claim, therefore that Canadians and the members of the armed forces have a right to demand a clear statement from Messra, King, Bracken and Coldwell on their war policy with Japan and how they propose to implement this policy, without confusing the issue by the introduction of political questions.\(^{202}\)

Thus, the cartoon is an attack on Mackenzie King, criticizing his reluctance to make a concrete statement on Canada’s involvement in the war in East Asia. The cartoon’s caption claiming that Mackenzie King was a “warrior” can be taken as an intentional jab at the fact that he never served in any wars. When World War I started Mackenzie King was too old for trench warfare and decided to build his political resume during the war instead, and throughout his career he was mocked for his non-existent military service.\(^{203}\) The viewer is left with the inevitability of

\(^{200}\) *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, April 12, 1945, page 6.
\(^{201}\) Ibid.
\(^{202}\) *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, April 12, 1945, page 6.
the next phase of war and no clear plan of action. While the *Globe and Mail* presented itself as pro-war, the message was complicated by two factors. First, the fact that the *Globe and Mail* was addressing the war in East Asia now that the war in Europe “is undoubtedly coming to a close.” Secondly, that the cartoon expresses the unlikely scenario that Canada would go to fight Japan.

Jack Boothe (1910-1973), cartoonist for the *Globe and Mail* from 1943 to the early 1950s, created this illustration. Prior to working for the *Globe and Mail*, Boothe produced two books on political war cartoons, *Accent on Axis* (1940) and *Heeling Hitler* (1941). In 1947 Boothe was noted to be the highest paid political cartoonist in Canada. During the Korean War (1950-53), Boothe went to Korea on an assignment for his new employer, the Thompson newspaper chain. Before he died in 1973 he was close to publishing another book on political cartooning. Needless to say, with his status it can be assumed that many Canadians viewed this cartoon when it was published in 1945. In addition, Boothe’s primary interest in wartime cartoons makes this cartoon (Figure 4.4) interesting as part of the collection examined in this chapter. It is curious that a cartoonist who devoted his career to wartime illustrations produced a cartoon that both ridiculed the standing prime minister and demonstrated the Canadian populations’ explicit disinterest in the war against Japan.

The nonchalant pose of the Canadians standing on the west coast with Mackenzie King reflects the social attitudes of Canadians towards the conflict in East Asia at this point in the war. Though the two settlers featured in the image have considerably different reasons to oppose going to war against Japan, they are united by that fact. For Quebecers there was a consistent

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204 *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, April 12, 1945, page 6.
206 Ibid, 231.
disinterest in war, with less than five perfect of people volunteering in both World Wars. The volunteer rate in Ontario was twice that in Quebec, with approximately ten percent of people enlisting in the military from 1939-1945. Residents in Quebec were less interested in participating in fighting the wars of their English-speaking neighbours. C.P. Stacey asserts that Quebecois did not feel the same obligation that the rest of Canada did to support Britain in the war, and even as French-speakers they were not eager to support France. Jean-Sébastien Rioux analyzes the basis of Quebec’s anti-militaristic history and blames some scholars and Quebecois for upholding an isolationist vision of French Canadians from the nineteenth century to the present day. Also, Quebec is depicted here because of the power the province held over Mackenzie King’s decisions on the war. Several scholars have argued that Mackenzie King’s fears of alienating Quebec had led him to avoid Canada’s participation in war. Tim Cook addresses Mackenzie Kings reluctance to go to war as originating in the 1920s during the Chanak Crisis (1922). Fear of disappointing Britain by saying no to war and fear of angering French Canada by saying yes to war, Mackenzie King decided doing nothing was the best option.

Although French Canadians did largely oppose participation in both World Wars, their opposition was more based on their concern that Canada was acting primarily due to its loyalty to Britain and not on behalf of Canadian values. These sentiments are also explained by the sour relationship between French and English Canadians leading up to World War I in 1914. Not only was the Canadian military noticeably British, but Canadians overall had expressed their distaste

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208 Ibid.
211 Cook, Warlords: Borden, Mackenzie King, and Canada’s World Wars, 177.
for Quebec for decades prior. The French Canadians who did volunteer to fight in World War I reported that they were treated as expendable “cannon fodders” and were consistently refused the opportunity to advance to higher ranks.\textsuperscript{212} This did not change when it came time to offer service in World War II in 1939 – French Canadians were still viewed in Canada at least as antimilitaristic. Rioux also notes that French Canadians were rarely recognized for their services in both wars, and some Quebecois intellectuals have sought to maintain Quebec’s image as antimilitaristic by ignoring their stories.\textsuperscript{213} Nevertheless, the anti-war Quebecer featured in the cartoon underlines how Boothe wanted to express that Canadians were not interested in a war against Japan.

On the English Canadian side, the “home army” depicted in the cartoon reflects hesitation in taking an offensive position against Japan. Canada had little attachment to East Asia, both economically and politically, thus the Ottawa government prioritized its military efforts in Europe with the exception of the small and unsuccessful venture in Hong Kong. Yet on the homefront, the Canadian government could not deny Japan’s aggressive war tactics and skill. In 1942, a year after both Canada’s failure in Hong Kong and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there were fears that Japan would attack the Canadian west coast. Prime Minister Mackenzie King therefore decided that a defensive strategy against Japan would not involve as much risk. Outside of a relatively small campaign to the Aleutian Islands in Alaska from 1942-43 to fight the Japanese alongside American soldiers, it was a priority to protect Canada from the inside. From 1942 to the end of war in 1945, there was a home army in Canada based on the west coast in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{214} When the war in Europe gradually waned in late 1944 and early 1945, the

\textsuperscript{212} Rioux, “Two Solitudes,” 7-8.
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.
Ottawa government and returning Canadian soldiers knew that war was still to be fought on the Pacific front. It is curious that the cartoon featured here by Boothe does not represent a sense of enthusiasm for this new campaign.

