FAIR GAME: CANADIAN EDITORIAL CARTOONING

by

Adrienne C. Lamb

Graduate School of Journalism

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
April, 1998

© Adrienne C. Lamb 1998

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-30679-8

Canadä

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about people and politics, art and history, visual satire, and current affairs. It traces the development of Canada's editorial cartooning heritage over the last one hundred and fifty years and examines the contemporary Canadian editorial cartooning scene as well. This author's main objective is to turn the tables on the editorial cartoonists in Canada by making them fair game and the subject of study from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. The contribution to knowledge this thesis offers is the periodization of political cartooning and the process by which the periods change. The findings are important because the Canadian editorial cartooning tradition is currently reshaping and, in some ways, dying. We must understand the changes that are taking place in this visual representation of Canadian culture. The theoretical framework compares contemporary Canadian political cartoonists to the medieval court jester. Many contemporary factors, including syndication, media concentration, freelancing, and downsizing, are leaving their mark on one of the oldest modes of communication. Editorial cartooning currently stands at a crossroads. This thesis examines the past and presents a road map to the future of editorial cartooning in Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Heartfelt thanks are extended to the Dean of Graduate Studies, Dr. Alan Weedon; Associate Dean of Graduate Studies, Dr. Martin Kreiswirth; and Dr. Roma Harris, Vice-Provost and Registrar, who made this work a reality. These individuals took the time and consideration to focus on the needs of one student; for that, I am grateful. I offer thanks for the funding provided by the Rogers and Consumers Association of Canada Research Scholarship, which allowed me to conduct my work; to Thunder Bay Television's Gary Rinne and Barry Third; and to Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's Tom Grand for employing me during the final phase of this project.

The departmental support I received from Anne Murphy, David Mills, Wendie Crouch, Lori Dos Santos, and Cindy Morrison, who collectively and constantly encouraged tenacity, tenacity, tenacity, has been tremendous. Robert Martin, Liwen Vaughan, Gillian Michel, Judith Knelman, Michael Nolan, Doug Baer, and David Murphy also assisted in the research and development of this enterprise. Thanks must go to a support network consisting of John Mplias, Jen O'Rourke, William Macpherson, Toby Cockcroft, and Philip Schneider. Warm thanks are also extended to Darcy Scott and copy editor Barb Elwert, both of whom kept me on track.

It is obvious that without the cooperation of editorial cartoonists and interview sources, this thesis would lack credibility. My thanks go to the artists, politicians, and scholars on whom I have relied. They are listed alphabetically in the Works Consulted portion of this text.

Thanks also go to Dr. David R. Spencer, who has been an advisor in the best and truest meaning of the term. His devotion to quality control and steadfast commitment to academic integrity has taught me more about research, academic writing, and my own progress as a scholar than perhaps he knows. Thanks also to Dr. Roger Hall of the History Department and Dr. Don Abelson of the Political Science Department of the University of Western Ontario who assisted in the approval of this work and to Dr. Madeline Lennon, who has been an excellent role model and mentor during the past six years.

Finally, thanks to my parents, Bob and Joyce Lamb, and my sisters, Hollie and Victoria. On virtually every major gift-giving holiday, and, sometimes for no reason at all, they would present me with a collection of cartoons, knowing my desire to read real books was low but my desire to understand, imagine, and create was high. I am the most grateful to my father, who, through my grade-school career, took dozens of days off from work to drive the eight hundred kilometres to bring me to an eyecare specialist in the hopes of improving my vision as well as my reading and writing skills. I am also indebted to my mother, who, through those years, sat beside me at the kitchen table and corrected my spelling and grammar, always with the patience of an instructor of life.

It is because of these individuals that this work is complete and that I can now take pride in its accomplishment. The sense of self-worth that goes with the achievement of a task of this magnitude is immense, but it does not equal the extravagant support to which this thesis is duly dedicated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Title page		
Certificate of Examination		ii
Abstract		iii
Acknowledgements		iv
Table of Contents		vi
1.	Chapter One	
	Placing the Poison Pen: An Introduction	1
	Behind the Lines: A Source Review	5
	Political Cartoonists as Twentieth-Century Court Jesters	13
2.	Chapter Two	
	Before There Was Canada, There Was Cartooning	21
	Thomas Nast: America Through Cartoons	28
	A Child from the Tenements: R. F. Outcault's "The Yellow Kid"	35
3.	Chapter Three	
	Before Bengough: The Canadian Cartooning Landscape	41
	The Pun Is Mightier Than The Sword: J. W. Bengough	46
	Besides Bengough: The First Wave of Canadian Cartoonists	56
4.	Chapter Four	
	A Blot In The Ink: The Downward Trend in Canadian Cartooning Continues	67
	Duncan Macpherson: The Clown Prince of Canadian Cartooning	74
	Across Canada, The High Continues: Editorial Cartoonists Ride The Second Wave	84
5.	Chapter Five	
	The Third Wave: Filling in the Sketch	87
	Some Familiar Pens: Third-Wave Editorial Cartoonists	98
	The Game Is Up: The Changing Face of Canadian Cartooning	103
	A Conclusion: Completing The Sketch	113
	Figures	118
	Works Consulted	175
	Vita	189

CHAPTER ONE

PLACING THE POISON PEN: AN INTRODUCTION

The court jester in medieval England was a valued member of society (Morris 7). The fool often posed as the alter ego for the politically elite, attacking the ruling class with witty barbs and clever riddles. Contemporary Canadian editorial cartoonists are the modern version of the court jester; they lambast the political elite. Editorial cartoonists create the most effective satirical tool by relaying visual messages the written word cannot convey as forcefully or directly. With a single image, cartoonists can make a statement with their "poison pens" that will outlast the subject or the event (Harrison 13). Although they occupy only a small corner of our daily lives, editorial cartoons represent much more. They are cultural indicators of Canadian values, traditions, and opinions. This author's main objective is to turn the tables on the editorial cartoonists in Canada by making them fair game and the subject of study from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. The contribution to knowledge this thesis offers is the periodization of political cartooning and the process by which the periods change.

The historical component of this study examines the rich tradition that this visual satire represents, whereas the contemporary component focuses on the current environment that could render editorial cartooning a dying art. Canada's strong cartooning heritage dates back more than a century, thanks in part to weekly satirical magazines such as Punch in Canada and Grip. These magazines launched the careers of such men as J. H. Walker and J. W. Bengough, who paved the way for present-day newspapers to be visually, intellectually, and comically enhanced (Desbarats, "Cartoons" 375).

This thesis is significant for two reasons. First, it is current, Canadian based, and well researched. Aside from a scant collection of journal articles, statistical data, and books by individuals such as Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, the research and interpretation of Canadian political cartooning has not been an academic main course

(Desbarats and Mosher 1; Jocks 151; Morris 1). Instead, political cartoon analysis has remained a satirical side dish, often included solely for visual appeal and amusement in history, political science, art, and even philosophy texts. From high-profile business presentations to the bathroom wall, the Canadian political cartoon, although admittedly appreciated on several levels, has not been examined to its full potential. This project is designed to correct that oversight.

The thesis is also significant because many changes that will directly impact on editorial cartoons will be occurring in the media and, more specifically, in the newspaper industry. It is essential we recognize, analyze, and chart these changes. The fact is that political and editorial cartoons have altered their style, technology, content, medium, message, and meaning over the last one hundred and fifty years. In fact, a shift in almost all of the elements of editorial cartooning has occurred. There are many dynamic aspects to be examined in regard to where and how far Canadians have come in this respect.

THE GAME PLAN: THE STUDY'S DIRECTION

The physical structure of this thesis follows the course established by the outline of the main objective to study editorial cartoonists and cartooning in Canada from both a historical and a contemporary perspective. The study's theoretical framework is based on the metaphorical comparison of the modern political cartoonist to the court jester, examining this concept as it applies to contemporary Canadian cartooning issues. The connection with the physical satire and manifestations of the comic message, for example, Punch, has been used as supporting evidence to illustrate the resilience of cartooning as an adaptable satiric medium. In the first chapter, a comprehensive literature review is presented.

The history of political cartooning is addressed in the second chapter. An exploration of the background of the pictorial and the caricature employed by the press outside of Canada is essential. Examples of the work of William Hogarth, James Gillray, and Honoré Daumier are featured in this respect. In addition to European influences, the profound impact that Thomas Nast's work has had on Canadian political cartooning is

also examined. Nast, considered the founder of American political cartooning, influenced J. W. Bengough, who became the first major political cartoonist in Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 31).

The American Hearst-Pulitzer press war and the Yellow Press phenomenon were prevalent at the turn of the century. They are examined in order to place Canadian accomplishments, trends, and directions into a larger North American perspective (Blackbeard 30; Kobre 2; Silverman 16). The technological and financial elements of cartooning are examined. From woodcut to Website, this study examines the technological circumstances that make production and distribution of the cartoon possible.

The third chapter links the theoretical framework and visual conceptualization of chapter one with an examination of the historical background in chapter two to concentrate on the first wave of Canadian cartooning. The relationship between Bengough and Sir John A. Macdonald is studied in detail. The connection between art and circumstance is made with tangible examples from the first phase of Canada's political past, including such events as Confederation, free trade, the Pacific Scandal, and Prohibition. The First World War, the Depression, and other historical events spanning the 1850s to the 1940s are also briefly reviewed. This era has been referred to as the first wave of Canadian political cartooning history.

The fourth chapter is an examination of the second wave of Canadian cartooning. The influence and impact of Duncan Ian Macpherson, who arrived on the political cartooning scene in the 1950s, is drawn out. Macpherson is considered to be the best political cartoonist Canada has produced and the catalyst for the second wave, a new way of looking at political cartooning, politicians, and the public (Desbarats and Mosher 146; Dorothy Macpherson, personal communication, 27 May 1997). Macpherson's contributions to the field as well as the relationship that he forged between cartoonist and editor are seen within the context of how he changed editorial cartooning in Canada.

Part of that context is based on the emergence of television. The effects of the advent and widespread use of television as well as the further impact of it on the print media are examined. With issues such as the Quiet Revolution, national unity, the October

Crisis, and the influential political reign of the Right Honourable Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Macpherson and other cartoonists from the 1950s to the 1980s have been the guides into the dawning of a new era.

The final chapter looks, with an analytical eye, toward the future. The third wave encompasses the last eighteen years of political cartooning activity. Much has changed over the course of this time in terms of artists' parameters, the subject matter on which to create satire, and even the notion of fair comment itself. Given the opportunities provided by the 1997 federal election, a content analysis of three Toronto-based newspapers -- The Toronto Sun, The Toronto Star, and The Globe and Mail -- offers tangible examples of the tripartite relationship among the public, politicians, and political cartoonists. This analysis further outlines the circumstances that can make the art. The assistance of some politicians, including Jan Brown, Dalton McGuinty, Al Palladini, Marion Boyd, and David Tsubouchi, has been elicited. These individuals have been the subject of significant artistic scrutiny and have commented on their relationships with cartoonists and the public.

The conclusion draws a summary that attempts to map the historical progression of political cartooning and the contemporary state of the industry. It also makes suggestions for future study.

There are limitations to this kind of research. The first deals with the interpretive nature of political cartooning in general. The second is the almost instant and rather disturbing practice of lumping Canadian and American studies, theories, and history, despite the fact that the history of Canadian political cartooning is distinct from that of its American counterpart. Canada's limited academic cartooning background has already been noted, and much of what exists today is at least twenty years old. There have been several fundamental changes in the field over the last ten years, rendering much of the older research obsolete. Finally, physical space is always a concern, given the ambitious task of inspecting Canadian editorial cartooning as fair game.

BEHIND THE LINES: A SOURCE REVIEW

It is only by employing academically sound, current, and, in this case, Canadian research that one can gain a broader understanding of Canadian editorial cartooning and the different perspectives that exist. This is a multifaceted subject that draws on information from the realms of politics, history, current affairs, technology, psychology, art, economics, law, media studies, and theory. Many books and compilation texts containing general information on these subjects were consulted. These broad-based survey texts provide excellent background information but are generally rather clumsy tools for fine-tuned research. Conversely, journal articles concentrate on a particular aspect with substantiated, pointed research. Other independent research contacts, such as the Canadian Cartooning Collection at the National Archives of Canada and the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists, are valuable. Contemporary cartoonists and politicians add another essential dimension through formal interviews. This review starts with a broad overview of texts before it turns to more specific research findings.

SURVEY TEXTS

Them Damned Pictures: Exploration in American Political Cartoon Art (1996) by Roger Fischer is a current and well-respected example of academic literature. Although it focuses overtly on American political cartoons, it is used here as a supporting historical source.

The Cartoon: Communication to the Quick (1981) by Randall Harrison was also helpful in creating a historical framework. Harrison's writing style is conversational, and he covers the basics of cartoons as communication. As with most survey texts about the cartooning industry, Harrison's book has only a few sections dedicated to the political or editorial cartoon. This text is American, with no specific references to the Canadian craft.

A survey text that employs a weak practical and contemporary background is Charles Press's The Political Cartoon (1981). Press's piece is inadequate in its depth and writing. The pretentious tone of Press's text, and his "apparent lack of genuine interest in

the work" have caused him to be labelled "two-dimensional" by critics such as James Best (29). In the two-and-a-half pages that Press dedicates to Canadian cartooning, he refers to former Prime Minister Trudeau as the "flower-childlike Premier Pierre Trudeau," exhibiting his lack of knowledge of both Canadian history and politics (360). This American survey text has been used to a limited extent in this study and only for the sake of comparison.

Mort Gerberg's 1989 book Cartooning: The Art of Business is a "how-to" book examining different types of cartoons, ranging from magazines to strips to editorial commentaries. Gerberg explains the basics of creating complete cartoons, along with projected salaries for the different categories of cartoonists. Gerberg touches on the commercial elements that move the industry in certain directions, for example, syndication. There is a brief history of cartooning, and it is clear that the text is American based.

Roy Paul Nelson's Humorous Illustration of Cartooning: A Guide for Editors, Advertisers and Artists (1984) is very similar to Gerberg's in its intent, style, and achievement. This work focuses on how individuals can break into the industry. It is slightly dated, American based, and contains no historical framework.

The acknowledgements in Polly Keener's Cartooning (1992) read like a who's who of American humour and political cartooning, including comedy legend Bill Cosby and Jim Davis, the creator of Garfield. Much of the text is comprised of comments by cartoonists about the power of the visual image. There are a handful of Canadian examples, including cartoonists Blaine and Lynn Johnston and cartooning subject ex-Prime Minister Kim Campbell. There is no historical material contained in this text.

In addition to the aforementioned works, the following texts contributed to an understanding of the broader base of research for this study: Thomas Craven's Cartoon Cavalcade (1943); Edwin Fisher, Mort Gerberg, and Ron Wolin with The Art of Cartooning: Seventy-Five Years of American Magazine Cartoons (1975); Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses And Liberator (1973) by Richard Fitzgerald; John Geipel's The Cartoon: A Short History of Graphic Comedy and Satire (1972); The Art of Pictorial Humor as seen by William Hewison (1977) by William Hewison; Syd Hoff's Editorial and

Political Cartooning (1974); Roy Paul Nelson's *Cartooning* (1975); Robert Phillippe's *Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon* (1980); John Richardson's *The Complete Book of Cartooning* (1974); and *Cartooning Fundamentals* by Al Ross (1972).

All of the survey texts reviewed to this point have been American or British in origin. Given this study's specific focus on Canadian contemporary and historical political cartooning, the following sources have been pertinent.

The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (1979) by Peter Desbarats, the former Dean of the University of Western Ontario's Graduate School of Journalism, and Terry Mosher of *The Montreal Gazette*, who is better known to cartoon aficionados by his pen name Aislin, is topical. The authors take into account both the content and caricatures of featured individuals whose background only extends as far as the cusp of the Canadian industry. However, it is not current, and the Canadian editorial cartooning landscape has changed a great deal in the nineteen years since it was published. Regardless of its colloquial writing and presentation flaws, which include some factual errors and generalizations, it is still considered "The Bible" of the Canadian cartooning industry (Tony Jenkins, personal interview, 13 May 1997).

Seeing Ourselves: Media Power and Policy (1996), edited by Helen Holmes and David Taras (1996), moves away from the realm of cartooning and toward the bigger picture of technological and societal change in order to construct a broader framework. All articles contained in this text are Canadian based, current, and credible, with solid bibliographic citations.

Along with the technological reviews, collections of actual cartoons that encompass the Canadian cartooning landscape were also valuable in the completion of this study. These include survey materials such as the *Portfoolio* series (1988, 1989, 1996), edited by Québec cartoonist Guy Badeaux; Steve Bradley's *The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada 1980* (1980); *The Wilds of Canada* (1995) by John Cadiz; Adrian Raeside's *There Goes the Neighbourhood: An Irreverent History of Canada* (1992); and Jerry Robinson's 1970s version of *The Best Political Cartoons of the Decade* (1981). N.

M. Stahl has also published collections featuring the Best Canadian Political Cartoons (1984, 1993).

In addition to these survey collections, individual cartoonists such as Duncan Macpherson, Andy Donato, Brain Gable, Terry Mosher, Roy Peterson, Ben Wicks, Yardley Jones, and Adrian Raeside compiled their own collections. These were useful in gleaning different styles, topical techniques, and trends.

Moving from the cartoonists' personal illustrated histories to Canada's political history as a whole, Michael Bliss's book Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney (1995) is a survey of the country's leaders. The Canadian Polity: A Comparative Introduction (1991) by Ronald G. Landes and Nation: Canada Since Confederation (1990), a combined effort by scholars J. L. Granatstein, Irving Abella, T. W. Acheson, David Bercuson, Craig Brown, and Blair Neatby, collectively supply material toward the understanding of political history.

In addition to the general history of Canada, two major politicians, Trudeau and Macdonald, were examined in depth. There is a plethora of sources that reflect specifically on the career of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the most complete of which are Trudeau and Our Times: The Magnificent Obsession (1990), by Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall, and Close to the Charisma: My Years Between the Press and Pierre Elliot Trudeau, written by Patrick Gossage in 1986. The life of Sir John A. Macdonald is chronicled in Donald Creighton's John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician (1952) and Edwin C. Guillet's You'll Never Die, John A.! (1967), written during the centennial of Canadian Confederation.