Prior to 1945, Canadians had fought an internal war against the Japanese and forced Japanese Canadians into internment camps. By removing the threat of domestic Japanese who lived in Canada, some for generations, Canada did not prioritize the fight against the Japanese state. Of course, Canada formally declared war against Japan in 1941 after the attack on Pearl Harbor and the Ottawa government was invested in World War II, with Japan as one of the central opponents. Contrary to how easy the decision was to proclaim Japan as a Canadian enemy, forming a fighting strategy was much more difficult. Canada is more known for actions it took against Japanese Canadians in the 1940s. In 1942, approximately 23,000 Japanese were relocated and detained in internment camps with low quality living circumstances. The Canadian government feared their proximity to the west coast, and Japanese Canadians were barred from living within 160 km to the Pacific Ocean. During this harsh relocation, each adult was allowed to take with them 70 kg worth of belongings and children were allowed 35 kg. The rest of their property was stolen by the Canadian government and sold without their knowledge. Prime Minister Mackenzie King claimed that the relocation of Japanese residents and Japanese Canadians away from the west coast or deportation to Japan were the only suitable ways to fight Japan. This ideology shifted in the last year of the war as the Ottawa government considered a more offensive position, but Japanese Canadians still remained in these harsh conditions until the war was over.

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217 Iarocci and Keshen, Nation in Conflict, 31.
218 Ibid.
219 Hawkins, “Becoming a Model Minority,” 138-139.
Mackenzie King’s half-hearted war cry is representative of his uncertainty about what the outcome would be if Canada decided to fight Japan again overseas. In September 1944, the Ottawa government debated Canada’s position in the war moving forward. Some members of the cabinet asserted that Canada would be able to redeem itself if it carried out a successful campaign against Japan and removed the stain of their failure in Hong Kong. This proposed plan was not put into action before Japan surrendered almost a year later in August 1945.\textsuperscript{220} Iarocci and Keshen argue that even though Canadian soldiers volunteered to fight in East Asia in 1945 they were not able to fight due to time constraints.\textsuperscript{221} However, they also argue that the Canadian military did not fight Japan in 1945 because they lacked adequate numbers of volunteers.\textsuperscript{222}

In April 1945 the Canadian military was to leave for Japan in one ship, the British commissioned \textit{Uganda}. It was originally agreed by the Ottawa government that 95,000 Canadian soldiers would be sent to fight against Japan, with no knowledge of when or if the campaign would be successful.\textsuperscript{223} Mackenzie King aborted this plan and asked that any soldiers interested needed to re-volunteer for this specific campaign and upon volunteering would be given thirty days leave at home in Canada before leaving for Japan. When given the choice to come home, many Canadian soldiers preferred that option over going back to war and Mackenzie King was left with the consequences. The \textit{Uganda} was deemed immobile due to the lack of Canadians to staff the ship.

Canada’s lack of involvement in the Sino-Japanese conflict should be criticized. Yet, Diana Lary points to Canada’s position as one of the “second-tier” Allies in World War II and crucial differences in foreign policy from the “first tier.” Though Canada did not actively fight in

\textsuperscript{220} Donaghy and Roy, \textit{Contradictory Impulses}, 113-116.
\textsuperscript{221} Iarocci and Keshen, \textit{Nation in Conflict}, 111.
\textsuperscript{222} Ibid, 145.
\textsuperscript{223} Iarocci and Keshen, \textit{Nation in Conflict}, 145.
East Asia as they did in Europe, they mobilized in supportive roles. The Canadian military supported Britain’s forces in Europe and in Hong Kong, though the latter was less successful. A lack of action in China could therefore be explained by their less aggressive code of internationalism, with a preference for cooperation over confrontation.\textsuperscript{224} Canada at this point had no material gain or imperial ventures in China and had no ulterior motive to fight Japan other than as a form of defense. Whereas Canada had every reason, financially, politically, and socially to fight alongside Britain, the relationship with China was simply emotional and there was no gain in fighting Japan. Lary states that Canada’s negligence in the Sino-Japanese conflict is not reflective of the government’s view on China and its generally positive outlook on their relationship, but it was not a war it wanted to fight.\textsuperscript{225}

Meehan notes that Canadians’ genuine concerns for China during the War of Resistance were countered by their lack of a concrete East Asia policy. Thus beyond the publicly expressed sympathies, Canada failed to utilize its administrative abilities to act upon feelings of concern. In the postwar period, the Ottawa government shifted to demonstrate a new approach to diplomatic relations with China in an attempt to put behind Canada’s negligence. To show the full extent of their investment in a relationship with China, the Canadian government revoked its extraterritorial rights in 1944, previously enforced in China in the Treaty of Nanking (1842) that ended the First Opium War (1839-42).\textsuperscript{226} In addition to formally building ties with China’s government in 1947, Canada provided military aid and supplies totalling 100 million dollars. That same year, Chinese were also legally allowed to immigrate to Canada after the Chinese Immigration Act (1923) was abolished.\textsuperscript{227}

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\textsuperscript{224} Lary, Canada-China Relations in Wartime China,” 108.  \\
\textsuperscript{225} Ibid.  \\
\textsuperscript{226} Meehan, Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai, 151.  \\
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid, 148.
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Chapter Four: Punch

Punch, also known as The London Charivari, was a weekly magazine founded in London by Henry Mayhew (1812-1887) and Ebenezer Landells (1808-1860) in 1841. The magazine was popular for comical publications on the contemporary political and social environment of Britain and its international relations. Punch ran until the 1990s and officially closed in the early 2000s. Mayhew and Landells named the magazine “Punch” to represent their ideal vision of humour by using the name of the mischievous and radical puppet, Mr. Punch, from the popular British show “Punch and Judy.” From its origins in the nineteenth century, Punch influenced the development of cartoons and satirical magazines on an international scale. The London based magazine was different from other magazines of its kind in that it reached popularity quickly and remained successful for over a century.228 Within five years, Punch was well known in middle class households and was referenced in newspapers, political circles and casual household conversation across the Western world. It was a modest success in its early days due to its cheap price (at three penny an issue) and finances that allowed staff to just get by in living expenses. The target audience was not the upper-middle class or the intelligentsia, yet it appealed to them regardless.229

Punch was published by the printing firm Bradbury and Evans, and the magazine became a means for publishing companies to fund future books and popularize the company. This strategy also enabled magazines to define the printing brand by creating their own social tone and targeting specific audiences.230 In the early nineteenth century, London was the heart of

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Britain’s publishing industry and had a small circle of big publishing companies, such as Bradbury and Evans, Chapman and Hall, and Longman. Yet with advances in the printing press and ever-greater demand for reading material, new publishing companies and periodicals emerged.\textsuperscript{231} This set the tone for the competitive and booming news industry for Britain that continued into the twentieth century. \textit{Punch} did not suffer as a news media in the rise of newspapers’ popularity – it benefited from relationships with them. Scholars have examined the basic roots of \textit{Punch} in popular culture and how they adapted to document the socio-political intricacies of war. Howard Cox and Simon Mowatt (2014) track the origins of \textit{Punch} within the rise of magazines in Britain from the mid nineteenth century to the present. Richard D. Altick (1997) analyzes the early life of \textit{Punch} and investigates why the magazine gained such a large and devoted audience. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (2013) published an edited volume on the history of \textit{Punch} across Southeast and East Asia, and the Middle East but the topics only covered the nineteenth century. Renée Dickason (2015) examined \textit{Punch}’s records of the First World War (1914-1918) and Amy Matthewson (2018) analyzed \textit{Punch}’s cartooning trends during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), but there has not been an in-depth study done on how \textit{Punch} illustrated the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan.\textsuperscript{232}

\textit{Punch} was a magazine for the middle class and it became popular by catering to their opinions and mocking the lower classes. To maintain a long-term relationship with readers, \textit{Punch} mocked both labourers and joked about the absurdities of bourgeois life.\textsuperscript{233} While the middle class remained its target audience for the lifetime of the magazine, during wartime to stay

\textsuperscript{231} Ibid, 10-11.
relevant, Punch and other news sources became more political and nationalistic. Punch therefore provided a bulk of propaganda material but also a sense of comic relief for readers overwhelmed by the stresses of war. This was proven in the First World War when Punch published over 150 cartoons in their weekly publications pertaining to relevant events in civilian life and on the battlefield. However, Renée Dickason views World War I as a period that changed the tone of Punch and revealed an underlying belief that Punch cartoonists and writers were British supremacists.  

Through an investigation of Punch cartoons of the Sino-Japanese War, Amy Matthewson asserts that British views of Sino-Japanese relations in cartoons were meant to convince viewers that Britain was the rational imperial power for China.

Overall, Punch has been considered pro-war and, based on the cartoons released throughout the entirety of the First World War, it would not be surprising that the same visual tactics of mocking the enemy for their inabilities and the use of animalization would be used. Dickason argues that British humour was defined by dramatic extravagance and the use of caricatures. When picking a fight against their political enemies, British cartoons for Punch depicted them as animals and played into their stereotypes. A common strategy was to mock their enemies not for what they were doing, but what they were unable to do. For example, Punch regularly mocked the labouring class for their lack of manners and inability to fit in with higher society. Such belittling is easily perceived as a means of projecting British superiority as Dickason argues. Punch is similar to the North China Herald and the Globe and Mail in wartime illustration techniques, so visually belittling enemies cannot be entirely labelled as a

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237 Dickason, 147-148.
facet of supremacy. Or it could be that this supremacist view among the British disseminated into Canada and Shanghai as a by-product of close relations with Britain. *Punch* was responsible for creating many trends in cartooning – Canada and the British in Shanghai were heavily influenced by British attitudes in this respect. Yet, *Punch* differed from the *North China Herald* and the *Globe and Mail* by censoring the cartoons to restrict actual images of violence and scenes of war. There were rarely cartoons that actively poked fun at the human suffering behind the war, this trend was noticed in the First World War when only two cartoons illustrated the experiences of soldiers living in the trenches.\(^{238}\) *Punch*'s tactic, though pro-war, was based on negating social anxieties about war by illustrating Britain's enemies as comically useless.

Brian Maidment argues that *Punch* reacted to the war in more protective ways, concealing the population from the horrors of war, rather than active aggression.\(^{239}\) Ideally, this is a smart plan for cartoonists in terms of depicting the war in Europe by decreasing the public’s fear of the enemy, mainly the Germans, and motivating men to volunteer for service in a war. What it does not do is provide the same sense of inspiration for mobilization in East Asia. While negating the fear of enemies that British soldiers would be fighting in Europe is a rational strategy, mocking the Japanese to the same extent is not when Britain did not have an active campaign against Japan. Therefore the cartoons that will be examined in this chapter on the Sino-Japanese conflict from 1931 to 1945 cannot be considered propaganda to the same extent due to the international appeasement of Japan until the later years of the war. Shuge Wei points to 1933, when Japan left the League of Nations, as a starting point for appeasement. Although Japan had