Cartooning in Canada has its roots in both the United States and Europe. In 1994, American Francine Silverman compiled a summary for Editor & Publisher magazine on the one-hundredth anniversary of the creation of The Yellow Kid (1994). It marks the historical highlight of the cartoon character "The Yellow Kid" and the Pulitzer-Hearst press war at the turn of the century. Joyce Milton and her book The Yellow Kid: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism (1989) help to clarify the shift in the style of print journalism that occurred at the same time. The book is well written and adds

to the scope of the circumstances behind the art. The Yellow Kid (1995) is a spectacular book that includes a colour reproduction of "The Kid" on his centenary. The book opens with a foreword by William Randolph Hearst III, followed by text from Bill Blackbeard, director of the San Francisco Academy of Comic Art. Technology had much to do with this inception, and Sidney Kobre's The Yellow Press and Gilded Age of Journalism (1952) provides an overview of printing technology. It compares the cylinder and woodcut methods and explains the advantages of all methods in between, with diagrams to assist.

In addition to the adventures of "The Yellow Kid," the work of American illustrator Thomas Nast directly affected Canadian cartooning. He influenced the work of J. W. Bengough, Canada's first cartoonist of note. Morton Keller produced a book in 1968 entitled The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast. Like Keller, Thomas Nast St. Hill, grandson of the illustrator, also features many original works in his text Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations (1974). Nast St. Hill's introduction and background were much more extensive than those of Keller. The snapshots of his family history also revealed Nast's underlying personal motivations for his art.

In terms of history, James Parton gave a unique historical perspective of The Caricature and Other Comic Art: In All Times and Many Lands, produced in 1877. This study takes Parton's words and contrasts them with several other contemporary survey works by Roy and Geipel in order to reveal the changes in terminology, importance, and taste. Although there are no references made to Canadian cartooning, it includes comments and significant connections to Punch and the physical and two-dimensional comedy of caricature in the nineteenth century. Edward Lucie-Smith's The Art of Caricature (1981) is also valuable from a historical perspective. Lucie-Smith also compares and contrasts the differences between caricature and cartoons.

Roy Douglas's Great Nations Still Enchained: The Cartoonists' Vision of Empire 1848-1914 (1993) is current and visually stimulating. It contains numerous examples of cartooning styles from Europe and the United States. Douglas's main intention was to tie in the notions of crisis and political turmoil with the political cartoon. Many of his examples were carefully analyzed because he attempted to reconstruct the history that

made the cartoon a reflection of social situations, turning from the history and the perspective that can be gained from the past. This framework applies, in a broader sense, to the theoretical construction for this study.

Behind the Jester's Mask: Canadian Editorial Cartoons About Dominant and Minority Groups (1989) by Raymond Morris of the University of Toronto is a current, detailed, and well-written source. It is helpful in that it touches on both content issues and the symbolic action that images can create. "The Fool's Show" chapter was especially useful in dealing with the notion of dumbing-down. From his sociological framework with connections to works by Hall and Goffman, Morris explains regional, topical, and ethnic variations, specifically, French-English and Canadian-American cartoons.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

W. A. Coupe's "Observations on a Theory of Political Caricature" in Comparative Studies in Society & History (1969) was referenced by Morris as the basis for his theory about the cartoonist as a modern court jester. This document not only focuses solely on caricature but also contains a useful historical background that includes observations on English and American cartooning. Other authors who have assisted in the court jester-cartoonist connection are Sandra Billington, Enid Welsford, Anthony Westell, and Anton Zjiderveld.

Another journal article that was particularly useful was LeRoy Carl's "Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers" in a 1968 issue of Journalism Quarterly. In his piece, he states that cartoons are hard to interpret and not easily understood and that he believes they fail to reach many readers. Further, Carl states, "Newspaper editorial cartoonists are in communication with only a small percentage of the readers" (534). In his second piece, entitled "What Cartoons Mean: It All Depends," Carl acknowledges the interpretive and subjective elements of cartoons, which happen to be among their major limitations. Carl sets up an interesting juxtaposition to the rest of the research that appears.

Like Carl, Everette E. Dennis outlines some concerns within the industry. His

article "The Regeneration of Political Cartooning" in Journalism Quarterly summarizes 1960s trends in American cartooning (1974). Dennis's piece is short, outdated, and does not consider a Canadian perspective.

Ernest Hynds writes much of the same information in a 1980 Newspaper Research Journal article entitled "Herblock, Oliphant, MacNelly Lead Cartoon Resurgence." Hynds puts forth a historical background as well as research results from a 1976 study. Some drawbacks of this text are a low survey return rate of 42.5% and the age of the study.

Audrey Handelman's "Political Cartoonists as They Saw Themselves During the 1950s" was a retrospective study featured in Journalism Quarterly in 1984 "to review beliefs about truth and the anxiety of the cold war period" (137). Even though Handelman discussed the role of the cartoonist in a similar vein as Coupe, she took the opposite view that "cartoonists are a special breed in the mass media; they make no claims about objectivity, so their products almost certainly reflect their own views" (137). Like Hynds and Dennis, Handelman also writes about a resurgence and a dip in the content and quality of the product of the American Cartooning Association. She indicates some of the problems that cartoonists perceive as being detrimental to the industry, including syndication and low financial compensation. This journal article was helpful in constructing a profile, but it provided no real substantial data in the form of a survey. Some of the information was anecdotal in nature.

James Best's 1986 article "Editorial Cartoonists: A Descriptive Survey," published in the Newspaper Research Journal, provides a description of members of the American Association of Editorial Cartoonists who represent the field of editorial cartooning. Best cites Randall Harrison, Syd Hoff, and Alan Westin as well as Charles Press, whose text he refers to as "incomplete and not based on empirical data" (29). However, Best's survey sample size was only 41%. He considers syndication issues and directs questions to cartoonists on their status and editorial values.

Daniel Riffe, Donald Sneed, and Roger L. Van Ommeren contributed two articles to Journalism Quarterly. "Behind the Editorial Page Cartoon" (1985) attempted a survey that included editors and cartoonists. This study drew on Hynds's works and the Editor &

Publisher method of attempting to question one hundred and seventy-six cartoonists in 1983. They had 55% of the cartoonists return a valid survey; 43% of the editors did the same. The second study, which leads into social, ethical, editorial, and legal limitations of editorial cartoons, was a brief research study concentrating on the notion of fair game. It is entitled "Deciding the Limits of Taste in Editorial Cartooning." Results of this 1985 mail-in questionnaire were completed by 65% of the potential one hundred and eighty participants. This study asked cartoonists to gauge editors' taste levels for nudity, homosexuality, AIDS, and religion. It determined "that editorial cartooning is not entirely an anything-goes process" (Riffe, Sneed, and Van Ommeren 381).

Del Brinkman's 1968 article examines the question "Do Editorial Cartoons and Editorials Change Opinions?" Brinkman goes about reviewing some of the big names in his contribution to Journalism Quarterly. He focuses on freedom, deadlines, and why cartoons 'get killed.' It is not a typical academic piece, but it has a few interesting points to make (726).

James Beniger puts forth "Does Television Enhance the Shared Symbolic Environment?: Trends in Label[l]ing of Editorial Cartoons, 1948-1980" (1983) for the Institute of Social Research to illustrate the trend toward less labelling in editorial cartoons due to shared symbolic environments. This study is based in the United States and covers the period from 1948 to 1980, but there is no real way of measuring such symbolic elements prior to the advent of television. Beniger puts forward several theories symbolically linking television and political cartoons. He states that shared symbolic structures can decrease the amount of labelling in editorial cartoons.

"How Far is Too Far In Political Cartooning?" (1997) by J. P. Toomey of Editor & Publisher outlined several landmark court cases in the United States that contributed to litigation surrounding cartooning. Other articles in Editor & Publisher magazine by David Astor, Chris Lamb, and Tom Unger employed the same themes to a lesser extent.

INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED

Jim Burant, Chief of Art Acquisition and Researcher at the National Archives of Canada, provides such supporting documents as the newsletters Caricature and The Archivist, produced from 1989 to 1993 when the Canadian Centre for Caricatures in Ottawa existed. With over 70,000 Canadian cartoons, research papers, and supporting documents at his disposal, Burant's work is current and Canadian in its content. His personal comments were also helpful.

Jennifer Devine, one of Burant's research assistants at the National Archives, attended the combined Association of American and Canadian Editorial Cartoonists conference in New Orleans in 1994, during which time a discussion focusing on the dumbing-down of political cartoons took place. Devine's reporting and writing are concise, straightforward, current, and Canadian centred.

Both the American and Canadian Associations of Editorial Cartoonists provided information toward the completion of this study. A general information kit and Online site that provides copies of The Notebook, the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists' newsletter, were also helpful. Many members of the Canadian branch, all of whom are included in the Works Consulted portion of this paper, bridge the missing link with explanations and interpretations that fulfil the requirements of a competent source. The input from politicians and private individuals on the relationship between artist and subject is examined in further detail as the chapters unfold.

POLITICAL CARTOONISTS AS TWENTIETH-CENTURY COURT JESTERS

What role do political cartoonists fulfil in contemporary Canadian society, and how will that role change in the twenty-first century? Raymond Morris believes that "a strong case can be made that the editorial cartoonist is the modern equivalent to the fool's show" (16). A number of writers, beginning with John Nocks in 1928, have pointed to roles that have much to do with the artistic and political freedom to cut through the routine

politeness and say things that others would not dare (481; Morris 7). In keeping with Morris, W. A. Coupe believes that "the modern political cartoonist has largely been reduced to the level of court jester, given perhaps the freedom to tell the truth, but only on the condition that he makes us laugh in the process" (90). This could conceivably place a negative spin on the relationship between the court jester and the cartoonist (Coupe 90).

First, one must assess if the comparison is accurate. Did the court jesters of medieval England have a limited amount of freedom that made them ineffectual as social commentators, or were they unique and skilled artisans holding a privileged place at court that allowed them to participate in satire? Can a comparison legitimately be made between these two types of jesters, and if so, what does such a comparison tell us about Canadian cartoonists' role in contemporary society?

This study focuses on the comparison between court jesters, who appeared in England in the Middle Ages, and modern editorial cartoonists. In previous times, the term "fool" held more meaning than the abstract definition of today. The "owner" of this title was a recognizable figure with cap and bells (Billington 1). The first English jester was Hithard, so named for the success of his sayings. Hithard belonged to Edmund Ironside, who, out of gratitude for his services, bestowed on him the estate of Cathedral Church of Canterbury at Walworth in the year 1016 (Doran 99). As a valued and powerful member of the emerging English court establishment, Hithard was the exception to the role played by most fools. In the eleventh century, fools normally received modest payment rather than large estates. Hithard set a precedent, and by the twelfth century, the first household records appear that show fools receiving money or amenities. By the fourteenth century, monetary compensation was the norm. Court jesters reached their peak in the fifteenth century, with some jesters becoming highly skilled, well-paid professionals (Morris 9).

It is a commonly held, but wholly incorrect misconception, that the court jesters were exclusively employed by the kings of medieval Europe. In fact, counts, cardinals, barons, and even bishops, had their professional makers of mirth. Over the course of time, wealthy individuals prided themselves on possessing jesters (Doran 42). Originally, the fool's main function was to entertain, but after the fifteenth century, the court fool began

to take on a different role, which gradually superseded that of entertaining (Zijderveld 116). The fool's power and place at court was mirrored in the game of chess. James Doran states that the piece that now represents the bishop was originally said to represent the fool (56). With the rise of the Church and the fall of the fool, the physical appearance of the game piece altered.

According to Morris, the most famous fools were experts in parody, burlesque, improvisation, and repartee (12). In the fool's show, the jester would often physically demonstrate the various aspects of this folly. Masters of the double entendre, jesters were said to be capable of clever riddles and puns that could "reduce their hearers to speechless incompetence" (Morris 14). There is a duality that accompanies the career obligations of the court jester. On one hand, "fools were treated as marginal, subhuman, and amusing," whereas for others, they were "respected, feared as superhuman, and treated with awe" (Morris 9). Morris also goes on to report that at times, court jesters were credited with "superior insight or talent which defined normal social or physical restrictions" (9). So, too, the editorial cartoonist is credited with the artistic and mental capabilities of completing a task that few others are proficient in.

The capacity to express themselves and to provide entertainment was essential. Although court jesters may have individually exercised freedom of speech toward the goal of enlightenment, they were still dependent on a larger system to which they were accountable. In this regard, the modern Canadian editorial cartoonist is no different. Both the jester and the cartoonist are products of the limits of the society in which they work and create. Their respective humours are integrated into it. Similar to modern-day editorial cartooning, the medieval fool's show was a form of social rebellion (Best 34; Harrison 14; Zijderveld 158). Comparatively, "cartoonists thrive on confusion" and "the craziness of life," both said to be the basis of their inspiration (Desbarats and Mosher 18). Their work illustrates contradictions in human behaviour, sometimes in a whimsical fashion but often by confronting us with brutally frank images of human frailty and questionable activities (Desbarats and Mosher 18). By rendering the destructive and dishonest as laughable, court jesters exposed such weaknesses as hypocrisy, smugness, and bad

manners (Morris 11). Anton Zijderveld believes that the fool's show was the embodiment of low comic entertainment (42). By metaphorically associating chaos with low comedy, each takes on some of the characteristics of the other. Although the jester's show may "do little tangible to resolve the practical problems of keeping disorder at bay in the realm, the performance often relieves anxiety, representing it in such a way that its terror is veiled" (Zijderveld 156).

A similarity in belief systems allows both the editorial cartoonist and the jester to fulfil the role of truth teller. Both have placed a high value on impartiality by aiming their barbs equally among all parties (Morris 7). The roles of court jester and editorial cartoonist have been fulfilled predominantly by men. Throughout history, there have been religious and status barriers that have prevented women from becoming court jesters (Billington 54). It should be noted that 96% of the members of the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists are male, a phenomenon that this study addresses further on in this paper (Brian Gable, personal communication, 13 May 1997).

The individualistic nature of their work requires the court jester and the cartoonist to work independently. Their respective value as social critics is widely believed to entitle them to protection against retribution by those whom they ridicule. Both have often been considered "wise, discerning souls whose freedom of speech is the other face of their duty to speak the truth even when it is painful" (Morris 7). According to some modern editorial cartoonists, revealing the truth is the most powerful motivator (Patrick Corrigan, personal communication, 13 May 1997; Tony Jenkins, personal communication, 13 May 1997). Both play a role as communicator, with fools providing the means by which the youthful professional of the court could safely laugh at rigid feudal norms and values that were taught but not always practised, especially by the Church (Morris 11).

To a great extent, the political elite of the day included the Church. The Church was a powerful force, and the religious incorporation of medieval society contrasted dramatically with the secular individualism of the fool's role in court. In trying to translate the concept of folly into contemporary terms, a number of writers see the court jester as the medieval reincarnation of chaos, the opposite of social order (Billington 16). As well,

there is literary and historical evidence that a favoured jester could act as the alter ego of a given ruler (Welsford 192). Through his words and deeds, the medieval court jester offered a mirror image to society. This foil hypothesis is discussed by Anton Zijderveld in his text Reality in a Looking-Glass: Rationality Through an Analysis of Traditional Folly (149). To obtain a clearer vision of the role of the fool, one need only look to some of the more familiar Elizabethan literary reflections-- Hamlet, King Lear, and As You Like It-- or to the importance of Erasmus's and Chaucer's fools to comprehend the diversity in roles as well as the use of the fool as alter ego, catalyst, soothsayer, and truth teller (Welsford 221).

Both the jester and the cartoonist have the potential to bring key political and social issues to the attention of the public. Successful court jesters were very popular with their rulers. They might be asked to perform every night, not unlike editorial cartoonists, who produce an average of four cartoons a week on current issues (Riffe, Sneed, and Van Ommeren, "Behind" 380). That said, the threat that the jester posed was limited. It is highly unlikely his actions had the capacity to depose a powerful leader or member of the Church. His role was to point out folly and expose it. In the same way, it is safe to say that the majority of cartoonists are not looking to assume the role of politicians. Rather, they want to take their visual stabs by openly mocking public figures. Cartoonists feel as though they are "the watchdogs" who warn the public of nefarious political activities (Patrick Corrigan, personal communication, 13 May 1997; Morris 14).

Whereas ordinary individuals acted as responsible citizens, court jesters behaved irresponsibly; what one revered, the other openly mocked (Morris 9). The strength of the jester was the novelty of truth. According to Zijderveld, fools were both a warning and a living humourous demonstration to their contemporaries of the price of abandoning positive cultural values such as seriousness and social order (149). In the same fashion, cartoonists replicate the role of the fool, at times being both controversial and cruel. Political cartoons attempt to tear the deceitful mask from public figures. The notion of the mask or disguise to hide one's true caricature is a convention cartoonists still employ to expose public figures (Goffman 5). Cartoonists look to uncover the mystery of their

subjects, revealing more than what meets the eye.

It should be noted that some people believe political cartoonists have not been as effective in their role as the court jester and, further, have not performed a positive social function. W. A. Coupe asserts that "the tendency is to represent serious political problems in humour, allegorical guise and to invite us to laugh at our political predicaments, thereby in a way robbing them of their reality, or at least cocooning us from the horror in a web of gallows humour" (90). Coupe contends that by reducing historical and political events such as the First World War to mere cartoons, cartoonists have diminished their significance (91). He cites children who are initially frightened by cartoons but are coaxed into believing that the subject matter is "funny and thereby strip[s] it of its menacing properties" as a tangible example of the concerns to which cartoonists contribute (91). Coupe argues that "fortunately, especially in an age of mass communications and general literacy, cartoonists probably do not have the effect on public opinion that professional students of caricature sometimes impute to them" (91). Coupe builds on the basic assumption that individuals in society crave in-depth analysis of issues and do not want to contend with the puns, visual satire, folly, or wit associated with cartoons. Anton Zijderveld expresses similar concerns as Coupe, although he is less harsh in his treatment of the modern cartoonist. He states:

> Contemporary folly tends to grow deflationary and regressive, without any clear ties to tradition and to the institution. Traditional folly was a looking-glass of society's reality, not an exercise in emotional expressionism. Traditional fools were immoralists or even amoralists; they were ambiguous and cynical. But they were so in traditionally expected performances, in which reality was reflected contrariwise for very specific, social and existential reasons. (159)

Zijderveld believes that the value and meaning underlying the traditional notion of folly has dissipated in cartooning in its current form. It has been reduced to a "general, opaque, vague and free-floating phenomenon" (156).

The decline of the jester might have had something to do with what Coupe describes as a social demand that the truth be part of comic presentation (91). However, it is more likely the decline is linked to the social changes evolving in England at the time.

With the decline of the Catholic Church, the weakening of monarchical power, and the rise of industrialization and trade, the power of the merchant class grew. The emergence of the printing press had much to do with this shift, allowing individuals the opportunity to use the press and paper instead of the cap and bells (Morris 11). The day of written satire had dawned.