\(^{238}\) Dickason, “The Nuanced Comic Perspectives,” 149-150.
\(^{239}\) Maidment, “The Presence of Punch in the Nineteenth Century,” 44.
been deemed guilty for its unwarranted aggression against China, the League took no economic or military action against Japan and left the matter to be dealt with by the two parties privately.\textsuperscript{240}

For almost the entirety of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan, the editor of \textit{Punch} was Edmund Valpy Knox, more popularly known as E.V. Knox (1881-1971), a veteran of the First World War. From 1931 to 1949, Knox continued \textit{Punch’s} reputation for being pro-war. Peter Mellini argues that Knox was at the forefront of rejecting British appeasement in the years leading up to World War II and encouraged \textit{Punch} cartoonists to mock and ostracize fascist leaders Hitler and Mussolini.\textsuperscript{241} Prior to his position as editor, Knox was frequent writer for \textit{Punch} and provided satirical poems under the pseudonym Evoe that complemented the magazine’s illustrative humour. Knox started selling his poems to \textit{Punch} when he was in his teens and was asked to continue writing even when he was on the front line during World War I. Here, he discovered the irony of British wartime humour, knowing that the acting editor, Owen Seaman (1861-1936) wanted light-hearted content to publish even though trench life was so dreary.\textsuperscript{242} In a memoir written by Knox’s daughter, Penelope Fitzgerald (1916-2000) quoted Knox’s writings from the frontlines.

\begin{quote}
English humour is distinguished by cheerful endurance…I saw that in the trenches; I don’t mean behaviour in action or under heavy fire, when whatever you say about it, people are not amused, but ordinary behaviour under terrible conditions. I mean the men who sang doleful marching songs saying that they didn’t want to fight and wished they could go home.\textsuperscript{243}
\end{quote}

Prior to the 1930s, \textit{Punch} had a reputation for using offensive imagery to depict China in cartoons. From the 1860s to 1931, China was illustrated as a stereotypically pig-tailed man,

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\textsuperscript{242} Penelope Fitzgerald, \textit{The Knox Brothers}, (Great Britain: Macmillan, 1977), 138.
\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
weak, and bearing a hatred for foreigners. Also, in the nineteenth century China was depicted in cartoons as speaking with Pidgin English, a derogatory term for broken-language. In 1894, a cartoon entitled “A Touching Appeal” (Figure 5.1) depicted Johnny Chinaman crying for help from other nations while being bullied by Japan, “Boo-Hoo! He Hurtee Me Welly Much! No Peacey Man Come Stopy Him!” The cartoon was a reference to the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Matthewson views this cartoon as a reflection of how Britain was impressed by Japan’s modernization and dominance over China; this created a better Anglo-Japanese relationship because there was a common ground for how China could be improved under imperial advisement. Thus, the British early on chose to illustrate how powerful Japan was through the victimization of China rather than begging viewers to sympathize with China and run to their aid.

Figure 5.1

244 Cartoon by John Tenniel, *Punch*, November 17, 1894.
In early twentieth century *Punch*, China was depicted as angry and menacing, or inferior and kindly towards Europeans and Americans and was illustrated as a relatively unlikable character. In 1921, a cartoon illustrated an interaction between Uncle Sam and China. In it, Uncle Sam describes the formation of the Nine Power Pact and that China would be allowed more autonomy, to which China replies: “Honourable Conference is too kind to contemptible worm.”  

Lastly, in a cartoon published in *Punch* in 1927, four years prior to the Mukden Incident, sympathetic views toward the Chinese depicted an angry China cursing foreigners. In the cartoon entitled, “Number One Top-Side,” (Figure 5.2) China says: “Down with all foreign devils – and down with the English devils first!”

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246 Cartoon by Bernard Partridge, *Punch*, November 20, 1921.

Resistance, *Punch* published offensive material that highlighted the lack of a strong relationship with China.

**The Beginning: The Lytton Commission and Report**

Similar to the cartoons published by the *North China Herald* and the *Globe and Mail* in the early 1930s upon the wake of Sino-Japanese conflict, *Punch* referred to Japan’s tense relationship with the League of Nations. On December 7, 1932 Punch cartoonist Leonard Raven Hill (1867-1942) published an image (Figure 5.3) entitled “The Ultimatum” to provoke thought about the recent Lytton Report (1932), submitted to the League after an investigative commission in 1931. The image is of a classroom, with the League of Nations depicted as a disapproving teacher staring down a student figured as Japan. As the female teacher wags a finger at the board during a lesson on the Lytton Report, Japan stands up and gives an ultimatum: “If you go on saying I’m naughty, I shall leave the class.”

In the aftermath of the Mukden Incident and the persisting Manchurian problem, the League entered a series of council meetings after the Chinese government pleaded for action. The League was pledged in contract to take immediate action when the Kellogg Briand Pact was violated, and any individual war or conflict was considered important.248 The first matter of business was hearing from both sides of the Sino-Japanese dispute. On 19 September 1931, the council heard from Japanese representative, Yoshizawa Kenkichi (1874-1975), and Chinese representative Dr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze (1877-1958). Both representatives reported that they were shocked and disappointed by the event but had little clarity of details regarding why it occurred. Three days later when the council convened again, Dr. Sze revealed the atrocities of the Japanese army that had seized and destroyed four cities with an estimated 600 dead and at least 1000

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captured. He claimed that the Japanese had disrupted communication in these cities via cutting telephone wires and were attempting to conceal the damages. Japanese representative Yoshizawa refuted these facts and said that there was no proof.\textsuperscript{249}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure53.png}
\caption{The Ultimatum.}
\end{figure}

The League hoped that the Lytton Commission, a six-week tour of north China in the spring of 1932 headed by V.A.G.R. Bulwer-Lytton (1876-1947), second Earl of Lytton, would discover the truth and resolve the issue. Investigation and scepticism of Japan’s position in Manchuria was a point of contention for Japanese foreign ministers, specifically Uchida Kosai (1865-1936) who urged the League in August 1932 to acknowledge the state of Manchukuo. The Chinese and Japanese had a mutual desire for the secure possession of Manchuria as well as a

positive relationship with Euro-American nations. The report declared that Japan was more to blame in the ordeal and that the Japanese soldiers involved in the Mukden Incident were disillusioned in their attempts to calm the situation after the supposed bombing by the Chinese. The explosion that was at the heart of the Incident was deemed irrelevant to the safety and function of the train that arrived unscathed at Changchun station as scheduled. These findings were delivered to the lead Japanese representative, Yōsuke Matsuoka (1880-1946), previously Vice President of the SMR. After the report was presented to the council in February 1933, Japan was declared guilty by forty-two votes for starting the ongoing Sino-Japanese conflict. As the only member who refuted this decision, Matsuoka declared that Japan would end its relationship with the League.

This cartoon could have characterized the unnamed Japanese student as Uchida, due to their physical similarities. Regardless of who was depicted as Japan, the image embodied the determined vision the League held toward Japan, and vice versa, at the time of this political tension. The cartoon reveals the failure of the League to maintain peace and negate Japanese desires to expand their empire. In particular, the cartoon shows that the symbol of the League as rule-abiding had been shattered. The League is depicted as a stubborn teacher who is frustrated when she cannot force someone into submission based on word alone. Thus, the attempts by the League to shame the subject’s actions will not change a stubborn mind but instead motivated Japan to seek approval elsewhere. This cartoon communicates to readers that the League failed to keep Japan under its oath of the Nine-Power Pact, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and cooperation

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252 Hathaway and Shapiro, The Internationalists, 157.
with the Lytton Report. With Japan’s departure from the League left it unable to control the situation. Though the cartoon also bears a neutrality in the sense that both sides of the argument believe that they are morally superior to the other. Portrayed here in the early years of the Sino-Japanese war is the idea that it is useless to condemn a person or country that does not believe they have committed a wrong.

This cartoon could also have directed anger towards the League for severing Britain’s relationship with Japan. Britain was arguably the most supportive of Japan’s internationalism and wanted to compromise rather than allow Japan to leave. Anglo-Japanese relations were often stronger than Anglo-Chinese relations, notably by the alliance treaties Britain and Japan had signed twice in the twentieth century. Yet, these bonds were severed in 1922. Captain Malcolm D. Kennedy, O.B.E. remarks in his 1969 book The Estrangement of Great Britain and Japan that: “It is one of the tragic ironies of history that Japan, our valued friend and ally for twenty years, became our mortal enemy in the Pacific War." His accounts of the interwar period to the end of World War II claim Anglo-Japanese relations were squandered by the international complications of Japan’s excursions into China. Kennedy argued that Japan’s imperial ventures into China were not unlike Britain’s in the previous century and therefore he sympathized with the Japanese. In his eyes, Japan’s mission for Pan-Asian unity was an admirable desire and understood that it was deeply offensive for the League to deny the Japanese their patriotic rights and give up on an empire for the betterment of East Asia.

The cartoon shows that stubbornness is restricting a healthy flow of communication between the League and Japan. Instead of being a learning experience, this classroom appears

toxic and does not present a resolution. Also, the image reflects a neutral stance on the conflict because it fairly states the opinions of both parties. The cartoonist for this image, Leonard Raven Hill (1867-1942), worked for Punch for forty years. According to Punch’s online archives, in times of war Raven Hill produced political wartime cartoons and was popular for his World War I imagery, but in times of peace his illustrations mostly reflected social history and technology. In his collection of cartoons published by Punch, Raven Hill often illustrated well known political figures in compromising situations. Based on his experience, it is logical that Raven Hill covered the controversy of the Lytton Report and was able to convey what both sides were arguing in their own righteous ways.

The Middle: The Epstein Statue Metaphor and China’s Appeal to the League

On August 25, 1937, Punch also followed the trend of illustrating China’s strain under Japanese aggression and mocked Japan’s proclaimed benefits to the region, with full knowledge that they were responsible for destruction. The cartoon “China in the Breaking” (Figure 5.4), created by cartoonist Bernard Partridge (1861-1945) presents a large, angry Chinese Buddha cracking as a result of a Japanese soldier swinging a large mallet. While the Chinese Buddha looks at the Japanese soldier in anger, the solider says: “I’m doing this, of course, solely in the interests of public safety.”

As captioned under the cartoon punch line, the image was inspired by the recent decision to remove the Epstein statues at Rhodesia House in England in 1937, after they started to decay. The eighteen statues were a series of eight-foot tall men and women in different stages of human life created by sculptor Jacob Epstein (1880-1959) and showcased in 1908 outside of the new British Medical Association building. When the statues were revealed to the public, citizens were abhorred the raw nudity of the figures and viewed them as too sexual for outside of an art
The controversy was calmed for almost thirty years, until the building was sold to the Southern Rhodesian Government and the new property owners demanded the statues be removed. Their reasoning was that the statues were not significant representations of their aesthetic or presence in the building. Yet Epstein refuted their demands, arguing that the statues were integral to illustrating man’s relationship to nature and the universe, which was relevant to any persons who occupied the building. Soon after, a large piece from one of the statues fell forty-feet off the building and sparked more discontent. The statues were then considered a matter of public safety and upon inspection they were found in a deteriorating state and all effected areas were chipped away.