By the seventeenth century, the widespread use of the Gutenberg press meant a directional shift, especially with the rise of the age of artistic enlightenment. A system of bourgeois-driven democracy gradually became dominant within the framework of states that the monarchy and nobility had affected. A new ruling class and a new capitalist ideology formed a new identity. Society changed, and with it, so did the culture, opportunity, method, and medium of the court jester. In the course of this transformation, folly itself was converted into foolishness, which became the key form of deviant behaviour in the emerging capitalist society (Morris 16). The jester's medium, the court, died out. Other communicators, namely, journalists, took on the role of social commentators and truth tellers.

William Willeford argues that the rich history of jesters vanished and that the court jester was then transformed into a literary figure who had some social significance but none of the functions of a traditional fool (24). According to Zijderveld, the bourgeoisification of the fool after the sixteenth century left the fool an object to be cared for in specialized institutions rather than a respectable member of society (18).

The medieval English court jester evolved from the philosopher wandering aimlessly in the countryside, open to the elements that had created him, to someone who was brought indoors, treated to the comforts of the court, and allowed the freedom to fulfil the function of truth teller. Nearing the completion of his transformation to the modern concept of the clown, the fool participated in the sideshows of many quack doctors, hoping to attract an audience. The entertainment that grew out of the tradition was mechanical in nature and removed the jester's status as advisor and alter ego. Punch began his entertainment career as a man who became a puppet and then the mascot of Punch magazine (Billington 81; see fig. 1 118).

The transformation of the court jester's portfolio to the printed medium took only one hundred years. Social behaviour became increasingly influenced by the dignity of humankind in worldly terms rather than by cosmic law and the relationship between chaos and order. By the end of the eighteenth century, respectability was the key code of behaviour. Not surprisingly, this influenced the attitudes and place of the fool in society. The Gentleman's Magazine does not mention Jack Pudding after 1750. New satirical journals such as The Devil and The Devil's Pocket Book (1786) called their political attacks semicomic (Billington 81). Folly, transformed by social structure, took a satirical side road in the printed medium to continue to convey its message. The fundamental elements of satire remained the same, but the vehicle changed. The messengers discarded the cap and bells for press and ink, replacing the fool with the printed medium. The vulgarity of freedom of speech that had been the court jester's trademark was no longer relevant.

CHAPTER TWO

BEFORE THERE WAS CANADA, THERE WAS CARTOONING

According to Roy Douglas in Great Nations Still Enchained: The Cartoonists' Vision of Empire 1848-1914 (1993), a good cartoon often contains an astonishing amount of information. It has the ability to summarize ideas more clearly and simply than do speeches or written materials. From a historical perspective, a cartoon is capable of revealing "a great deal about the ideas and assumptions of the people for whom it was drawn: what they took for granted and what they questioned; how they visualized people who held ideas differing from their own" (Douglas 1). This chapter examines the history of political cartoons and how these cartoons are tied to the political circumstances of the day.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first is a history of the art of cartooning. The second part includes an outline and examination of the American illustrator Thomas Nast and his impact on Canadian cartooning in the late 1800s. The chapter closes with a study of the Hearst-Pulitzer press war of the late 1890s and the part that Richard Felton Outcault's "The Yellow Kid" played in turning journalism yellow (Milton 43). By examining the history of cartoons and the satiric genre of the visual, one can come to grips with the advent and influence of cultural change, political and artistic circumstance, and technological advances to further see where the cartoon, the "lowest form of art," fits into the equation (Harrison 14).

SETTING THE CARTOONING STAGE: A HISTORY OF DRAWING BLOOD

There appears to be no consensus among scholars as to when the first cartoon was drawn because of the subjectivity surrounding the classification of said art. One can only speculate on its origin, thanks to new archeological findings and interpretations brought forward on a constant basis. For some, the earliest evidence dates back 30,000 years to a

cave in southern Europe; still others believe that cartoons can claim part of their origins in the Far East (Harrison 72; Hoff 18).

The "crude and childish drawing" (see fig. 2 119) is an illustration one might see in a Canadian primary school today. Actually, the drawing dates back nearly eighteen centuries. It was completed on 23 August, AD 79, by a Roman soldier who used a piece of red chalk to draw on the wall of his barracks in the city of Pompeii. According to James Parton, the eruption of Vesuvius preserved this art and the artist (15). According to Syd Hoff, while the Romans were engaged in protecting themselves from the Teutons in the north and holding onto Greece in the east, Roman soldiers may have been poking fun at military conscription by drawing caricatures (22).

There is, in fact, much evidence to locate the origins of the modern genre of caricature on sculptures and bas reliefs in the Roman Middle Ages (see fig. 3 120; Parton 15). Many of the current elements of caricature appear in both ancient and medieval art without fulfilling all of the criteria of a fully developed and systematic form (Lucie-Smith 21). In the Middle Ages, cartoons and caricatures often dealt with such subjects as death and the devil (Hoff 24).

Despite the Roman, Chinese, and Greek examples that may constitute caricature and the beginnings of the modern editorial cartoon, the oldest surviving example of political cartooning and the caricaturist's art that can be categorized with any certainty is a sketch in Ikhnaton, Egypt, at about 1360 BC. It is an uncharitable portrait of King Tutankhamen's father (see fig. 4 121; Harrison 71; Hoff 20).

From the classical periods of Greek culture, burlesque figures taken from popular comedies were recreated in terra cotta and on vases. Romanesque and Gothic architecture contained gargoyles and whimsical figures (Desbarats and Mosher 24; Hoff 21). A Canadian example includes the British Columbia First Nations Salish, who claim that little clay effigies bearing a striking resemblance to those by the nineteenth-century French caricaturist Honoré Daumier qualify as caricatures (Desbarats, "Cartoons" 375; Desbarats and Mosher 11).

In short, this study wishes to acknowledge the speculation surrounding the origins

of caricatures and to reveal the wide variety of geographic locations and cultures that employ such visual humour. Aside from the speculation over the first cartoons, all scholars seem to agree that the modern caricature developed in Italy approximately four hundred years ago as a by-product of the Renaissance (Desbarats, "Cartoons" 375; Desbarats and Mosher 11). According to Edward Lucie-Smith, caricatures were valued for their historical rather than their artistic merit (13). Giovanni Battista Della Porta and his contemporaries Agostino and Annibale Caracci drew caricatures and published them in 1646 (Desbarats and Mosher 24). The Carracci brothers recognized the hidden power of the caricature. Annibale Carracci observed, "Is not the caricaturist's task exactly the same as the classical artist's, both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance?" (qtd. in Keller 3). Twenty years later, the sculptor Bernini transported the art from Italy to France and became "probably the first artist to pass on to posterity the caricatures of particular individuals" (Desbarats and Mosher 24). Invented in Italy, where a national talent for satire and cultural and artistic expression was at the fore, caricatures took off as a graphic medium linked to the northern technology of the printing press (Desbarats and Mosher 11; Lucie-Smith 34).

The creation and growth of Protestantism and the printing press were inextricably connected, given that printing made it impossible to check the spread of new doctrines (Lucie-Smith 34). Even Luther, whose personal work represented more than one-third of all the published writings in Germany between 1518 and 1525, did not elude the scorn that this new medium was attracting (see fig. 5 122; Lucie-Smith 34; Parton 214). In some of his texts, he proved to be a caricaturist himself, believing to have "maddened the Pope with his pictures" (Desbarats and Mosher 24). It stands as an advantage even today that one does not need to be literate to enjoy certain types of printed images. In this sense, caricatures are universal (Lucie-Smith 14). It is from here that the caricature grew in scope, function, and form, experimenting with the potential provided by the illustration to affect political and social awareness and change.

THE MODERN CARICATURE: A POPERY OF INFLUENCES

The modern caricature, invented in Italy and enhanced as a medium by German technology, found a home and unique style in England during the eighteenth century. Here, the graphic skills reflected in Italy and combined with the realism supplied by the Dutch pictures of social content fused to create the concept of cartooning (Lucie-Smith 34). Throughout the eighteenth century, caricature became a recognized mode of public discourse. England had enjoyed greater freedom of expression than any other European country because it had avoided monarchical absolutism. This fact, coupled with a series of turbulent political events and a popular need for information and commentary, fostered the growth of caricature as we know it today (Lucie-Smith 51). However, England was not the only environment that produced the early art of caricature. In the ninteenth century, the mass production of caricatures gave way to such publications as Le Charivari, started in Paris in 1832. Punch appeared in London a decade later; Kladderadatsch was seen in Berlin in 1848. Soon, there were many similar periodicals cropping up across the globe. They became the main vehicles for the political cartoons of the day. Shortly afterward, weekly illustrated publications, such as Harper's Weekly in New York and L'Illustration in Paris, began to carry cartoons (Douglas 1).

By the late nineteenth century, following the success of the illustrated magazines, some daily newspapers, specifically The New York World and The New York Journal, recognized this new opportunity to increase revenues. However, it was only in the early twentieth century that the practice of using cartoons that had strong political overtones became common in newspapers. Some newspapers did not start using this tool until long after the Second World War (Douglas 1). In Canada, the majority of large daily newspapers had some form of political cartoon by the late 1800s, but "in the current form, the political cartoon as we know it came of age in our own century" (Desbarats and Mosher 11). Canadian cartoonists and caricaturists owe a great debt not only to the English but also to the people of French heritage who travelled from Europe to the colonies (Desbarats and Mosher 21).

Artistically, the importance of the printed medium was combined with the creative

talents of such individuals as Honoré Daumier, Jacques-Louis David, William Hogarth, James Gillray, John Leech, Robert Cruikshank, and, to a lesser extent, Cruikshank's father Isaac and his brother George (Hoff 45).

These individuals employed their artistic talents to express their political and social outrage, much like cartoonists in contemporary Canadian society. Honoré Daumier is considered to be the father of political cartooning in recognition of his efforts to fuse social commentary and influence through the use of cartoons (Desbarats and Mosher 28; Keller 5; Press 13). Although these works do not resemble the black-and-white editorial cartoons of Canadian newspapers in style or setting, they did have a primarily political motive. They were designed to inform, to educate, and, in Daumier's case, to employ exaggeration in order to accentuate. The work of Daumier and his contemporaries had force, elegance, and a passionate commitment to a cause (Geipel 75). "Daumier saw no distinction between art and caricature" (Desbarats and Mosher 28).

William Hogarth's work in England approached caricature in a similar style to that of Jacques-Louis David. Hogarth personally perceived a clear difference between art and caricature. "I have always considered caricature as the lowest form of art," wrote Hogath, " indeed as much so as the wild attempts of children" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 23). This is not intended to imply that Hogarth had nothing to offer the history of the political cartoon. His searing observations about the social situation of the 1730s and 1740s and about the reign of George II definitely had far-reaching implications artistically and stylistically (Desbarats and Mosher 24; Harrison 74; Hoff 30). While celebrating the ideal of marriage, he depicted a series of ill-matched couples (see fig. 6 123; Honour and Fleming 538).

Another English caricaturist worthy of note was James Gillray. Considered politically savage by some, Gillray was an artist who produced political satire on a regular basis. He portrayed the personal weaknesses and private affairs of politicians and royalty (Desbarats and Mosher 25). In 1795, Gillray created "The Death of the Great Wolf," an elaborate parody of Benjamin West's 1770 Death of Wolfe that commemorated Wolfe's victory at the Battle of Quebec in 1759. In it, he employs politicians of the day (see fig. 7

124; National Gallery of Canada 6). A name associated with Gillray is that of Robert Cruikshank. Cruikshank's first known works date from 1799. He had no art training other than what he received from his father, who had exhibited caricatures in the manner of Gillray at the Royal Academy. Cruikshank constructed "The Emigrants' Welcome to Canada" (1820), which lampoons middle-class emigrants who came to Canada loaded down with the trappings of the genteel life but were "totally unprepared for the new country and its challenges" (National Gallery of Canada 10). These early drawings are significant because between 1800 and 1875, more than 7,500,000 emigrants left the British Isles for the New World (National Gallery of Canada 10).

This study would be remiss if it did not examine the connection between Punch, the satirical illustration, and the "Punch" show, a form of street entertainment still observed as the inheritance of the court jester tradition. Punch directly influenced Canadian cartoonists with the publication of Punch in Canada. The magazine was mirrored after Punch in England and was the concept of journalist Henry Mayhew (Geipel 79). It published a consistent blend of sophisticated and inoffensive humor.

Among the artists working for Punch were H. G. Hine; William Newman; Kenny Meadows; John Tenniel, internationally acclaimed artist of the original drawings for Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland; Richard Doyle, father of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle; and John Leech (Geipel 83). Leech produced a series of drawings of London street urchins called "Portraits of Children of the Mobility" for Punch, which were not unlike the drawings of M. A. Woolf and R. F. Outcault in the United States. It should also be noted that all three examples of these street-life scenes are directly linked to the "common man" theme that is reviewed in contemporary examples of Canadian editorial cartooning as a consistent motivation for the humour and satire of the art.

The name selected for the magazine and the accompanying caricature bring this study full circle to examine the comic entertainment of the Punchinello show. The show is described as a "rough wild caricature of human life" (Parton 266). This exhibition is now in the thirtieth century of its "run," and even the modern Italian versions date back to 1600 (Parton 264).

Many of the aforementioned examples of caricaturists illustrate that their motivation was firmly planted in the necessity for political expression. The circumstances behind the creation of the art, namely, political cartoons, are worthy of note. This study has observed that the motivation and execution of political art is often a result of circumstance, whether it be revolution, war, government corruption, monarchical ineptitude, unfair treatment of the lower class, military abuse of power, and so on. This purpose is the focus of political cartoons (Harrison 75).

CARTOONS REPRODUCED: THE TECHNOLOGY

The creation of caricatures and cartoons changed very little during the formative period in the sense that the innovation still relied on each artist's skill, that is, the creative spark of human ingenuity, to convey the message combined with the idea (Harrison 72). Although the human component of the cartooning equation has not experienced a paradigm shift, the technological component has. The rapid diffusion of the printing press in the fifteenth century paved the way for modern cartooning. Over the centuries, the printing press and the technology for making images have both improved. Laborious woodcuts and expensive metal engravings have been replaced by speedy and efficient photographic computer software and fax machines, thereby allowing the artist much more freedom to conduct work (Harrison 74).

However, this freedom has come at a price. In the eighteenth century, the cartoonist, or caricaturist, created the design and engraved the plates, working in close association with the print-sellers, who retailed them to the public. "The cartoonist has never since enjoyed such independence or such direct access to the public" (Desbarats and Mosher 19). As a result, mass audiences and technological advances moved the cartoonist away from the independence of the artist-craftsperson toward becoming "just another part of the magazine or newspaper staff," thus reducing the cartoonist's status within society in general (Desbarats and Mosher 19).

As mentioned previously, the printing press played a pivotal role in opening the cartoon to a mass audience, but between 1450 and 1810, few changes had been made to

the wooden handpress or the fundamentals of printing (Kobre 319). It was in 1795 that Alois Senefelder invented lithography, allowing the cartoonist to reach even greater numbers of people. Prior to lithography, caricatures had to be laboriously engraved by hand onto wood or metal plates. Images could now be drawn directly on the printing surface, with the first lithographed political cartoon appearing in 1829 (Desbarats and Mosher 8).

In the last century and a half, there have been major technological advances. A combination of technology from the United States and Europe was employed in Canada. In the United States, press improvements in the gilded age were built on the great revolution in printing technology made before the Civil War, which was not surprising, given the need for political persuasion and propaganda (Fitzgerald, Art 7; Kobre 319). The gilded age paralleled the Victorian period in Canada, approximately 1880 to 1905.

THOMAS NAST: AMERICA THROUGH CARTOONS

One Canadian, J. W. Bengough, the founder of political cartooning in Canada, was influenced by American illustrator Thomas Nast (Desbarats and Mosher 40). Nast learned much from the British graphic artists of his day and was directly influenced by individuals such as John Leech, Sir John Tenniel of Punch, and the painter and book illustrator John Gilbert (Hoff 68; Keller 5). These three British illustrators owed an artistic debt to Honoré Daumier, who was a leading figure of the French satirical school (Keller 6). It is clear that the artistic connections and side influences of early Canadian cartooning are infinite.

Many of these influences lead back to Nast. One of the most quoted and quotable lines regarding the power of political cartoons was supposedly uttered by one of Nast's most caricatured victims, William M. Tweed, otherwise known as Boss Tweed, of New York (Hoff 68; Nast St. Hill 1). Tweed recognized the force of the artist's work when he stated, "I don't care a straw for your newspaper articles, my constituents don't know how to read, but they can't help seeing them dammed pictures" (Hoff 78). In his text Them

Damned Pictures: Exploration in American Political Cartoon Art, Roger Fischer revealed that this quote was probably "too good to be true" and "has never been attributed or authenticated" (8). He says that it seems "unlikely at best" that the cry to stop the pictures was ever made public, but it is part of the lore surrounding the visual creativity and influence of Nast (8).

Nast was born in Landau in der Pfalz, Germany, in 1840 and emigrated to the United States with his family at the age of six. According to Syd Hoff, author of Editorial and Political Cartooning, it was clear that Nast was only interested in drawing; as a result, he entered the National Academy of Design. At fifteen, he sold his first drawing and acquired a job as an illustrator for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper in order to support his family (Hoff 68). It was during Nast's three years with Illustrated Newspaper that the illustrator drew his first cartoon attacking civic corruption, a theme that would become synonymous with his work in years to come. In the spring of 1864, he joined Harper's Weekly as a Civil War correspondent, visiting battlefields and sending back on-the-scene sketches (Nast St. Hill 1). The development of lithography in the 1830s had facilitated the expansion of cartoons, especially in magazines. To a great extent, much of Nast's works reflect a Northern leaning because he was the first major American caricaturist "associated with the Union cause during the Civil War" (see fig. 8 125; Lucie-Smith 87). According to Lucie-Smith, Lincoln referred to Nast as "our best recruiting sergeant," and General Grant said that he had done "as much as anyone can to preserve the Union" through his drawings (87). Nast was twenty one when he endured battlefields to bring history alive with his illustrations.

His illustrations attracted attention and aroused Northern patriotic fervor to such a pitch that Thomas Nast was a nationally known figure by the end of the war (Hynds 55). During this troubled period in American history, the relationship between Nast's art and political circumstances is prominently displayed (Nast St. Hill 2). After the publication of his early illustrations of the battlefield, it was not long before Nast became known as a cartoonist rather than as an illustrator. According to Fischer, "Nast was the first celebrated American artist to draw for a mass-circulation weekly sold mainly by subscription, and the

first to be afforded the luxury of a continuing audience for which to develop sustained themes" (13). Circulation numbers directly correlated to Nast's popularity and the growing interest in visual media. During his first twenty years at Harper's Weekly, the circulation increased from 100,000 to 300,000 (Fischer 13).