Figure 5.4


Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art*, 150-152.
Historians and artists alike have considered this event a case of censorship under the guise of remoulding something deemed unfit. Dario Gamboni notes that most artists, art historians, museum directors, and critics found no issue with Epstein’s statues, and it was religions institutions and the state that opposed them.\textsuperscript{259} The London memorial page for the sight disputed the claims that the public disdain for the statues had anything to do with their removal. In the Sino-Japanese context this is significant in various ways. First, the Japanese used censorship as a tool when they cut communications in every occupied city, starting in northern China. Dr. Sze made it clear in his first formal address to the council after the Mukden Incident in September 1931 that Yingkow, Antung, Changchun and Fushun, among many other surrounding towns, had their telephone wires cut while they were besieged by the Japanese military.\textsuperscript{260} Censorship of media outlets was still an ongoing mission for the Japanese in 1937 when they reached Beijing, Shanghai, and Nanjing. The Chinese government had previously censored foreign newspapers from documenting anything that devalued their political system.\textsuperscript{261} Publication laws were lifted in the early 1930s so that as many correspondents as possible could report on the details of Japanese aggression.

The Chinese government viewed international reports on their vulnerability to Japanese aggression as a benefit to their image as a victimized nation that would motivate to the League to take action and send aid.\textsuperscript{262} It cannot be questioned that the cartoon (Figure 5.4) illustrates a victimized China and an aggressive Japan, but it arguably bears more frustration at the damage already done rather than a call to aid. In this way, the image presents the duality of Japanese suppression and censorship met with China’s desire to be viewed as a victim. From a British

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{259} Gamboni, 150.
\bibitem{260} Hathaway and Shapiro, \textit{The Internationalists}, 132.
\bibitem{262} Wei, \textit{News Under Fire}, 113.
\end{thebibliography}
viewpoint the image could be addressing disbelief at Japan’s imperialism being a positive influence in China, similar to how the Canadian cartoonist Argus did in “Kill or Cure” (Figure 4.2). The cartoonist for “China in the Breaking,” Bernard Partridge produced cartoons for over fifty years and started at *Punch* in 1891. By 1910, Partridge was *Punch*’s chief cartoonist and was recognized in *Punch*’s archives as “simply one of the finest political cartoonists ever to grace the pages of Punch.”263 This statement commends Partridge for his dramatic style of cartooning. Beyond his career in cartooning, Partridge was a theater actor and his illustrative style was arguably sharp and chilling. Partridge’s mutual take on the Sino-Japanese conflict and the recent destruction of the Epstein statues could reflect his taste for fine art.

A cartoon published later in 1937 reflected the same calm joking shown in cartoons published by the *North China Herald* and *Globe and Mail* in this “middle period” of Japan’s aggression toward China, 1937-1939. E.H. Shepard (1879-1976) published “Seats of the Mighty” (Figure 5.5) on December 1, 1937. It features two men, representing China and Japan, in a child-like quarrel. The Chinese man is laying face first on the floor weighted down by the Japanese man sitting on top of him, with his foot pressing on his victim’s face. Positive that he will receive aid from other countries and resist his enemy, China says: “Do you realize that a Conference sitting at Brussels has entirely disapproved of all this?” to which Japan replies: “Has it really? Well, I hope they have comfortable chairs.”

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263 *Punch* digitalized archive.
This cartoon is a reference to the Nine-Power Treaty Conference (1937) that was held in Brussels. The conference met based on the ongoing concern of Sino-Japanese conflict and hoped to find a solution for a peaceful resolution. In addition, the conference debated China’s role in the global alliance against Germany and Japan.\textsuperscript{264} The central issue was that Japan had renounced its position on the League and its associated treaties and the other members demonstrated that they were not eager to join the war in East Asia. The Nine Power Treaty Conference was found to be a complicated ordeal because the predating Nine Power Treaty of 1922 and the nations had the right to intervene but did not agree on any sort of proactive measures. The conference resolved that the ongoing Sino-Japanese conflict in its first few

months of official war was China’s sole issue.\textsuperscript{265} Also, China had appealed to the League and the Nine-Power Treaty members for aid and hoped the conference would mobilize troops toward the battlefront in Shanghai. Yet, the response from the League and Nine Power Treaty members was sympathy of “a moral rather than material nature.”\textsuperscript{266} The conference instead viewed China’s war against Japan as a test for dominance in East Asia, and predicted China would emerge as a victor if they used the size of the country to their advantage and exhausted Japan’s military efforts. However, this potentially was a way that the Nine Power members gave China emotional support so that they would not feel obligated to get involved. David Scott argues that the conference reinstated the Euro-American countries interests in their own safety: “the Western powers did seem prepared to sacrifice China, as long as they were not directly attacked themselves.”\textsuperscript{267}

A point of interest is the shift in the size ratio between China and Japan, consistently noticed as a factor in their power dynamic in 1937-38. Compared to other cartoons published in these years however, China and Japan are depicted as not only the same size but fighting without weapons. They are on an equal playing ground using their raw talents. Japan again proves to be the more aggressive and the most successful at this point in the war, while China remains the frustrated victim. Here, it is clear that China is waiting for help to arrive but Japan is confident that will not be the case. As this cartoon was published in December after the conference met a month earlier, it is affirmed that while the meeting in Brussels did disapprove of Japanese aggression that none had agreed to help China. Aron Shai argues that Britain, on behalf of the League, did not see Japan’s war as a concern because Japan was no longer a member of the

\textsuperscript{265} Ibid, 253-254.  
\textsuperscript{267} Scott, \textit{China and the International System}, 254.
League. Thus, taking measures against Japan would violate the basic foundation of the League that the council would only occupy themselves with wars that were directly important to the League. The Brussels Conference resolved that they continued to value the autonomy of China but they would not use force in order to keep it that way. Also, the Japanese government asserted that the ongoing conflict with China was a private dispute and did not require outside involvement. The League and Nine Power treaty were cautious of angering Japan further with their involvement in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Japan had rejected any proposals for peace leading up to the Brussels Conference in 1937 and voiced that any intrusions on their dispute with China would not be tolerated. However, Japan had also stated that cooperation with the League would be possible if China was willing to negotiate with Japan directly, which China had refused.

The way that Sino-Japanese conflict ensued bears a relevance to Latané and Darley’s discussion of the bystander effect. This bystander theory explains societal norms that prevent people from providing aid in an emergency situation, which in this situation applies to Japan demanding privacy in the war with China.

Another way in which norms of helping conflict with other norms is that we are taught to respect the privacy of others. If you intrude into another’s distress, even with the best of intentions, you may find yourself resented and reviled. “Mind your own business,” you may be told, “Don’t stick your nose in somebody else’s mess.”

The cartoon, “Seats of the Mighty” (Figure 5.5) rather epitomizes this ideal and illustrates Japan’s control over the Sino-Japanese conflict and how it was addressed on the world stage.

E.H. Shepard, an illustrator for Punch for over sixty years, created this cartoon. Punch’s archives argue that his military service in World War I changed his style of cartooning and he

269 Scott, China and the International System, 253.
270 Shai, 44.
rarely produced cartoons depicting war. Shepard expressed a relative distaste for political
 cartoons and preferred illustrating domestic scenes of family life. In 1945, Shepard was named
chief cartoonist for *Punch* and made a name for himself among families when he illustrated for
the children’s books by A.A. Milne (1882-1956), *Winnie the Pooh*. Compared to his coworkers,
Bernard Partridge and Leslie Illingworth, Shepard’s cartoons are significantly more light-hearted
and energetic, lacking the dark tenacity of other wartime cartoonists. This can explain the
playful, innocent nature of the cartoon above.

**The End: Pondering Japan’s Post War Sympathy**

On September 5, 1945 after Japan had surrendered and the war was officially over,
cartoonist Leslie Illingworth (1902-1979) illustrated the cartoon, “Toujours L’Audace.” The
image (Figure 5.6) shows a Japanese man standing in a war-torn landscape full of rubble, bones,
and mostly destroyed buildings. Pictured holding a bouquet of flowers and removing his hat to
bow, he says, while smiling graciously: “We should be courageous enough to apologize to the
Chinese…” It is reasonable to believe that this scene is set in China, noticeable by the details in
the buildings and arguably the Japanese general would not be smiling if he was standing in the
destroyed cities of his own country.

Leslie Illingworth started illustrating cartoons for *Punch* in 1927 and became Second
Cartoonist in 1945 alongside E.H. Shepard. In the late 1930s, Illingworth also became employed
at the British newspaper the *Daily Mail* and produced wartime cartoons for both of his employers
during World War II. His style, by accounts of the *Punch* archives, was a mixture of E.H.
Shepard’s humour and Bernard Partridge’s drama. Thus, the cartoon can be analyzed with the
duality of innocent playfulness met with an underlying emotional spectacle.
Figure 5.6

The French phrase, “Toujours L’Audace” means “always audacious” and was famously quoted from a speech made by Georges Danton (1759-1794), a French revolutionary in 1792. The complete phrase translated is “audacity, then again audacity, always audacity and the fatherland will be saved.” It is a phrase commonly understood to represent boldness and courage when faced with life’s biggest challenges. Hence, the Japanese general in this cartoon is mustering up the courage to apologize to the Chinese and encourages others to do so. Yet, the cartoon is addressing this exchange of apologies with humorous elements by presenting the general in a goofy manner. Noticeable in this image and in the two that preceded it, Japan is drawn in clothes that do not reflect the current Japanese military uniforms of the time. He is illustrated wearing traditional garb such as a kimono and zori sandals, but holds a modern
looking bowler hat. Also, the Japanese general holds gifts of flowers and chocolates making it seem like this is a mundane apology. If *Punch* was communicating that this was a sincere apology on behalf of Japan, the Japanese general would not look so smug and amused, he would be dressed in accurate clothing and he would be offering material things that reflected their serious remorse. It appears that the cartoon is attempting to motivate Japan to make a formal apology to China, but also jokes over the ridiculousness of it. After such an extended period of Japanese aggression against Chinese military and civilians, it was incomprehensible to believe that a simple apology would do. This cartoon bears some confusion on reconciliation of Sino-Japanese relations in the postwar world.

Unfortunately, the stained history of Anglo-Chinese relations prior to the War of Resistance has hindered positive academic discussions about their actual relationship. Perry argues that any historian who argues whole-heartedly that the war in Europe overshadowed the war in Asia has not considered the entire picture. While it is rational to believe that the war in Asia was neglected, as convincingly shown in the cartoons examined in this chapter, it is the efforts to maintain strong Anglo-Chinese relations that were rarely spoken of.²⁷²

Conclusion

“Norms tell us we should not ask for help; they also suggest that we should not offer it at too great cost to ourselves.” This thesis was inspired by the bystander theory analyzed by Bibb Latané and John M. Darley that investigates the psychology of why and how individuals act in emergency situations. These theories were applied to British and Canadian views of the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan from 1931 to 1945 to reflect their relative disinterest in getting involved. This thesis examines political cartoons published during the Chinese War of Resistance Against Japan and when it overlapped with World War II from 1939 to 1945. The cartoons were selected to represent the beginning (1931-33), the middle (1937-39) and the end (1940-1945) of the war based on their relevance to the issue of Sino-Japanese conflict. The cartoons were chosen from English language news media published in Shanghai, China (North China Herald), Toronto, Canada (Globe and Mail), and London, England (Punch Magazine). Secondary sources on war cartooning trends, international policy, and the unique development of newspapers in Toronto, London, and Shanghai were used to make conclusions on how these cartoons were received or supposed to be received during the war as a representation of British and Canadian relations with China in the mid-twentieth century.