In addition to boosting circulation, Nast's cartoons also manufactured and employed symbols, including the Democratic donkey and the Republican elephant (Desbarats and Mosher 31; Kobre 53; Lucie-Smith 8; Nast St. Hill 2). Political cartoons did not become widely popular in the United States until the development of the party system after the Revolutionary War (Hynds 55). The violent partisanship that evolved from the debate over the Constitution and the policies introduced by the new government served to create the circumstances ripe for the art to develop and flourish (Hynds 55). Nast also introduced the figures of Uncle Sam, John Bull, Brother Jonathan, and the female figure Columbia, all of which were products of the patriotic enthusiasm stirred by the War of 1812. These symbols were frequently employed by J. W. Bengough and others of this era on both sides of the border (see fig. 9 126; see fig. 10 127; Keller 6). Nast was also responsible for Santa Claus, the image of the jolly old elf associated with the Christmas season, patterned after the St. Nicholas described in Clement Moore's poem "Night Before Christmas" (see fig. 11 128; Desbarats and Mosher 31; Hoff 75; Nast St. Hill 2).

BOSS TWEED VERSUS THOMAS NAST: A VISUAL SHOWDOWN

However, not all of Nast's symbols were jolly. Nast personified a tiger, the Tammany tiger, to represent the Tammany Ring of the 1870s (Desbarats and Mosher 31; Kobre 53; Lucie-Smith 8; Nast St. Hill 2). The Tammany Ring, organized as a private club on Manhattan Island in 1789 by early members of the Democratic Party, claimed to be dedicated to "the independence, the popular liberty and the federal union of the country and whatever may perpetuate the love of freedom, according to its charter" (Hoff 74). Tweed came into power in 1857. He had started his career in the volunteer fire department because there was an "easy dollar to be made if people really wanted a blaze

put out" (Hoff 76). It was with this weekly lampooning that Nast provided the first major model for American cartoonists in the 1870s when his cartoons helped bring an end to the corrupt activities of Tweed and the Tammany Ring (Kobre 91).

Nast was not alone in his derision of Tweed's corruption. The New York Times demonstrated the power of the printed word in affecting change and cleaning up political dishonesty (Kobre 90). George Jones's Times had caused Tweed so much discomfort that, in early 1871, Tweed took a bold step and created a company with the sole purpose of buying control of the newspaper (Kobre 91). The Times retaliated with an open attack that included editorialized headlines and stories with titles like "Tweed's Blackmail," "The Public Outrageously," and "Bold Deed of the Ring Exposed." On 8 July 1871, after receiving some information as to the financial comings and goings of Tweed, The Times aimed to close down his Tammany Ring. Their smash-attack included flashy headlines, four-and five-page exposés, and even front-page editorial coverage, a practice rarely employed today. The paper had obtained evidence that the city spent $190,000 yearly on rent for stables to house its work horses worth only $46,000, not to mention "pouring out $85,000 on places not used at all" (Kobre 91). Boss Tweed, with his control of the city government in New York, had been caught red-handed.

Fischer acknowledged the efforts of The Times but stated that although "the pen is indeed mightier than the sword, the picture is verily worth ten thousand words" (3). Further, he maintained that the conflict with Harper's Weekly, namely, the attack by a cartoonist on a public official, has been considered the defining moment in the history of American political cartooning and the genesis of visual thinking about political power in American journalism that has given the cartoon its place in history (7).

Several cartoons following the same theme as the written editorials leave a lasting impression as being particularly damning. On September 23, 1871, a cartoon with the caption "A Group of Vultures Waiting for the Storm to Blow Over" featured a fearful Tweed and coconspirators cowering on the edge of a cliff (see fig. 12 129; Nast St. Hill 23).

Some of Nast's ideas found their origins in Tweed's public challenge that "so long

as I control the votes, what are you going to do about it?" Nast attacked this political "bumble with a cartoon on 10 June 1871" (Fischer 10). The theme was repeated on 29 October 1871, when Nast featured Tweed leaning on the ballot box with a caption that read, "As long as I count the votes, what are you going to do about it" (Fischer 11). A few weeks later, this cartoon was again refined, and from this period in Nast's creativity came the confusion over Tweed's middle name. Tweed's parents had christened their second son William Magear Tweed to carry on his mother's family name. Nast bestowed on Tweed the middle name of "Marcy," after the New York Jacksonian William L. Marcy, the purported author of the dictum, "To the victor belongs the spoils," another slogan that Nast used in his powerful portrait of gluttony (see fig. 13 130; Fischer 10). Scholars such as Morton Keller, Syd Hoff, Peter Desbarats, and Terry Mosher have made the mistake of interpreting Nast's fictitious middle name as being legitimate, which is a testament to Nast and his commitment to eliminate Tweed that grew into a legendary mystique.

After a series of deadly cartoons pillorying the Tammany kingpin and his cohorts, a bribe was offered to the cartoonist in the amount of $500,000 --the equivalent to a century's salary-- to take a European sabbatical, perhaps enjoying some art lessons along the way (Desbarats and Mosher 31; Fischer 2; Hoff 78). However, the details surrounding Tweed's particular silencing of Nast are "sketchy" and more likely part of the lore surrounding the rivalry (Fischer 8).

As a result of the publicity and evidence substantiating the misappropriation of government funds, reformers mobilized and demanded the ousting of Boss Tweed and the smashing of his Tammany Ring (Hoff 78). Tweed was brought to trial, found guilty on one hundred and four counts, and sentenced to twelve years in prison in November of 1873 (Hoff 78; Keller 181). In January 1875, it appeared that Tweed might be released if he paid a token fine, but a civil suit to recover six million dollars in stolen municipal funds kept him in prison (Keller 181).

Released shortly thereafter with the help of questionable legal manoeuvring, Tweed fled the country while awaiting trial on new charges. He was brought back from Spain where "someone had recognized him from a Thomas Nast cartoon" (Fischer 7).

The identification of Tweed through the drawings of Nast makes sense, given the accuracy of the caricatures (see fig. 14 131), the language barriers that existed, and the relatively high cost of the reproduction of photographs. However, Fischer believes that it is improbable that a full set of Nast's Tammany Ring cartoons was found in Tweed's bags when he was arrested (8). Again, like several other embellishments in the saga of this subject-artist relationship, the cartoons in the carpet bag were most likely a fiction (Fischer 8). After his flight to Spain, Tweed was imprisoned for a second time and died in jail (Kobre 91).

Meanwhile, for Nast and his caricatures in 1872, the Republican Party dominated US politics. Nast depicted himself in a caricature. His offhand sketch foretold the coming decline of Radical Republicanism (see fig. 15 132; Keller 279). From 1873 to 1878, the United States was in the grip of industrial depression, with the poor and unemployed suffering greatly. This crisis provided Nast with the ideal social conditions upon which to base his cartoons (Keller 243).

Technology was taking a turn at that time, one not in Nast's favour. The introduction of the photochemical process of reproduction proved less suitable for Nast's style of cartooning (Nast St. Hill 2). Until this point, the artist's cartoons had been printed from wood engravings, a medium in which Nast excelled. This effect did, however, involve the rather laborious process of drawing a picture in reverse and engraving it on a piece of soft wood. The caricature and cartooning climate had not been standing still either; Nast was no longer the only force in the field. Pressure was also felt from a host of magazines, such as Puck and Judge, that were now starting to cut into the Weekly's cartooning market (Kobre 53). The field was opening up.

Newspapers as well as magazines were looking at the potential of illustrations, caricatures, and cartoons, and they began to project dollar signs. As of 1867, The Evening Telegram was the first daily to print cartoons regularly (Kobre 53). The first morning paper to run a regular series of political cartoons was The New York World in 1884. The crusade in Pulitzer's newspaper had become the instrument of the middle and working classes to whom he appealed and through whom he understood the economic benefits of

cartoons (Kobre 54).

After twenty-five years of screaming in ink about the plight of the poor, immigrants, minorities, and the unemployed, as well as commenting on the Civil War and against the corruption of the likes of Tweed, Nast lost his voice. Lack of challenging political issues also served to diminish his work (Nast St. Hill 2). Regardless of the changes in the field and other professional concerns, by 1880, Thomas Nast was a relatively wealthy man with his income from Harper's Weekly. During the preceding years, he earned several times that of the Congressmen he lampooned and only slightly less than that of the President himself (Nast St. Hill 2). In 1887, an unsuccessful mining venture in Colorado left Nast in dire financial circumstances. In 1890, he put together a Christmas collection in order to earn money. In 1893, he started Nast's Weekly, a visual magazine that failed. As a result of disastrous business ventures, Nast did not have enough income to provide for his family or to pay off his debts (Nast St. Hill 2).

Ironically, a politician attempted to come to the cartoonist's financial rescue. When President Theodore Roosevelt, a longtime admirer, heard of his predicament, he offered Nast an appointment as consul general to Ecuador (Desbarats and Mosher 31). Nast readily accepted, but the tropical heat and the living conditions proved to be too much, and a yellow-fever epidemic left Nast dead before he had spent six months in the post (Desbarats and Mosher 31).

Despite Nast's personal problems, professionally he had opened a pictorial realm to printed media in America that had not existed previously. As a result, many newspapers developed in the 1890s, the early 1900s, and the first quarter of the twentieth century have been referred to as participants in the "golden age of cartooning" (Hynds 55). With Nast as the trailblazer who demonstrated the capability of political cartoons, other cartoonists such as Homer Davenport, John T. McCutcheon, Clifford K. Berryman, Art Young, Rollin Kirby, Edmund Duffy, Jay N. Darling, and Daniel R. Fitzpatrick followed suit (Hynds 55). They would all make significant contributions in terms of broadening the road and adding their personal style, as Nast had done (Hynds 55). Nast had a profound influence on the newspaper industry of New York that lead the way with a brand of

journalism that has been labelled "yellow." Cartoons were front and centre in this shift of colour from conservative black and white to yellow.

A CHILD FROM THE TENEMENTS: R. F. OUTCAULT'S "THE YELLOW KID"

As noted, several comic and satirical magazines grew out of the Civil War to entertain and amuse the public. Many derived their inspiration from Europe, resulting in magazines such as Puck, Vanity Fair, Judge, and Yankee Doodle (Kobre 51). Some of the visually based publications would find a niche and would attract a large audience; yet others would go the way of Nast Weekly and perish (Kobre 51). However, the power of the visual was becoming more apparent. It evolved into an increasingly lucrative part of the print scene; with technological advances such as the halftone cuts of 1893 as well as previously noted printing developments, cartoons were cheaper and more easily produced (Kobre 51).

In North America, the inception and continuation of political cartooning was particularly appealing for the waves of immigrants whose first language was not English. The technology was in place, the necessity was apparent, and the stage was proverbially set for the era of yellow journalism. William Randolf Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer would play supporting roles, but the spotlight would shine on a creation by R. F. Outcault named "The Yellow Kid."

Michael Angelo Woolf preceded Richard Felton Outcault and was "a cartoonist who possessed an exquisite graphic dexterity and an eye that was perceptive and witty" (Blackbeard 17). An English immigrant, Woolf began cartooning relatively late in life, but he brought an "elfin comic imagination coupled with heartfelt compassion for New York's street children during a period when sensitively depicting both immigrants and blacks was rare" (Blackbeard 17). The social conscience and influence of English writer Charles Dickens was apparent in the works of Woolf, Outcault, and Canadian J. W. Bengough. Woolf's images were popular, and as with Hogarth and Daumier, there were many imitators of his style. One such cartoonist who at first seemed to be just another Woolf

imitator was R. F. Outcault. Outcault would repeat the Dickensian awareness of the us-against-them truth of city kids' lives better than any other cartoonist (Blackbeard 19).

According to Blackbeard's research, Outcault, a midwesterner, attended McMicken University in Cincinnati in 1863. After several years as a professional artist in Ohio, he was hired by Thomas Edison Laboratories as a scientific and technical illustrator (Blackbeard 21). He quickly became a successful freelance artist who had numerous illustrations and advertising works to his credit. In 1892, he began to draw sketches of crowded city streets. "It was in this series that he first sketched a baldheaded, nightshirted urchin standing among the tenement kids" (Blackbeard 21) named Micky Dugan, but even with his honed artistic talents, breaking into the New York cartooning world was not an easy task. As a result, Outcault strategically decided to work for the fourth-ranking weekly cartooning magazine Truth. The three top-selling humour weeklies of the day were Puck, Judge, and Life. According to Blackbeard, Outcault convinced Truth editors that because they could not afford to hire Woolf, he was their next-best option (21).

Outcault continued to produce a variety of different strips for Truth, including his panels of "Hogan's Alley." "Hogan's Alley" featured a large cast who would often satirize the "upper-class fads like motorcars and golfing to Madison Square Garden dog shows" (Silverman 16), highlighting social inequality huddled against a backdrop of an urban slum or cavorting in such familiar locales as Coney Island. It aimed to evoke "a wild poke of fun at the pretensions of the bourgeois," thus attaining political cartoon status (Milton 45). The actually drawings covered as much as a half or full page, which was a unique practice by today's standards (Silverman 16).

Size was not the only anomaly in "Hogan's Alley"; there was also colour. The actual date of Micky Dugan's appearance as "The Yellow Kid" is disputed because historians have different standards of measurement. Some measure from the first time that "The Kid" appeared in any of the "Hogan's Alley" scenes; others measure from the day his shirt first carried a message. Still others focused on the date when his shirt turned yellow (Silverman 16). Blackbeard contends that a cartoon from Truth was reprinted in The New York World on 15 February 1895, marking the character's debut in the newspaper

business (26). "The Yellow Kid" also earned the title of America's first modern comic character (Silverman 16). Pulitzer recognized Outcault's superb freelance cartoons and acquired his services from Truth, with the sole intention of dominating the New York daily market (Silverman 16).

Pulitzer's plan proved effective. By the summer of 1896, "Hogan's Alley" was the most popular comic strip in New York. The most popular character in the cartoon was "The Yellow Kid" (see fig. 16 133), who was given this nickname only after his move to The World (Milton 11). "It was not until 1896, in the Sunday color pages, that Outcault attained the final balance of text and image, at last joining signs and captions on The Yellow Kid's shabby nightshirt itself" (Blackbeard 29).

Aside from its colour comics, The World was perhaps best known for its splashy headlines. It was not uncommon to pick up a paper blazing with headlines like "Baptized in Blood: Little Lotta's Lovers." After three hundred and ninety two children died during a heat wave, the unforgettable, and telling, "How Babies are Baked" appeared in Pulitzer's newspaper (Milton 12). It was ironic that Outcault, a man originally hired to work with Edison on scientific illustrations, was now working for The World, a newspaper whose idea of a science-based story was the discovery of another sea monster or a promising candidate for the title of the world's fattest boy (Milton 12).

HEARST VERSUS PULITZER: THE CUSTODY BATTLE OVER "THE KID"

Pulitzer was not the only publisher in New York with a flare for the sensational. In the fall of 1895, William Randolph Hearst purchased The New York Journal. Hearst was heir to a "fabulous fortune based on silver and gold mines, a rich kid whose politics were even farther to the left than Pulitzer's" (Milton 13). Hearst, commonly believed to be the main character portrayed in the motion picture Citizen Kane, would provide an element of competition that served to escalate the level of sensationalism. The two competitors were targetting the same audience for much-needed circulation numbers. With new technologies and a larger percentage of New Yorkers unable to read English, the visual rather than the printed word became the key to success (Milton 14). "Ethics and journalistic quality to

one side, yellow journalism was enormous commercial success" (Osler 83).

Hearst's Journal, which had a circulation of about 450, 000 in 1896, was second in the numbers race to The World but was still well beyond the figures of the other well-known New York papers of the era whose publishers refused to join the yellow press phenomenon. The New York Herald had a circulation of 140,000, The Tribune had had 16,000, and The Times had a mere 9,000 readers, all of whom appeared to reflect the power of the yellow press (Osler 83). The World, which was founded in 1860, was a dying newspaper when Pulitzer took it over in 1883, selling only 15,000 copies daily. By 1898, daily circulation had risen to almost 1,500,000, due in part to the appearance of "The Yellow Kid"(Silverman 17).

In this intense journalistic climate of freelancing, bribery, and bottom-line sensationalism, Hearst made an enormous noise about stealing "The Yellow Kid" from Pulitzer in 1896. "Outcault made his debut with The Journal on the morning after a rally in Madison Square Garden as the paper smugly announced that they had kidnapped "The Kid," publishing his picture on the front page and boasting, "Look who we found wandering around Madison Square" (Milton 42).

Pulitzer and The World were not about to take this drawing defeat lying down. A staff illustrator named George Luks was ordered to 'knock off' a copy of "The Kid," which meant there were two "Yellow Kids" in town for a while (Milton 42). Luks was an exceptional illustrator; only the trained eye could have distinguished Outcault's "Kid" from "The Kid" that Luks drew (Silverman 17). Both papers made sure that posters were plastered on lampposts, on newsstands, and even on the sides of trolley cars and milk trucks. The market for "Yellow Kid" memorabilia was a publisher's dream, with "books, toys, magazines, cookie tins, bars of soap, and a myriad of other products in Victorian homes" (Blackbeard 212).

The competition continued, with the tide turning from Hearst back to Pulitzer, who reportedly bribed Outcault into coming back after he switched to Hearst's New York Journal to draw "The Yellow Kid" for its Sunday supplement (Silverman 16). However, he was rehired by Hearst shortly afterward at an even more exorbitant rate, at which point

Pulitzer, seeing no end to the escalating price, washed his hands of Outcault but not of "The Yellow Kid" (Silverman 16). Hearst and Pulitzer had taken the custody battle from the streets to the courtroom over the name of the comic strip "Hogan's Alley" and the character "The Yellow Kid" (Milton 42; Silverman 16).

"As much as Outcault relished the money that 'The Kid' was bringing, the notoriety of the lengthy squabble between The World and The Journal over the right to 'The Kid' was socially embarrassing to him" (Horn 234). As soon as he contractually and economically could, Outcault left Hearst and introduced "Poor L'il Mose," a new and more subdued character, in The New York Herald in 1901 (Silverman 16).
Despite the turmoil that accompanied Outcault during the existence of "The Yellow Kid," the caricature gave birth to an art form that is now "read by more than 200,000,000 people every day, nearly 75 billion a year, making its artists the most widely read and seen in the world" (Silverman 17).

Putting the popularity and financial success of comic strips and the visual genre aside, there is some debate as to whether the term "yellow journalism" can be attributed to "The Yellow Kid's" nightshirt and the "Hogan's Alley" cartoon or to the subsequent war that occurred between Pulitzer and Hearst over the character. Traditional journalists were "shocked and angered by the ignoble spectacle of two major newspapers slugging it out over a vulgar comic character" (Blackbeard 57).