This study found that all of the cartoons selected reflect either a general disinterest in the Sino-Japanese conflict or expressed frustration that one’s country was disinterested in the conflict. While the news institutions can be considered pro-war, based on ample evidence from scholars in the discipline, this thesis argues that visual messages could be sent to the public differently based on the views of owners and cartoonists who were responsible for publishing relevant material. For example, the anti-war Russian cartoonist, Sapajou, published imagery for a

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British newspaper that presented a neutral standpoint even though the institution was located in a center of Sino-Japanese warfare in Shanghai. Thus, the cartoons examined in this thesis can be read as images that inspire inaction.

There are some trends noticeable in the cartoons that portrayed the Sino-Japanese relationship through their almost fifteen year dispute. Firstly, cartoonists illustrated Chinese and Japanese figures in either very modern, “Americanized” clothing or clothing that was very traditional and out dated by centuries, or both. In some circumstances just China is illustrated in traditional clothing, potentially to demonstrate that the cartoonist views the country as ancient and refusing to modernize. This can be seen in the Globe and Mail’s “China Subdued” (Figure 4.3) and Punch’s “China in the Breaking” (Figure 5.4). Yet, in other cartoons both China and Japan are illustrated in traditional clothing, as seen in Punch’s “Danse Macabre” (Figure 3.5) and “Seats of the Mighty” (Figure 5.5). In one peculiar cartoon, “Toujours L’Audace” (Figure 5.6) Japan is illustrated in a mixture of traditional and modern clothing, with no explanation. While the meaning is not always evident for why cartoonists illustrated China and Japan in varying types of clothing, it is clear that it was intentional for how the cartoonist wanted the viewer to perceive their relationship and conflict.

Secondly, cartoonists depicted China and Japan in varying sizes to illustrate their opinion of the conflict. The use of size to demonstrate China and Japan’s fight provided the viewer with the question of whether the fight was fair or if one side held the advantage. In two cartoons, China was drawn as a giant but in only one cartoon China was depicted as a capable opponent. In “China Subdued,” China is a dozy giant that was easily fending off a tired and miniscule Japanese soldier, but in “China in the Breaking” the Chinese giant is fragile as a decaying statue. In both cases, however, China is depicted as a giant to demonstrate that China is a large and old
country that held a lot more power in size than in fighting ability. In “Kill or ‘Cure’” and “Seats of the Mighty” China and Japan are illustrated as the same size and with equal opportunity to fight, but in both images China is the losing opponent. Thus, it illustrates that the cartoonist wants to make the viewer aware that Japan is the more aggressive and controlling of the two.

Each news institution featured one cartoon that was a metaphor for a specific cultural event. The cartoons refer to art and history, which layers the meanings that the cartoonists were trying to portray in the context of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The North China Herald published the cartoon “Danse Macabre,” (figure 2.2) in reference to Hartmann Schedel’s fifteenth century art of dancing skeletons and its several variations leading into the early twentieth century. By reading the title of the cartoon the viewer could understand the state of the Sino-Japanese conflict, that the title translates to “Dance of Death” and naturalizes the fact that death is inescapable. The Globe and Mail’s 1933 cartoon “The Advancing Tide in China” (figure 3.1) references the twelfth century story of Canute, a Scandinavian king who believed that he was powerful enough to stop the ocean tide. The visual depiction of the League representative sitting on a chair on the shore and the caption pointed the viewer to the idea that the cartoon was a re-enactment of King Canute’s story. Punch’s 1937 cartoon, “China in the Breaking,” (figure 4.2) references the destruction of England’s Epstein statues that same year. Thus, viewers with knowledge of the Danse Macabre, the story of King Canute, and the Epstein statues could have understood these cartoons, exclusive to their context of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The viewer did not need to have knowledge of the complexities of the war in East Asia if they were first aware of these cultural references. If a viewer were informed on both the events of the Sino-Japanese war and the full extent of the cartoonist’s metaphors, they would have understood the context to the greatest degree. Thus, these news institutions demonstrated that they used the same
techniques for layering cartoons with secret messages. These cartoons that used metaphors in such a way illustrate that there was no national or cultural determinant for cartoonists that enable viewers to achieve different levels of understanding for the same image.

This thesis does not argue that the war in Europe completely caused Britain and Canada to ignore the war in East Asia, but it did have some effect on limiting their focus. There is evidence that both of these parties were in some part invested in and concerned about the Sino-Japanese conflict but this thesis argues that this was not illustrated in political cartoons from 1931 to 1945. The cartoons conflicted with political concerns for war in Asia and emphasized the hesitation that the Canadian and British governments felt about fighting Japan. This study encourages the historian to examine cartoons in non-linear ways. With a bulk of the study on political war cartoons focused on how it encouraged viewers to mobilize for the war effort, it is questionable to assume that all cartoons were actually received this way. While this thesis analyzed cartoons through the lens of the bystander effect alongside socio-political theories, historians should seek to understand cartoons outside of the straightforward assumption that it was produced to enforce the viewer to seek action. With the prevalence of cartoons in the present day and how the media reports on international crises similar to the early years of Sino-Japanese conflict from 1931 to 1937, it is significant to acknowledge what motivates people to act in emergency situations. Historians are therefore continually able to study how viewers distanced from potential emergencies are provided with imagery or words that motivates them to act or not.
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