The phrase "yellow journalism" was, in fact, first used in response to a national bicycle marathon sponsored by Hearst's California and New York newspapers. Although it was a promotional event, planned and carried out expressly to increase news dealers' sales, it was covered as news. That was thought to have led to the coining of "yellow journalism" as an expression of abhorrence for what seemed to be an off-colour or tainted sensationalistic and self-aggrandizing style of reporting in The New York Journal and, by extension, The New York World (Blackbeard 57).

Pulitzer and Hearst had sparked an industry with their sensational journalism that had a ripple effect; the influences accompanying the inception of the yellow journalism climate have drastically affected the editorial and political cartooning legacy to the south.

The innovations in technology, the relationship between artist and newspaper, the standard of print journalism and illustrations, and the growth of the visual in social and political commentary had similar reverberations in Canada. The education industry, art schools and illustrators, and the technological advancements of printing machinery have helped to extend the boundaries of what is defined as art. No longer is art merely paintings hung in the homes of the wealthy or in museums (Kobre 51). This shift in the newspaper industry, in turn, has expanded the limits of what political cartooning is considered to be.

CHAPTER THREE

BEFORE BENGOUGH: THE CANADIAN CARTOONING LANDSCAPE

The first recognized and feared cartoonist to work in Canada was Brigadier-General George Townshend, third-in-command of the British forces that conquered Québec in 1759 (Desbarats , "Cartoons" 375). According to Desbarats, the satirical drawings of Townshend were "the talk of London," and "this witty aristocrat had a sense of humour and the draftsmanship" considered distinctly British in origin (375). The English were not the only ones to stake a claim in early Canadian cartooning. The French contributed artists as well as manufacturing expertise to the history of cartooning, as seen by the example of the Desbarats publishing industry, producers of The Canadian Illustrated News. As a result, visually appealing cartoons could be mass produced at a higher quality. Also, the First Nations peoples, with such notables as Henri Julien, left an indelible mark on this history of the art.

Politically, the Canadian climate was ripe for cartooning, with the regular publication of cartoons in humour journals commencing in the 1840s, a decade after disturbances in Upper and Lower Canada had threatened the peace and orderly development of the colony. The dispute over compensation for losses suffered in the rebellion in Lower Canada widened the divisions between the English and the French. This rift has been a recurring social and political theme throughout Canada's history (Desbarats and Mosher 54). Religion was also a factor, with Catholic and Protestant factions constantly vying for political influence. This debate has not maintained the same prominence as the cultural disputes between the English and the French. Certainly, there are other central themes, for example, unemployment, feuding provincial premiers, and party revolts, that continue to plague national leaders and provide editorial cartoonists with ammunition (North 28). Further, issues such as the constitution, economic trade

policies, railways, and regional disparity were concerns when the country was founded and continue to be factors that are in no danger of disappearing (North 28).

Canadian cartoonists capitalized on the potential of the colony, attacking political corruption with a directness borrowed from the European and America examples that was then an accepted convention. However, their ideas and presentations would qualify as libelous by modern Canadian standards (National Gallery of Canada 2). During the formative period of Canada's political development, politicians, including prime ministers, were often shown in compromising, embarrassing, and, sometimes, intimate situations. It should be noted that although the ideas were more pointed, the draftsmanship was certainly not as polished as in the press of today (Desbarats and Mosher 54). For whom were these cartoonists producing satirical magazines, and what were their reasons for these attacks on the political elite of the fledgling colony?

Worthy of note as an individual on the offensive was John Henry Walker. Born in Ireland, he immigrated with his family to Montreal in 1842. On January 1, 1849, this eighteen-year-old printing designer and wood engraver published Punch in Canada, the first comic journal that featured political cartoons on a regular basis (National Gallery of Canada 4). Walker would personally draft a full-page cartoon for each edition. In 1850, his office moved to Toronto where Punch in Canada went weekly as opposed to bimonthly (Desbarats, "Cartoons" 376). Walker was not afraid to express his beliefs, with the magazine dissecting racial attitudes in nineteenth-century Canada (Milton 43). Another political issue Walker touched upon was the movement by the United States to annex Canada, a move that he strenuously opposed. Brother Jonathan represented the United States in most of Walker's cartoons, but in October of 1849, he drew a group of Canadian politicians as "naughty children" attempting to sell the British flag to a pawnshop keeper (see fig. 17 134; Desbarats and Mosher 40). This was one of the first appearances of the Uncle Sam figure in a Canadian cartoon, perpetuating the recurring political theme of United States-Canada relations that still exist today.

Punch in Canada lasted only two years but provided such a lively treatment of local topical issues during its existence that it compelled J. W. Bengough to introduce his 1886

retrospective of Canadian political cartooning with examples of Walker's work (Blake 76). Over his long career, Walker also worked for The Dart, The Jester, The Diogenes, Grinchuckle, The Canadian Illustrated News and the French arm of The Canadian Illustrated News (L'Opinion Publique). He also designed many books and magazine covers while pursuing his interest as a portrait and landscape artist (Desbarats and Mosher 253; National Gallery of Canada 4). Walker was a unique individual who preferred drawing a tiny walking figure rather than signing his name (Desbarats and Mosher 253).

Punch has been considered the forerunner for satirical illustrated works in Canada. Publications have included The Jester, Nonsense, The Paul Pry, The Spirit, The Stadocona, The Grumbler, Grinchuckle, The Wasp, The Dagger, The Bee, and The Free Lance (Desbarats and Mosher 43). It is important to note that most of these publications rarely used cartoons. When they did, "the quality of the work was uneven and the artist was often unidentified or unknown" (Desbarats and Mosher 43). It was not until the publication of The Canadian Illustrated News in 1868 that the cartoon, albeit in a filtered and undeveloped form, became a significant feature (Blake 77).

Printing innovations and quality were elements the Desbarats family prided themselves on for more than three hundred years in France and in the New World. It was illustrated journalism that fascinated Montreal businessman Georges-Edouard Desbarats and moved him to produce The Canadian Illustrated News (Desbarats, News 4). From 30 October 1869, to 28 December 1883, Desbarats published the political and social cartoons that were used extensively in Canada's first illustrated national news magazine and its French-language edition, L'Opinion Publique, as well as The Hearthstone and later The Dominion Illustrated News (Desbarats, News 4; Spadoni 15). Georges-Edouard Desbarats's hope was that a Canadian illustrated paper would be "a mirror that would reflect Canadian nature, enterprise and art through the world" (Desbarats, News 4). According to his greatgrandson, author and broadcaster Peter Desbarats, the magazine achieved its goal and secured a place in modern communications history as the first magazine in the world to successfully and consistently publish photographs utilizing the halftone reproduction system created by Desbarats and his engraver William Leggo

(Desbarats, News 7; Desbarats and Mosher 61; National Gallery of Canada 4). On 28 December 1883, the magazine announced that it would discontinue publication on the grounds that it was "not remunerative to the company" (Desbarats, News 4). Also included in the explanation was the speculation that "it is quite possible that Canada has not yet obtained a sufficient population to enable the successful publication of an illustrated weekly journal" (Desbarats, News 4). Competition in the market, with weekly publications of Vanity Fair starting in 1869, could have contributed to the financial difficulties of the Desbarats' illustrated dream (National Gallery of Canada 18). With its exclusive air and a new "breed of portrait-charged loaded likeness," the magazine was soon found in "lawyers' offices and smoking rooms throughout the British Empire" (National Gallery of Canada 18).

Nonetheless, The Canadian Illustrated News launched many illustrators, such as Henri Julien, who travelled extensively in Canada (National Gallery of Canada 6). Julien was the first Aboriginal caricaturist displaying exceptional draftsmanship to appear in Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 61). He was a craftsman who regarded politicians simply as subjects for his pen, but "the pen was gifted with its own energy, and Julien was without equal during his time as a caricaturist and illustrator" (Desbarats and Mosher 61).

His career coincides with a fertile period in comic and political journalism in Québec that began in 1854 with the appearance of Le Scorpion, one of Canada's earliest French-language humour journals. The first comic journal to survive in Québec for at least a few years was La Scie, The Saw, a bilingual publication that dated its first issue on the 29 October 1863. By 1869, Julien was in Montréal, working as an apprentice engraver under Leggo (Desbarats and Mosher 61). Eventually, Julien's illustrations reached a wider audience through The Canadian Magazine and Grip in Toronto, Harper's and Century Illustrated Magazine in New York, L'Illustrations and Le Monde Illustre in Paris, and The Graphic in London. In April of 1888, Julien became chief cartoonist and illustrator for The Montreal Daily Star, at the time the most important of Canada's daily newspapers (Desbarats and Mosher 240). Among Julien's studies of rural French-Canada is a painting of a gnarled farmer, whose depiction of the spirit of the rebellion in Lower

Canada in 1837 was adopted in the 1960s as a symbol of armed revolution by Le Front de Libération du Québec. It has since been used by other cartoonists addressing Québec nationalism (see fig. 18 135).

An editor of La Scie with whom Julien worked was Jean-Baptist Côté. Côté was originally a wood sculptor whose work was "simple and powerful," but he also possessed a powerful literary talent (Desbarats and Mosher 64). As one of the editors of La Scie, Côté used his pen rather than his chisel to attack his victims. His cartoons first appeared in the journal in 1864. He signed his work C. C. Lescieur (Desbarats and Mosher 62). Côté had little respect for the literary or political conventions of the day. His views on Confederation differed from that of most English-Canadians. He argued that the move was a many-headed monster that would devour French-Canada. Côté's most controversial cartoon, a three-panel depiction of a civil servant sleeping at his desk, would end his publishing career in 1868 (see fig. 19 136 ; Desbarats and Mosher 63). According to one of his children, Côté "went too far with his pen and was arrested by the police," at which time he became convinced that it would be in his best interest to go back to traditional carving (Desbarats and Mosher 63). No cartoons bearing the pen name C. C. Lescieur have been located after 1868, but one should not rule out the possibility that another pen name was employed by Côté to continue drawing his cartoons.

Hector Berthelot also worked with the subject matter readily supplied by the Québec political climate. He founded Le Canard in 1877, Le Vrai Canard in 1879, and Le Grognard in 1881. Berthelot also launched Le Violon as well as a new journal with the old title Le Canard (Desbarats and Mosher 64). Berthelot was a lawyer who was converted to journalism. He contributed to sixteen journals during his lifetime. Ironically, Oscar Goyett, a former political candidate and bachelor, successfully sued Berthelot for libel by claiming that his cartoons had cast aspersions on Goyett's manliness. This is the first recorded case of a successful libel suit being waged against a Canadian cartoonist (National Gallery of Canada 18). Condemned to pay a fine of $ 427.52 or spend three months in jail, Bethelot organized a public lecture series to raise the money (Desbarats and Mosher 64).

The satirical magazines of the day had originality, tenacity, and bite; what they

lacked was longevity. Often not being able to develop strong readership, given the sparse population, low literacy rates, and the fact that few had the disposable income to purchase journals, many publications died quickly, with cartoonists circulating from publication to publication searching for work. Cartoonists in Canada in the mid-to-late nineteenth century were valued for their punch and poignancy rather than their artistic ability (Desbarats, "Cartoons" 376; National Gallery of Canada 4). Other individuals playing a supporting role in the development of editorial cartooning in the new colony often were cartoonists who had never even set foot in the country. The list includes James Sayers, Robert Dighton and his son Richard Dighton, Captain Thomas Strong Seccombe, Leslie Gilbert Illingworth, Sir Leslie Ward, and John Doyle (National Gallery of Canada 16). Nevertheless, an individual born in Toronto, Ontario, who would live to caricature early Canadian history from the 1870s to the 1920s was J.W. Bengough.

THE PUN IS MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD: J. W. BENGOUGH

In the preface to Bengough's A Caricature History of Canadian Politics: Events from the Union of 1841 (1886), Principal Grant of Queen's University wrote that Bengough's magazine Grip strove to be impartial and that "it had a flavor of the soil. It is neither English nor American. It is Canadian" (qtd. in Spadoni 22). Bengough's career spans half a century, from the first Macdonald government in Victorian Canada to the reconstructionist era following the First World War and the rise of William Lyon Mackenzie King (Spadoni 13). Printer, editor, journalist, poet, humorist, lecturer, teacher of elocution, and minor politician, Bengough was considered a moral crusader, but who, in fact, was J. W. Bengough?

Born only fifty-nine years after the first printing press had been set up in Upper Canada, Bengough was destined to change the course of political illustrating in Canada. Bengough was the second oldest of six children (Spadoni 13). He was a member of a solid, if not prosperous, Presbyterian family whose father, John Bengough, was an

accomplished cabinet maker and stair builder who had established a small shop on Toronto's Victoria Street during the 1840s (Blake 9). According to Stanley Kutcher, Bengough grew up in a "home of religious conviction," where family instruction in Christian ethics was further strengthened by his exposure during his formative years to the local journalism (5).

Bengough did not attend university; he had undistinguished attendance at the local district and grammar schools where he was "neither a plodder nor a brilliant student" (Blake 10). Employment as a photographer's assistant and as a legal clerk did not prove to be fulfilling for Bengough (Blake 12).

Nonetheless, he did display an aptitude for the essence of problems and a retentive memory for details, assets in the trade of journalism and publishing (Blake 10). Bengough began his journalistic career as a reporter for The Whitby Gazette. In the 1870s, The Gazette, like many other middle-market papers, had no method of reproducing cartoons. According to Carl Spadoni, although Bengough's job at the paper was far from ideal, it enabled him to read magazines and newspapers that arrived on exchange at The Gazette office (15). One of those magazines was Harper's Weekly. After seeing Thomas Nast's work, Bengough realized that with "a few imaginative strokes of the artist's pen, political mismanagement could be held accountable to public contempt and ridicule" (Spadoni 15). From this point on, Bengough's "ambition was to follow in Nast's footsteps, but with a Canadian perspective" (Spadoni 15). Because cartoons were practically nonexistent in Canadian newspapers in the early 1870s, his ambition appeared somewhat unrealistic. Bengough maintained his fascination with cartoons while working as a reporter. It is legitimate to classify Bengough as a self-taught caricaturist who had no formal artistic education.

THE FIRE WITHIN: RELIGIOUS, ARTISTIC, AND ETHICAL FERVOR

Bengough's ethical and religious beliefs determined, to a great extent, what he would stand for and, subsequently, what he chose to depict in his social and political drawings. Among the list of his causes were political morality, prohibition, the Single Tax

Movement, Church reform, Aboriginal rights, women's suffrage, free trade, and sabbatarianism (Blake 2; Cook 137). Bengough's religious roots made him a champion of the temperance movement and "his liberal egalitarian outlook thrust him to the forefront of the Single Tax Movement" in Canada (Blake 2).

Much to the chagrin of his critics, Bengough was above much of the mudslinging that infected his profession. He was an abstainer as well as a nonsmoker, leading a pious and orderly life in accordance with his religious background (Desbarats and Mosher 51). "Bengough's vocal adherence to absolute ethical principles earned him the admiration of many like-minded men" (Kutcher vi).

In terms of his humour, Bengough can be viewed as a Victorian and a Protestant for whom even a pun had a serious purpose (Cook 125). "The pun," Bengough characteristically contended, "is mightier than the sword" (qtd. in Cook 127). The goal he intended for his work was not simply to make people laugh with his drawings. In 1888, reflecting on his position and, by extension, Grip's role in Canadian politics, Bengough said that "the legitimate force of humor and caricature can and ought to serve the state in its highest interests, and that the comic journal that has no other aim than to amuse its readers for the moment falls short of its highest mission" (qtd. in Cook 125). More than escapism or mere entertainment, Grip had sought to play the part of educator, and had, according to Bengough, always aimed "to be on the right side" (qtd. in Cook 125).

According to Carl Spadoni, Bengough defined his politics as strictly independent, and in an era when newspapers were still known for political partisanship, Grip presented itself as an impartial judge of Canadian affairs (16). However, a number of critics charged that Bengough's sympathies were clearly aligned with Alexander Mackenzie and the Liberals. The cartoonist regarded "Macdonald and the Tories as the root of all evil" (Spadoni 16). Some go as far as to claim that the final blow to Bengough's cartooning career "was the victory of his own party [the Liberals] in 1896" (Desbarats and Mosher 51). Other theorists believe Bengough was "not motivated by party loyalties" but was driven to criticize by his total acceptance of the ideal of the necessity of moral values in politics, a point of view that caused him to turn toward the absolute (Kutcher 10).

Although "Bengough had obvious sympathies for the Liberals, especially when they were out of power, he was, as a moralist, a natural oppositionist, a third-party man" (Cook 139). It was only later in life, in 1919, that Bengough became a full-fledged supporter of the Liberal government and King in the hopes of seeing the Single Tax Movement finally come to fruition (Cook 146). He used his fame to advance causes he was interested in. Many organizations with similar mandates, for example, The Salvation Army and the Single Tax League, "found Bengough to be a great friend," whose pictures and poems were of significant promotional assistance (Blake 29; The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 3).

Bengough was "a satirist first and foremost," and regardless of party loyalties, political leaders in Ottawa read Grip from cover to cover (Waite 125). Bengough attained an element of fame that allowed him to interview most of the leading politicians, and he would go to Ottawa every once in a while just to study a man's figure or his expression because photographs did such a poor job of both (Waite 125).

Although devoutly religious, Bengough also found fault with the Church. His convictions about religious tolerance and the higher moral value of individual conscience over doctrinal statement was the source of his critique (Cook 130). Further, in Bengough's eyes, the association of the Church with wealth was particularly evil. He argued that the connection could compromise the Church's moral authority by making it the handmaiden of the powerful (Cook 130). By extension, Bengough was highly critical of all organized religion, and in this way, his moral views remained consistent in criticizing the Roman Catholic order, Orange bigotry, or Presbyterian theology (Kutcher 28). Bengough was inspired by a vision of dissenting Protestantism that looked forward to the future fulfilment of God's kingdom on earth through the implementation of a few simple political reforms (Cook 127). In religious matters, he was somewhat conservative or perhaps, more accurately, evangelical-emotional rather than intellectual (Cook 127).

It was inevitable that Bengough, as a Protestant moralist, should become the proponent of two well-known causes, namely, prohibition and sabbatarianism (Cook 132). As illustrated by his work (see fig. 20 137), the Toronto Sunday streetcar issue was

one of the fights Bengough supported. Although politicians argued that streetcars would improve Church participation, Bengough believed the vehicles would also bring "people to parks or the workplace," thus breaking with the sanctity of the Sabbath (Cook 135).

Two major figures, Charles Dickens and Thomas Nast, influenced Bengough's work. The title Grip was taken from the raven that constantly accompanied the feeble-minded Rudge in Charles Dickens's 1841 novel Barnaby Rudge (Blake 16; Spadoni 16). This "strange companion" was said to have "all the wit," and Bengough even listed Barnaby Rudge as an editor early in Grip's run (Spadoni 16). Bengough's interest in Dickens took on other literary forms, such as the play The Dream of Dickens, which contained a complement of caricatures in the style of the subject (The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 2). As an aside, Bengough also wrote other plays, poetry, and operas (The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 2). By far, his greatest artistic mentor was Nast.

According to Cook, "Nast's influence on Bengough was enduring" (127). He writes that some of the Canadian's drawings were inspired directly by "his American counterpart" (127). Harper's Weekly became Bengough's favourite journal. He avidly followed the work of the magazine's principal cartoonist. Bengough stated that he was "among the thousands who studied with profound admiration Nast's elaborate full-page cartoons in that great journal of civilization against Boss Tweed and the Tammany Ring of New York" (Blake 12). In 1870, the young Canadian's dreams of becoming a cartoonist motivated him to send a cartoon drawn in Nast's style to the editor of Harper's Weekly (Blake 12).

Bengough was flattered when the editor returned a note congratulating him on the accuracy of his mimicry. He was overwhelmed when Nast himself sent a personal acknowledgement of a job well done (Blake 12). In terms of subject matter, there were obvious duplications. Nast's Republican elephant, for example, appeared in Bengough's political cartoons, albeit not with the same lasting symbolism as in the United States (Waite 125). One of the most striking examples of the similarities was in Bengough's most famous cartoon, entitled "Ancient Tory Tactics," which depicts Conservatives

entering the National Policy Trojan horse in order to pass through the walls of office (see fig. 21 138), compared with Nast's 1872 drawing of the Republicans boarding a similar animal (see fig. 22 139; Cook 127).

Both Nast and Bengough were patriots. According to Ramsay Cook, there were some similarities between Nast's bloody Unionist cartoons during the American Civil War and Bengough's celebration of the Canadian cause during the Northwest Rebellion in 1885 (127). However, unlike Nast, Bengough was only occasionally a flag-waver who preferred to lampoon rather than praise the patriotic pretensions of politicians and businessmen (Cook 127). "Nast's caricatures reveal an almost humorless Germanic outlook that imagined gloom, fierce and frightening images while Bengough often preferred humor, exaggeration, and ridicule" (Cook 127). Aside from the stylistic differences, Bengough's technical ability was weak and never reached the quality of Nast's (Cook 125; Desbarats and Mosher 52). Nevertheless, what he lacked in raw talent he made up for in portraying the political, racial, and social antagonism that divided Canadians during a crucial period of the nation's political history (Desbarats and Mosher 52).

There is evidence that the English caricaturist William Hogarth also proved to be an influence on Bengough's work. According to Bengough's papers, one of his best friends was William Christie, founder of the Christie-Brown Biscuit Company (The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 1). Mr. Christie was a relative, by marriage, of Bengough's. Bengough boarded with the Christies when he first came to Toronto from Whitby to work at The Globe. Christie had a full set of Hogarth's famous cartoons "beautifully bound that were later presented to Bengough in recognition of the talents he had displayed in Grip" (The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 1). According to his brother Thomas's notes, Bengough appreciated the Hogarth volumes "very highly and to prevent them from being sold or lost, he donated them to the Toronto Public Library" (The William Ready Division, Bengough Collection 1). John Leach and John Tenniel influenced Bengough's works to a lesser extent (Blake 20, 74; Waite 125).

THE HISTORY OF THE MAGAZINE: A GRIPPING TALE

Grip was a comic journal that made its first appearance on May 24, 1873. It was published by J. W. Bengough & Co. (Spadoni 12). According to Carl Spadoni, the magazine contained witticisms, jokes, short stories, fables, satirical poetry, letters, answers to correspondents, commentaries, editorials, reports from newspapers and other publications, advertisements, and cartoons (17). The masthead featured the word GRIP carved from the branches of a tree with a raven perched on the inside curve of the first letter amid a scene of mischief and folly (see fig. 23 140; Spadoni 16). Initially, Grip was four pages long and sold for five cents a copy or two dollars for a year's subscription. The price doubled a year later when the weekly was expanded to eight pages, but the original price was reinstated "probably as a result of loss of subscriptions" (Spadoni 16). It remained at two dollars despite an increase in size to sixteen pages.

During the first year of the journal's existence, A. S. Irving, a local bookseller, served as business manager until Bengough and his brother Thomas were ready to leave their permanent employment at The Globe (Blake 23). Maintaining his staff position at Toronto's leading newspaper meant creating a number of aliases. Chase P. Hall and Barnaby Rudge were used in the first few issues to cautiously obscure his identity (Blake 23). From time to time later in Grip's run, Bengough still signed other names on his cartooning work. Whereas John-Baptiste Côté used the pen name C. C. Lescieur, Bengough employed the name Côté when he drew cartoons that dealt with Québec politics (Desbarats and Mosher 232).

At first, there was not a lot of excitement surrounding the publication, but this quickly changed when the Liberals uncovered evidence of a $300,000 contribution to the Conservatives by Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal, the head of a railway syndicate anxious to build a new line to the Pacific Coast (Granatstein et al. 30). Grip's first success was a by-product of the Pacific Scandal. The whole country was at once aflame with interest and excitement. This theme would keep Grip going for many issues. Every Saturday, Grip was published and read on all sides of English-speaking society. It was Ontario centred, but was read nationally, especially by politicians. In 1873, Grip had made its reputation and its

fortune out of the Pacific Scandal, and "its devastating cartoons had done much to help bring down the Macdonald government" (Waite 125).

Because Bengough had first become interested in political cartooning as a result of Nast's lampooning, the Pacific Scandal was tailor-made (Cook 126). With the scandal as a catalyst, not to mention the pliable physical features of Macdonald, Grip's circulation increased rapidly (Cook 126). Macdonald was a godsend for Canadian cartoonists, with his angular profile, ungainly figure, and intemperate drinking habits. The "blatant corruption of nineteenth-century politics created a popular image that could be traced even by cartoonists with little natural talent for caricature" (Desbarats and Mosher 12).

The classic Pacific Scandal cartoon showed the Prime Minister with his boot on Miss Canada, a bottle in his pocket, and a speech balloon with the words, "These hands are clean" (Desbarats and Mosher 50). The speech balloon is still used to elaborate on images displayed but this cartoon (see fig. 24 141) says more than any written editorial could possibly hope. Bengough often portrayed Macdonald as a showman, a carnival barker in high boots, checkered pants, and polka-dot shirt (Desbarats and Mosher 50). Mackenzie became Prime Minister when the Pacific Scandal forced Macdonald out of office, but Mackenzie, a stonemason before becoming a journalist and then politician, lacked the flare and imagination to keep the country moving forward (Newman 134; National Archives 1). Upright and scrupulously honest, he could not believe it when he lost the 1878 election. The people had rejected him for "that proven rogue," John A. Macdonald (Newman 134).

According to Michael Bliss, with Macdonald's comeback only five years after the scandal that had rocked the nation, he had "eased back on his drinking, recapturing much of the dignity of his office" but "no one doubted that his political skullduggery in the interests of the Conservative Party continued" (21). Bliss said that Macdonald hoped that his new policies would create jobs, opportunities, and prosperity for Canadians, and when they did not, in the late 1880s, he had nothing to fall back on but procrastination and the delay that would win him the nickname "Old Tomorrow" (22). As Macdonald grew old in power, opinions were "equally divided on whether his scheming and manipulation has

been noble or cynical"(Bliss 24). The essential problem in later years was that nothing seemed to calm the tide of sectional alienation, provincial power seeking, and cultural tensions engulfing the Dominion (24).

Regardless of interpretation, Macdonald had become an institution and a symbol of Canada. In a demonstration in Toronto on December 17, 1884, to celebrate Macdonald's forty years in Parliament, the guest of honour said, "I heard the cry just now from one of my friends saying, 'You will never die.' Gentlemen, I really do believe that those who are in political opposition to me think so too" (qtd. in Guillet 90), but Macdonald suffered a series of strokes that ended his life on June 6, 1891. Lena Newman comments that all of Ottawa was concerned and considerate while Macdonald was ill; bells were taken off the horse-drawn streetcars that passed Earnscliffe, Macdonald's residence, and even steamers, tugboats, towing barges and rafts ceased to blow their whistles and muffled their engines as they approached the vicinity (206).

A tribute was included in Grip on June 13, 1891, to commemorate Macdonald's death. It included a full-page cartoon of 'The Empty Saddle' that Macdonald had vacated and a seven-stanza poem that marked the statesman's life (Guillet 138). The entire nation mourned his death, with thousands coming to Ottawa to pay their respects at a memorial service. Ironically, Macdonald's coffin travelled from Ottawa to Kingston via the railway, the first CPR funeral train to leave the Canadian capital (Newman 212).

Although the high-profile and, sometimes, disreputable career of Macdonald was a benefit in terms of providing a firm foundation for the fledgling Grip magazine, it also afforded Bengough the opportunity to play Nast to Macdonald's Tweed in the ultimate mimicry (Blake 78). Bengough portrayed the basic features of his subjects, using them to express what he considered to be their essential nature. At times, his drawings were quite cruel and influential (Horn 43). The Globe, The Winnipeg Times, The Manitoba Free Press, The Moncton Transcript, The Québec Chronicle, The Kingston Daily News, The Oshawa Reformer, The Woodstock Sentinel Review, The London Free Press, The Halifax Chronicle, and countless other daily and weekly newspapers gave full coverage to Bengough's cartooning activities (Kutcher 40). Canadians in all walks of life, living in

cities, small towns, and on farms, were kept updated on Bengough's latest efforts, ironically through reports in other newspapers (Kutcher 40).

This self-appointed role of moral judge of the social and political process was the singular feature of Grip throughout this period of its existence. It was a time when Canadian newspapers were beginning to shake free of political partisanship with new populist papers like The Montreal Star and The Toronto Telegram soon to make their appearances. Grip had all the conviction of the older press and all the independence of the new (Kutcher 6). After Grip became fully established at No. 2 Toronto Street, Bengough Brothers was formed as a publishing company in 1875 (Blake 23). These were years of prosperity for the Bengoughs and Grip magazine.

According to Carl Spadoni, Grip lost its public appeal following the death of Macdonald in 1891 because the publication had been built on "Macdonald's foibles," and he had been considered Bengough's "chief object of satire"(23). The competition of rival magazines, combined with Bengough's tendency to act as a propagandist, also accounted for Grip's demise. Thomas Bengough stated that "it was financial mismanagement and personality conflicts within the Grip Printing and Publishing Co. that spelled the end for the publication" (qtd. in Spadoni 23). Although John Wilson and Thomas Bengough were directors of the company, together they owned only a small percentage of the shares (Spadoni 23). Although sales probably never exceeded 7, 000 copies at the peak of Grip's popularity in the mid-1880s, its readership was doubtless larger "primarily because of its cartoons" (Kutcher 38). Grip did not have the staggering circulation figures seen in the Pulitzer-Hearst newspapers war, which speaks as a testament to Grip's power as a national phenomenon.

With the demise of Grip in 1894, Bengough took a position as cartoonist for The Toronto Globe (Kutcher 104). For the remainder of his life, Bengough's caricatures appeared in a variety of journals and dailies, for example, The Montreal Star, The Morning Chronicle, The Public, The Farmer's Advocate, The Varsity, and Review of Reviews (Spadoni 13). In 1898, Bengough lectured at the Imperial Institute in London. He served as an alderman in Toronto between 1906 and 1909 (Spadoni 26). Throughout his life,

Bengough had conducted "chalk talks," which had proven to be highly successful in promoting his personal causes as well as the art of cartooning (Kutcher 46). In 1909, he presented his lectures in Australia and New Zealand. Near the end of his life, he was a teacher of elocution at Knox College (Spadoni 26). On his last Canadian tour, he gave sixty free lectures to high-school students in addition to his regular speaking engagements. On October 2, 1923, while drawing a series of cartoons on moral reform, he fell from his chair and died (Spadoni 26).

Bengough's Grip, with its combination of humour and informed political commentary within the cartoon medium, transcended the comic journal genre. Having philosophically allied itself with the politicized nature of the daily press, Grip foreshadowed modern journalism (Blake 38, 57). Further, Grip's impact was one in which the use of visual images, specifically cartoons, had been employed in a long-standing weekly journal format. This was a first for the Canadian cartooning scene and provided proof that it could, in fact, be done. Some of the individuals influenced by the works of Bengough, along with the political and social situation that they caricature, are highlighted in this study.

BESIDES BENGOUGH: THE FIRST WAVE OF CANADIAN CARTOONISTS

Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher allege that "all the main features of national attitudes in modern Canada were sketched crudely in the first cartoon published in the nineteenth century" (see fig. 25 142) and, further, that Canada and its cartoonists have merely completed the national caricature in more detail (53). This is an oversimplification and generalization that does not take into consideration either the diverse artistic population working during this first wave or the unique social, cultural, and political elements of Canadian history. There has been more than a mere copycat effect, even in the first twenty years of this century. However, it is noted that some cartoonists of the 1930s and 1940s took a safer, less abrasive approach toward their political commentary.

Canadian political cartoons are linked directly to Canada's history, which has, thus far, escaped civil war, outright revolution, or widespread social unrest. That does not mean that Canada has not faced hardship politically. From political corruption, social and economic inequality, unemployment, and injustice toward its weaker citizens, the cartoonists "have been closer and more sensitive to these aspects of our society than have many of the writers and journalists who have left behind records for historians" (Desbarats and Mosher 32). Perhaps obvious, but at the same time essential, is the understanding that when it comes to political cartoons, one must rely on subject matter driven politically, which is not always as readily available as landscape or portrait material. It follows that if there is an overabundance of political material, the artist has the ability to choose the subject and, through that element of selection, increase the potential quality and power of the images. When it comes to political cartooning, the bottom line is that the political climate influences the art.

The Confederation generation of cartoonists, those who had grown up with or flipped through the pages of Punch in Canada, The Canadian Illustrated News, Grip, or one of the dozens of regional specialty satirical journals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were by and large fiercely nationalist (Desbarats and Mosher 58). This protective stance for their new homeland, particularly against American interference, is visually apparent in the representational symbols that were perpetuated. Canada was often portrayed as an innocent young virgin in danger of becoming seduced by Brother Jonathan from south of the border (see fig. 26 143; Desbarats and Mosher 58). Uncle Sam, or Jonathan, was often shown as a crafty and somewhat "disreputable Yankee carpetbagger" (Desbarats and Mosher 58). Comparatively, Britain was portrayed as Britannia, or John Bull, assisting in the fostering of the independent Canada. In this way, cartoonists were reflective of the politicians and social feelings of individuals in English-speaking Canada. In their more aggressive moments, Canadian cartoonists drew their new nation as "Jack Canuck," brawny, virtuous, straight-talking, and something of a Boy Scout figure (see fig. 27 144; Desbarats and Mosher 58).

The Canadian frontier was opening up in the 1890s. Newspapers were springing

up in the booming western towns (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). In the first decade of the new century, Canada's population increased from 5.3 million to 7.2 million, with more than half of the new arrivals settling in the western provinces (Desbarats and Mosher 73). Cartoonists were among these immigrants increasing their numbers in Canada substantially. Up until this point in Canadian cartooning history, virtually all of the cartooning activity had been concentrated in the urban areas of Upper and Lower Canada. Newspapers and journals that had the inclination, financial resources, and technical equipment to reproduce cartoons had not always provided a holistic Canadian perspective.

Donald McRitchie arrived in Winnipeg in 1906. He had already sold cartoons to The Sydney Post in Nova Scotia and The Ottawa Evening Journal as he worked his way west (Desbarats and Mosher 245; Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). McRitchie was part of the movement opening up Canadian cartooning. He has been considered the "king of trailblazers for cartoonists in the west" (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). From 1902 until 1922, Bob Edward's Calgary Eye-Opener established a reputation for irreverence. Edwards drew cartoons for the first few years of his notorious publication. He also hired others, such as McRitchie and Charles H. Forrester, to work on The Eye-Opener (Desbarats and Mosher 82).

Arch Dale was the representative of the common man, particularly in English-speaking Western Canada (see fig. 28 145 ; Desbarats and Mosher 78). Dale came to Winnipeg in 1907 when the West was a hotbed of political activity with new political parties, farmers, railroads, grain companies, and labour forces battling for power (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). Dale worked at The Winnipeg Free Press for twenty-seven years. Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett especially admired Dale's work. He often asked for his original cartoons. Once, when an original had been lost, Dale carefully redrew the cartoon for the Prime Minister (Desbarats and Mosher 91).

Interest was still high in Ontario for visual satire with a political focus. The Goblin was a magazine launched by University of Toronto students in 1927. Within a year, it had the biggest newsstand circulation of any comic journal, with more than 10,500 copies. The editor, Richard Taylor, later became a regular cartooning contributor to The New Yorker

(Desbarats and Mosher 83). In addition to The Goblin, The Moon, published in Toronto in 1901 and 1902, "allowed its cartoonists to express themselves with unusual freedom" (Desbarats and Mosher 80) .

After the death of Macdonald in 1891, the most memorable national leader in this first wave of cartooning was Canada's first French-speaking prime minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier seems to have possessed something of the charisma that was projected more than half a century later by another notable prime minister from Québec, Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Desbarats and Mosher 69). At the outset of the Laurier period, Saskatchewan and Alberta joined Confederation to complete the union, apart from the eventual addition of Newfoundland in 1949.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier won election in 1896 and was reelected in 1900. A second term was "a rare treat for Canadian cartoonists," who had to be content with four prime ministers in the five years prior to Laurier (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). The Prime Ministers occupying office between Macdonald and Laurier were John Joseph Caldwell Abbott, John Sparrow David Thompson, Mackenzie Bowell, and Charles Tupper, respectively (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). The papers of Mackenzie Bowell contain newspaper clippings of cartoons of himself while he was prime minster. His short term in office was distinguished only by his unpopular handling of the Manitoba schools question, leading to the humiliation of his forced resignation (North 28). For over sixteen years, Laurier was "a bonanza for the nation's cartoonists" (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6).

THE ISSUES BEHIND THE COMMENTARY

One of the first tests of the new term for the Laurier government was defining the relationships that had contributed most to Canada's development, namely, those with Britain and the United States. The debate about trade reciprocity with the United States related to a question that continues into the 1990s. To what extent is Canada independent and distinct --culturally, economically, and politically-- from its neighbour to the south?

These issues of external affairs had gone unaddressed while Canada established

itself as a nation and constructed its infrastructure. In 1907, in an effort to "clean the slate" of unresolved problems with the United States, several issues in dispute by the Anglo-American Joint Commission were separately and successfully resolved. As well, a Boundary Waters Treaty was signed in 1909, establishing the Canada-United States International Joint Commission to deal with future problems in the sharing of boundary water resources (Granatstein el al. 138).

Ottawa and Washington had agreed to the free trade of the natural resources of either country. In addition, other schedules lowered the duties on selected lists of manufactured goods originating in one or the other nation (Granatstein el al. 138). On the face of it, reciprocity, with so many obvious benefits to Canadian consumers and voters, was economically hard to oppose. Nonetheless, the opposition geared up to defeat the agreement, and when an opening appeared in the form of a split in the Laurier government on the issue, opponents made their move. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives professed strong imperialist loyalties, and the debate was emotionally charged. Robert Borden stated that the issue was "Continentalism or Canadianism" (Granatstein el al. 139). The fear of losing the identity they had so recently toiled to achieve was enough to turn the political tide.

Elisha Newton McConnel was credited as being instrumental in the defeat of Laurier and his reciprocity policy in 1911 (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6; Desbarats and Mosher 244). Assisting in the character assassination was veteran cartoonist Owen Staples, who worked for The Evening Telegram in Toronto for sixty years (Desbarats and Mosher 244). Arthur G. Racey's cartoons had appeared in Le Canard and Grip. He became the chief cartoonist at The Montreal Star in 1899 after cartoonist Henri Julien's death and remained for a forty-year period (Desbarats and Mosher 78). Racey also played a key role in toppling the Laurier government (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). The victorious Robert Borden wrote to the cartoonist, stating, "The recent campaign was certainly most interesting and eventful and your splendid work contributed more than a little bit to the result" (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). In fairness to Laurier, cartoonists had lost an excellent subject with his

departure, but they would just as quickly turn to Borden as their new object of scrutiny (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6).

The defeat of free trade did not mean that Canadians would not do business with Americans, as evidenced by the lucrative smuggling industry that grew out of Prohibition. In the United States, the burning domestic political question of this era was whether or not people had the right to buy a drink. "It turned out they did not. Under the Eighteenth Amendment, the Volstead Act of 1919, all of America had suddenly gone dry" (Granatstein el al. 294). As a result, in the 1920s, a large number of Canadians were making a living by transporting liquor across the border, and "with the help of Al Capone, his bootleggers, and thousands of Canadian rumrunners, millions of Americans got drunk unconstitutionally" (Granatstein el al. 294). This was cartooning potential that did not go to waste.

It was common knowledge that "every night, barges, schooners, launches, and even canoes and sailboats left their ports of Halifax, Vancouver, Windsor and scores of tiny harbors to unload cases of scotch, rye, gin" (Granatstein el al. 295). On the prairies, enterprising Canadians were crossing the border in cars, trucks, airplanes, and even on bicycles to unload their goods (Granatstein el al. 295).

These vehicles often did not return to Canada empty. Instead, they smuggled back other goods, especially textile and tobacco products, worth millions of dollars annually (see fig. 29 146). Only when Canadian manufacturers in these industries complained did the King government attempt to put a halt to this illicit trade (Granatstein el al. 296). Prohibition did, in fact, become a Canadian legal and social phenomenon. By the end of the First World War, every province had introduced some form of legislation prohibiting the consumption of alcohol, but the provinces kept changing their legislation. This meant that cartoonists could take a stand for or against a social phenomenon that touched many individual lives (Granatstein el al. 294).

The First World War raised more than the question of prohibition. Borden and many other Canadians had been considering the question of conscription since early in Canada's participation in the war, but the Prime Minister's first inclination was to reject it.

In 1914, he declared himself against compulsory enlistment. At the time, the political cost was too high to justify invoking conscription, especially in Québec, where most French-Canadians were against being forced to serve in a foreign war (see fig. 30 147; Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6; Granatstein el al. 208). By the time the war ended in November of 1918, more than 124,000 conscripts had actually been added to the rolls, and approximately 24,000 of these were at the front. However, conscription was never just about numbers --it was an issue arising out of the major difference that separated English- and French-Canadians and their attitude toward the national duty to fight. "French Canadians were not enlisted at anywhere near the rate of others Canadians," and many English were determined to change this (Granatstein el al. 209). The French-English battle over conscription was rooted in other crises, such as the Riel affair and the Manitoba schools question of the mid-1890s (Granatstein el al. 209). The conscription decision left decidedly different cartoons in Québec and the rest of Canada; once again, the controversy surrounding cultural and historical differences flared. Sam Hunter produced cartoons that focused on "the conscription crisis" with anti-Laurier and anti-Québec images (Desbarats and Mosher 239). Hunter had a lengthy career that began with Bengough's Grip in the 1870s and included more than twenty years as a staff cartoonist with The Toronto Star (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6).

Prominent cartoonists also played humanitarian roles in assisting with the war effort. Racey, aforementioned, raised 50,000 dollars for the Red Cross through a series of lectures consisting of lantern slides of some of his cartoons (Desbarats and Mosher 79). Racey worked for The Montreal Star. He was once described by S. Morgan-Powell, The Toronto Star's drama critic, as "the gentle cartoonist who was never vicious" (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6).

From the First World War to the economic prosperity of the latter portion of the 1920s, rapid growth in both industry and agriculture led many to believe that Laurier's prediction was coming true: the twentieth century would be Canada's (Granatstein el al. 306). On 29 October, Black Tuesday, 1929, the great boom of the 1920s came to an end. "On that day, after several false alarms, the New York Stock Market collapsed"

(Granatstein el al. 306). Playing the market had been the national sport of the decade, but suddenly, for reasons economists are still debating, everyone lost confidence in the market simultaneously. Within days, thousands lost their life savings and were destitute. Within weeks, the value of shares on the market had gone down by thirty billion dollars (Granatstein el al. 306).

The collapse of the market was only the beginning. Consumer spending declined drastically. Without customers, many stores, factories, and banks were soon closing all over North America. Within a year, millions of middle-class Americans and Canadians were without work or money (Granatstein el al. 307). Most desperately affected was Canada, which was inextricably linked to export markets in minerals, lumber, newsprint, fish, and wheat (Granatstein el al. 138). The Depression affected the whole country, but Western Canada was hit harder than other regions, being transformed from a prosperous region to one of natural disasters --grasshoppers, rust, drought, drifting soil, and scurvy (Granatstein el al. 308). Not everyone suffered during the Depression. Those on pensions or fixed salaries suddenly found their money would buy much more, and Canada was a wonderful place for those who still had wealth (Granatstein el al. 307).

The economic depression that started in 1929 brought a sharper awareness of the inequitable distribution of wealth among social classes, furthering the cartoonists' cause as the representatives of the average citizen. R. B. Bennett, the Conservative who was prime minister from 1930 to 1935 and who "came to symbolize the capitalism of smug old Toryism for many cartoonists," attempted to introduce "new deal" legislation strongly influenced by the socialism of the day (Desbarats and Mosher 96). Unimpressed by the conversion, Canadians reelected King (Desbarats and Mosher 98).

King's personal papers, housed at the National Archives, reveal his "healthy sense of self-mockery" (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). His collection includes two Conservative election posters criticizing his policies and original cartoons lampooning a variety of subjects (North 29). During the Depression and World War Two, the years of Bennett and King, cartoonists Les Callan, Jack Boothe, Robert Chambers, and Arch Dale rose to prominence (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6).

The "every man," or John Q. Public, theme was reinforced by a great many cartoonists during this period. Its development was hurried by the Depression. In 1945, Robert Chambers combined "the bowler and spectacles of his conventional little guy with the physique and club of Bengough's Canuck" and employed the caption "Giant for a Day," referring to the power to elect politicians into office (Desbarats and Mosher 34). The following day, with the federal election over, Chambers shrunk the voter back to size, portraying him as cringing in the palm of a politician's hand (Desbarats and Mosher 34).

Chambers's career began in 1924 in the United States, where he worked as an animator for film cartoons and as an illustrator for the tabloid New York Graphic (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6; Desbarats and Mosher 117). He lived in the United States until the Depression saw him return to Halifax in 1933. He found work at The Halifax Chronicle. Four years later, he accepted an offer from The Halifax Herald, where he stayed for forty years (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). The secret, according to Chambers, of his longevity in the Canadian cartooning industry was "you [the cartoonist] just want to do something that's going to please your boss. Anything that's going to upset him you just don't do it, if you're smart" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 117). Further, Chambers stated he had "never done a cartoon that causes any controversy" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 117).

The Canadian political and social issues outlined previously were obviously milestones in the history of Canada during the first forty years of this century. What might be less obvious in terms of mapping the peaks and valleys of Canadian cartooning as a whole is that there was a downward turn in terms of the quality and punch of cartoons produced in the 1930s into the 1940s.

Between the two world wars, life in Canada was tough. Many Canadians did not want "cartoonists flailing the nation's social, economic, and political shortcomings," and publishers and editors "controlled their cartoonists closely" (Desbarats and Mosher 82). The newspapers, by and large, with the exception of journals such as The Eye Opener, The Moon, and The Goblin, "had no desire to aggravate problems that seriously threatened the stability of the country" (Desbarats and Mosher 82).

There are other possibilities that might have led to this downward trend. Outspoken cartoonists of the early century were getting older, and their work had less punch and zest (Hynds 55). Coupled with their age was the fact that there were many cartoonists who had enjoyed extraordinarily long careers, beginning with the new phenomenon of newspaper cartooning in the 1890s. This role would be dominated by younger people, many in their early twenties, some of whom would spend half a century at the same newspaper (Dennis 665). The less powerful cartoons of the 1930s and 1940s "might have been related to the natural process of maturity" (Dennis 665).

In many cases in Canada, cartoonists had maintained long working relationships with their newspapers (Canadian Museum of Caricature 2: 6). For example, Alberic Bourgeois started with La Presse in 1905 and worked with the paper for close to fifty years; Arch Dale began cartooning when he was seventeen, and his career spanned fifty-five years in the Canadian industry; Robert Chambers had a career that covered more than fifty years (Desbarats and Mosher 227).

Competing media outlets also played a role in contributing to the decline of cartoons. The crusading spirit of the early century gave way to confusion and apathy in the tabloid era. "Picture pages, wirephotos and comics took away some of the cartoon's entertainment appeal" (Hynds 55). This would only mark the beginning of the widespread impact of competing visual media to be followed by the advent of television and Internet advances.

"The most powerful political cartoons are usually scorching indictments of people" (Dennis 664). Dennis believes that without one individual for caricaturists to blame for the economic and social concerns of the day, the problems were difficult to tackle visually (664). Issues became more complicated during the Depression and less subject to single interpretations, and "increasing newspaper mergers reduced the partisan competition on which cartoonists have thrived," and social satire was urged as a logical replacement for political satire (Smith 28).

"Between the two world wars, Canadians were preoccupied with their own problems" and, further, had different concerns from region to region (Desbarats and

Mosher 92). This pattern of regional rivalry was now being expressed by increasingly strong provincial governments competing with Ottawa, representing a theme that would be established in this second wave and one that would remain a dominant feature of Canadian politics.

CHAPTER FOUR

A BLOT IN THE INK: THE DOWNWARD TREND IN CANADIAN CARTOONING CONTINUES

This study continues to profile specific Canadian cartoonists during the downturn of the genre, illustrating the subsequent resurgence that took place in the 1950s and 1960s. It is useful to focus on issue-based examples, such as the Second World War and conscription, as well as constitutional, economic, and social concerns that explore the connection between cartoonists and history in the making.

The influence and impact of Duncan Ian Macpherson, who arrived on the political cartooning scene in the 1950s is highlighted. Macpherson is believed to be "the best political cartoonist that Canada has produced" (Desbarats and Mosher 146). He was the catalyst for the second wave, bringing a new approach to the relationship among political cartoonists, politicians, and the public (Berton, My Times 154). With issues like the Quiet Revolution, national unity, the October Crisis, the referendum, and the lengthy and influential reign of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Macpherson's contributions to the artistic field are viewed in their historical context.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Canadian cartooning came to a hiatus in its development. Cartoons on editorial pages were "polite little adornments" (Desbarats and Mosher 20). Political circumstances were such that a Liberal government had been in power in Ottawa since before the Second World War under the leadership, for the majority of that time, of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, "a rotund and seemingly lackluster little man whom cartoonists found difficult to caricature" (North 28). His successors Louis St. Laurent and Lester Bowles Person were also notoriously difficult to caricature (North 28). In addition to his physical features, King's "mild and conciliatory approaches to governing challenged a cartoonist's skills with only the most talented artists succeeding" (North 28). In contrast, Diefenbaker and Trudeau had distinctive

physiognomies and leadership styles that were "a caricaturist's dream" (North 29).

Canada entered the Second World War on 10 September 1939. The war was a continuation of the lull that had begun early in the 1930s in Canadian cartooning. In the face of the chaos of war, the ability of humourists to boost the morale of both enlisted personnel and those on the home front was recognized. Nevertheless, it was a mere shadow of the original role of the court jester, lacking in the punch and poignancy that could be provided in terms of social and political commentary. Canadian involvement would last for six years, and the cartoonists' part was often seen as that of propagandist (Desbarats and Mosher 106). This shift in role from critic to supporter is a phenomenon that had been present in the subculture of caricaturists since Gilray and Daumier and continued throughout the Second World War.

According to the Canadian Museum of Caricature, Canadian newspapers relied heavily upon editorial cartoons to comment on the events and issues of the Second World War (3: 6). Papers like The Toronto Star, with cartoonist Les Callan, and The Montreal Gazette, with its cartoonist John Collins, not only addressed overseas concerns but also reflected on such homefront issues as the Japanese in Canada, conscription, and price controls (see fig. 31 148).

With its participation in the Second World War now a reality, the country again faced the decision to conscript members of the Canadian public; once again, the English and the French approached this dilemma from different perspectives (Desbarats and Mosher 108). This was a most divisive issue. The electorate in Québec was outraged when King asked to be released from his pledge not to conscript (Granatstein et al. 390). There were no such problems in English-Canada, where the Tories and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being obliged to support King. The result was a great national split as virtually all French-Canadians voted in a plebiscite on 27 April 1942, not to release the government from its pledge, whereas the great majority of English-Canadians voted yes (Granatstein et al. 390).

King was now in a position to call for conscription but at the risk of dividing the

country (Granatstein et al. 390). His solution was one that is still referred to when politicians find themselves in similar public binds. The National Resources Mobilization Act would take as many overseas conscripts as possible, but conscription would never be enforced unless, and until, it was necessary to do so. "Not necessarily conscription, the prime minister told a bewildered and bemused House of Commons and nation, but conscription if necessary" (Granatstein et al. 390). It was this kind of Canadian compromise that kept King comfortably in office until his death in 1948.

In 1942, King made another popular decision in regard to Canada's role in the war. Under the War Measures Act and the Defense of Canada Regulations, over 23, 000 Japanese-Canadians, the majority from British Columbia, "were rounded up and confined" (Granatstein et al. 387). According to these scholars, this move was a result of widespread panic sparked by the Japanese attack on Hawaii and that "there were instant demands from federal, provincial and municipal politicians of all parties, the newspapers, alarmed citizens groups, and eventually the army, navy and air staff in British Columbia that Ottawa do something" (387). Despite the fact that the federal government was repeatedly told by its intelligence officials that the Japanese-Canadians posed no threat, "there was scarcely a voice raised in their defence anywhere in Canada" (Granatstein et al. 387).

During the war, magazines and newspapers were created to keep up the morale of enlisted soldiers as well as the general public. Les Callan worked for the Canadian Army newspaper, The Maple Leaf, from 1942 until 1945. He drew a series entitled "Monty and Johnny," which portrayed the hardships and predicaments of ordinary Canadian soldiers in France (Desbarats and Mosher 118). According to the Canadian Museum of Caricature, Callan had a lengthy career with The Toronto Star, producing more than 5,000 cartoons (3: 6). William Coughlin, whose pen name was Bing, drew cartoons from the Italian front that portrayed Canadian troops in various situations; Merle Tingley, whose pen name was Ting, joined the army and worked as a draftsman for two wartime publications, Khaki and The Maple Leaf (Desbarats and Mosher 23, 251). Tingley would later draw for The London Free Press and would include a mascot, Luke Worm, in his work. Stew Cameron

also enlisted in the Canadian army during the Second World War and served as a foot soldier while doing some cartooning for various military publications (Desbarats and Mosher 86).

The war inspired cartooning galleries and periodical publications. During the early years of the war, Jack Boothe produced two books of cartoons under the guidance of The Vancouver Daily Province (Desbarats and Mosher 230). Boothe would go on to cartoon for The Globe and Mail, being the first cartoonist to win the National Newspaper Award for cartooning when it was established by the Toronto Press Club in 1949 (The Canadian Centre for Caricature 1: 6). Like Tingley, Boothe had a mascot hidden in his work. It was reported that if the cartoonist "ever forgot to include his owl in his cartoons, or hid it too cunningly from readers to find easily, the newsroom would ring with calls inquiring about the owl's absence" (The Canadian Centre for Caricature 1: 6).

Apart from magazines that the defence department issued and the official documentation commissioned under the Canadian War Records program, some artwork examined the conflict from a different perspective. Topping the list of such works are the sketches of Molly Lamb Bobak, which she created as part of her personal war diary. The caricatures and cartoons included in her diary gave a lively and "often hilarious account of her experiences in the [CWAC] Canadian Women's Army Corps" (see fig. 32 149; Richmond 25).

Bobak came into prominence as the first female war artist to be sent to Europe to document the contributions of the CWAC (Richmond 25). She enlisted in the organization in the late fall of 1942 and remained in the service until the spring of 1946.

Canadian cartoonists, by and large, were supportive during times of crisis. During the First and Second World Wars, they reserved much of the typical skepticism associated with their trade and drew what was in the best interests of the public good, namely, the unity and stability of the country (Desbarats and Mosher 82). The idea that the country was at war and that it already had an external enemy was enough to tame many cartoonists who had lived through the First World War; the same can be said of the economic hardships that accompanied the Depression.

THE TURN: A RESURGENCE IN CANADIAN EDITORIAL CARTOONING

Newspapers remained in a state of decline in the 1950s and early 1960s with less tenacity and daring than at the turn of the century but a regeneration was on the horizon. This was critical to Canadian cartoonists because newspapers, not weekly journal publications, as was the case in the nineteenth century, were now the primary information-carrying conduits (Hynds 55). From the arrangement and balance of columns to use of pictures, choice and size of typeface, the design of headlines, and consistency of style, changes were evident (Hutt and James 34). This period marked the beginning of a major shift in the appearance of newspapers, a move away from the traditional grey column style that had been the staple of the industry. The traditional vertical newspaper look was a product of technology as well as the social and cultural norms of the time. It was "assumed newspaper buyers would read everything in the paper front to back, so position was unimportant"(Morton 48). However, with competing media and an increased pace of life, white space, or space that provided a visual break from the traditional column style, was necessary to attract readers who were not going to read the paper from cover to cover. Slowly, publishers and editors moved toward headlines that directed readers to important war stories and national issues of the day. The newspaper customer was being lead by the eye, and big banner headlines became common, especially in newspaper battles that emerged in big cities (Silverman 16).

The dramatic use of white space did not come without a price. Although effective in drawing a reader's interest to one particular area, creating balance and increasing the esthetic value of a page, the accompanying white space and illustrations, such as editorial cartoons that created these breaks in the text, took up more room. Instead of the dozen stories that could be featured on the broadsheet front page, only eight could be placed in an esthetically pleasing manner (Morton 48). Space was at a premium, and nowhere was it more evident than on editorial pages. These pages, considered to be the heart of the paper, reflected the views of newspaper editors, columnists, and readers. Traditionally, they were the most static of any of the pages in the newspaper, the assumption being that credibility could be called into question as a result of "flashy displays" (Morton 48).

According to Morton, publishers also realized that they needed to include "intelligent humour" to spark interest in the editorial page (48). This market-driven rationale was paramount to the success of the newspapers and directly related to the resurgence in cartooning. There were many technical rules that layout experts employed in order to make the newspaper more visually appealing. One contemporary example is that one must never trap white space between two text-based paragraphs or columns, which is why most cartoons are situated in the upper right-hand corner of the opinion page.

The artist themselves were also changing. "Political cartoonists of the 1950s saw themselves as a lively and ornery group. This was in turn lead by fresh new faces. They saw their duty in the tradition of early cartoon heroes like Thomas Nast, as the tearing down and shaking up of the opposition" (Handelman 141). J. D. Weaver described the editorial cartoonist of the second wave as "an impudent, irreverent, highly opinionated individualist who can flourish only in an environment hospitable to dissent" (72), and Scott Long asserts "cartoonists must be strong and controversial to be good" (57).

Duncan Macpherson, of The Toronto Star, was not the only skilled craftsman who was at the forefront of the resurgence of editorial cartooning in the 1950s. There were others, like Robert LaPalme of Le Devoir and Len Norris of The Vancouver Sun, who also contributed to recording the political and social history of the years from the 1940s to the 1980s. "Within a few years, changing political conditions and the influence of a new generation of cartoonists drastically altered this slump leading to a resurgence," and "at a time when everyone least expected it, Canadian cartooning experienced a Renaissance" (Desbarats and Mosher 20). Different names, ideas, and styles began to appear on the editorial pages of major newspapers in Canada as cartoonists began to explore new territories created by political events and changing public tastes.

During the 1950s and 1960s, according to Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, Robert LaPalme was the leading cartoonist in French Canada and one of the few cartoonists with some reputation outside the country (100). They indicate that LaPalme was approached by supporters of Québec's Union Nationale government in 1956 and offered $50, 000 if he would do something publicly to support the cause in the

forthcoming election (100). When the bribe was offered, LaPalme was working for Le Devoir "to defeat a reactionary and corrupt Québec government headed by Premier Maurice Duplessis" (Desbarats and Mosher 101). "It was significant that the Québec public came to appreciate a cartoonist whose drawings were unconventional and whose political views were radical" (see fig. 33 150; Desbarats and Mosher 102). This was a shift from the illustrations the country had been accustomed to. LaPalme's interest in the collection, display, exposure, and preservation of exceptional cartoons lead him to establish Montreal's Annual International Salon of Caricature and Cartoon in 1963, which still attracts worldwide participation.

In a letter written to the author, national archivist Jim Burant points out that like LaPalme, Len Norris has been a gifted cartoonist with a poignant message. In fact, he has been considered the funniest cartoonist in the country and among the most popular. According to the Canadian Centre for Caricature, Norris was hired by the Royal Canadian Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Division to act as editor of their publication during the Second World War (1: 6). Norris returned to Toronto, where he became an art director for Maclean-Hunter publications. One of his interests was caricaturing British Royalty. By the time George VI was crowned in 1937, much of the traditional interest in Royal caricatures had disappeared, but Norris can be credited with leading a resurgence in caricatures of the royal family. Prince Phillip owns a Norris cartoon that was inspired by his visit to Vancouver in 1954 to open the British Empire Games.

Since 1950, when Norris joined The Vancouver Sun, he has presented himself as a social cartoonist rather than a political one, but he has dealt indirectly with Canadians' political attitudes by providing a different spin on the traditional medium. Norris employs the "common man" connection, using cartoons that have a distinctive regional culture as vehicles to caricature and expressing underlying national attitudes toward current events. As political, social, and racial tension increased in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, Norris's cartooning style often became simpler and his message more serious (see fig. 34 151; Desbarats and Mosher 129).

In this century, LaPalme in Québec, Macpherson in Ontario, and Norris in British

Columbia have helped to bridge the gap that had been created by the twenty-year lull; others realized that a change was taking place and assisted in the directional shift of the cartooning field. James G. Reidford was the editorial cartoonist for The Montreal Star from 1941 to 1951 and for The Globe and Mail from 1951 until 1972 (Desbarats and Mosher 118). In a 1958 interview, Reidford stated that "Canadian cartooning is going through a renaissance period right now" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 119).

The great Canadian cartoonists of the 1950s and 1960s, such as LaPalme, Norris, and Macpherson, were joined by "a new generation of artists with new voices and concepts, with innovative techniques and imaginative symbolism, some even conceptual and surrealistic, that placed them in the company of their most vibrant precursors" (Robinson 9). Although the exact timing of the comeback of Canadian cartooning is impossible to quantify to any exact degree, the "1960s were a time of rapid change in social conventions and political upheaval in Canada," and the new face of cartooning reflected that change (Desbarats and Mosher 145).

Conversely, in the United States, "the cartoon made something of a comeback in the 1970s," when editorial cartoonists "grew more vigorous in their attacks on public officials" in the wake of political events such as Watergate. The genre was shifting toward the "daring, which meant that everyone had to take one step closer to the edge of the cliff" (Nelson, Cartooning 1). Canadian cartoonists developed their talents during this period. Duncan Macpherson was one of those cartoonists.

DUNCAN MACPHERSON: THE CLOWN PRINCE OF CANADIAN CARTOONING

Macpherson has been considered the leading spirit of the rebirth in Canadian cartooning. He referred to his space on the editorial page as "a platform to yell back at the machine" (Desbarats and Mosher 20). Born in Toronto in 1924, the year after Bengough died, Duncan Ian Macpherson once covered the walls and ceiling of his room with cartoons.

According to a letter from Dorothy Macpherson, widow of the cartoonist, both of Macpherson's parents were creative individuals who encouraged rather than discouraged their son's artistic pursuits. Duncan Macpherson attended North Toronto Collegiate Institute and, briefly, Central Technical School in Toronto (personal communication, 27 May 1997). In 1942, at the age of seventeen, he enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force, serving in the Second World War until 1946. He pursued his artistic interest abroad, studying in England at the London Polytechnic while packing bombs. Macpherson's artistic endeavours lead him to the Boston Museum School of Fine Arts (personal communication, 27 May 1997). His art history and literary studies would move him to use quotations from Swift, Burns, Lewis Carroll, William Gilbert, Robert Service, and many others in his cartoons (Desbarats and Mosher 156). He also liked to locate out-of-the-way quotations and obscure references, a practice both Gillray and Nast employed. Before completing his course requirements, Macpherson had to return to Toronto when his father died.

In order to finish his studies, he enrolled at the Ontario College of Art. While at the college, Macpherson was offered a freelance job with the weekly Montreal Standard to replace the late Jimmy Frise as illustrator of the Gregory Clark stories. The illustrations for the Clark stories caught the eye of Pierre Berton, then the managing editor of Maclean's. Berton wrote in his autobiography, My Times: Living with History 1947-1995, that Macpherson was a "young artist of such awe-inspiring ability that I suspected at any moment one of the Toronto newspapers would steal him as a political cartoonist" (43). Berton, a frustrated cartoonist himself, offered Macpherson a job at Maclean's, and Macpherson accepted (Desbarats and Mosher 148).

In an interview on May 28, 1997, Berton explained how shortly after hiring Macpherson, he [Berton] took a job as advisor to The Toronto Star's editorial board. The editor, Beland Honderich, was determined to turn the "wild and woolly" Star into a "responsible and objective paper." According to Berton, Honderich actually asked for his advice in hiring an editorial cartoonist. Macpherson was apparently interested in the job with The Star but was opposed to providing sample drawings. "Macpherson, why was he,

a professional artist, being asked to audition" joked Berton during the interview, but Honderich insisted on viewing some trial drawings. With some conjoling, Macpherson finally agreed and arrived with his cartoons a few days later.

Berton wishes that he had kept the comments about the test cartoons made by some of the members of the editorial board. They wrote that Macpherson knew nothing of drafting cartoons or political humour (Berton, My Times 154). The mixed reviews resulted in a conflict as to whether to hire the cartoonist. Berton stepped in to advise that Macpherson's cartoons would be in the best interests of the paper, and "Macpherson went on to be the greatest political cartoonist in North America" (154).

The account of how Duncan Macpherson actually acquired his job at The Star reveals much more than the fact that in 1958 he started working for the largest newspaper in Canada. It was the beginning of a relationship that would lead to much success for Macpherson and, in turn, for the paper. It also meant a shift in the dynamics between editor and cartoonist that would send reverberations throughout the newspaper industry.

Macpherson became a high-profile cartoonist whom Canadians would instantly associate with The Star. He won six National Newspaper Awards for his editorial cartooning during his career. His combination of humour and artistic ability saw him receive the Order of Canada and the Queen Elizabeth Jubilee Medal. Macpherson was made a fellow of the Ontario College of Art and was named to the News Hall of Fame. Collections of his cartoons are in the National Archives of Canada, the Boston Public Library, the Art Gallery of Ontario, and The Star's archives (Dorothy Macpherson, personal communication, 30 May 1997).

Macpherson's rise to fame began shortly after he began working for the paper. In 1958, Macpherson unleashed one of his most poignant cartoons, the Marie Antoinette-Diefenbaker cartoon, which cried "Let them eat cake!" (see fig. 35 152; Berton, My Times 154). Just as Sir John A. Macdonald had played a profound role as the catalyst for many of J. W. Bengough's political cartooning, John George Diefenbaker provided Macpherson with a political subject into whom he could sink his pen. In 1957, the people of Canada elected Diefenbaker and his Tories to a minority government. In 1958,

however, Diefenbaker won the second-largest majority, 208 seats, in history.

The caricature was the foundation of most of Macpherson's cartoons. With the Marie Antoinette-Diefenbaker cartoon, Macpherson gained instant status, but the cartoonist once said that he agreed with the political decision that inspired the cartoon, namely, Prime Minister Diefenbaker's resolution to scrap Canada's Avro Arrow military jet and 1,500 jobs in favour of buying US aircraft. However, he disagreed with Diefenbaker's attitude (Desbarats and Mosher 146). Pierre Berton believes it "was the beginning, I think of the country's disillusionment with the Diefenbaker government. Until then scarcely anybody had taken a crack at the Prime Minister" (My Times 154). According to Berton, the modern Canadian public has now forgotten the reverence that reflected his stunning victory at the polls, and with a few strokes of his pen, Macpherson had demolished the image. The reverence was also a vestige of the 1930s and 1940s, an aura that politicians had maintained for making difficult decisions in a difficult period in Canada's history.

When Diefenbaker unveiled his official portrait in the House of Commons in 1968, he expressed the hope that "it would erase the memory of countless comic and cruel caricatures done of him over the years" (North 29). At best, the relationship between a prime minister and a cartoonist is naturally an ambiguous one, and Diefenbaker was a prime minister who, at times, took exception to the attention. According to Susan North, he threatened to sue Maclean's in 1965 over a Lewis Parker cartoon (see fig. 36 153; 28). The offending image presented Pearson and Diefenbaker as First World War combatants, with Diefenbaker drawn as a German soldier. A military theme for political opponents was one used frequently in political caricature (North 29). However, Diefenbaker, who served with the Canadian army in 1916, was sensitive about his German ancestry. The issue was settled out of court, and Maclean's printed an apology. As long as Diefenbaker was in public life, Macpherson portrayed him as Charles I, Nero, the Cheshire Cat, Captain Ahab, the Red Queen, and Batman, just to name a notable few (Desbarats and Mosher 132).

With his newfound success and recognition, Macpherson was able to bargain for a

greater degree of independence than any previous newspaper cartoonist had achieved in Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 148). According to Desbarats and Mosher, in 1968, he earned an annual salary of $11,000, making him the highest paid cartoonist in the country. However, it was not just the money that interested Macpherson, it was the editorial independence. Macpherson established a new ground rule for all political cartoonists in Canada to follow: "Never give an editor an even break" (Desbarats and Mosher 148).

Before Macpherson, most cartoonists were part of an editorial team attending meetings and frequently illustrating ideas suggested by others. In her letter of 27 May 1997, Dorothy Macpherson says her husband did not attend meetings with any frequency and did not take suggestions on the subject matter of his cartoons from anyone.

In February of 1959, Pierre Berton, advisor to The Star, took a brief holiday. He says that when he returned, he noticed that there were no Macpherson cartoons featured in the newspaper. Macpherson was not sick or vacationing; he just wanted to draw only three cartoons a week instead of five, plus he wanted to go to Castro's Cuba to do some sketches for the paper. When his demands were not met, Macpherson walked into Honderich's office with a box of celebratory cigars and announced he was quitting (Berton, personal communication, 28 May 1997).

According to Berton, he convinced Honderich that three Macpherson cartoons a week were better than none, so Honderich agreed to the terms and allowed Berton to offer Macpherson his job back. Berton recalls "his brilliant drawings from Cuba," which were widely praised (Berton, My Times 155). Macpherson travelled for The Star and drew "on-the-spot" news of world events in France, China, and Russia. Macpherson also travelled within Canada. In 1969, he completed a collection of water colours, etchings, and drawings entitled Macpherson's Canada, which were a departure from his cutting cartoons (Brehl 3). He "set out over four summers to draw as many people of Canada as he could: sophisticates, cosmopolitans, yahoos, old craftsmen, new technologists," the majority of whom were average Canadians "doing what they do" (Brehl 3). Macpherson intended his book as a "token gesture to re-introduce ourselves to each other" (Brehl 3).

MACPHERSON: A NEW TENACITY AND INTENSITY

According to Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, despite Macpherson's success and his ability to obtain "a high level of political satire," his style often came as quite a shock to an unsuspecting public (see fig. 37 154; 146), and the initial "reaction to Macpherson's cartoons was that they were cruel" (148). The cartoonist saw himself and his work as honest rather than cruel. He stated that "as political cartoonists, it is our job to heckle and to guard against the wrongness in public life," although he was always quick to point out that he had no great social conscience but personal beefs that needed expression (149).

Observing the success Macpherson was enjoying, others began to emulate and imitate his style. In an interview with Patrick Corrigan, full-time cartoonist at The Toronto Star, he says that Macpherson is one of his heroes. "I love his style and took it to heart " (personal communication, 13 May 1997). Corrigan fulfilled the role of staff illustrator at The Star and would substitute for Macpherson during his vacations. "Cartooning was at a very safe level when he [Macpherson] came along," explained Corrigan, but Andy Donato believes that Macpherson was drawing "tomorrow's cartoons today" (Corrigan, personal communication, 13 May 1997; Donato, personal communication, 14 May 1997).

"When you look back at them now they don't seem so innovative, but they were" (Donato, personal communication, 14 May 1997). Donato, who has been an editorial cartoonist for twenty-six years, attributes his start to Duncan Macpherson. A talented draftsman in his own right, Donato when on to say that he "was so impressed with his [Macpherson's] work I copied some of his stuff." The Toronto Sun cartoonist describes Macpherson as extremely intelligent. He was always helpful to other cartoonists when sober, "but if he didn't like you, when he was drunk you had to be careful" (personal communication, 14 May 1997).

The tenacity behind Macpherson's cartoons had much to do with his complex personality and the duality of his life. Macpherson had "a Jekyll-and-Hyde character- a mild-mannered and gentle companion when sober, a raging bull when not" (Berton, My Times 155). Banned from the Toronto Press Club for life three times, he has been

described by those closest to him as an individual who had an unerring and honest instinct and who was fearless in acting upon it.

The same Macpherson performed one of his favorite Press Club tricks, "which according to legend, was seeing how far he could toss a heavy armchair with one hand" (Desbarats and Mosher 148). Macpherson has also been described as a meticulous researcher who combines his classical background in art and literature with his identification with the common man, as portrayed through his John Q. Public figure (Dorothy Macpherson, personal communications, 27 May 1997).

Making generalizations about Macpherson's personality is as risky as making generalizations about his cartoons. His work varied in style, mood, and intent, as did his personality. In the final analysis, Macpherson has uniformly been described as a perfectionist who "stood head and shoulders above anybody else in North America" but who also set incredibly high standards for his fellow cartoonists and, in doing so, increased the quality of the field in Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 146).

Macpherson, like Bengough, produced cartoons reflecting the social and political concerns of his day. He focused on topics such as Vietnam, poverty, racial discrimination, the threat of nuclear warfare, Watergate, and political terrorism. Diefenbaker was not Macpherson's only subject during the cartoonist's years. Robert Stanfield, successor to the Chief, "stumbled through years of Macpherson's cartoons as an Ichabod Crane" (see fig. 38 155; Desbarats and Mosher 153). Among international figures, Macpherson saved some of his harshest cartoons for Charles de Gaulle, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon (Desbarats and Mosher 153).

Pierre Trudeau arrived on the political scene ten years after Diefenbaker was elected and ten years after Macpherson had established himself as a prominent cartoonist. "Even a cartoonist of Macpherson's originality and skill periodically shows signs of exhaustion" (Desbarats and Mosher 156). At the beginning of his career, Macpherson had been considered controversial, but by 1974, the cartoonist stated, "I'm not a boat-rocker anymore" (Desbarats and Mosher 156). Despite Macpherson's "decline in passion," he personally experienced a resurgence with a subject of Trudeau's stature.

According to Anthony Westell, "Many books have been written, but in my research, a surprising amount [is] dedicated in cartoon form or using cartoons as a visual crutch to delineate different aspect of his [Trudeau's] life" (5). A survey of the prime ministerial cartoons in the National Archives indicates that the long-serving Trudeau is the subject of over 4,000 cartoons (North 28).

A cartoonist who contributed to the National Archives collection is Roy Peterson. The first chapter of Drawn & Quartered: The Trudeau Years, a cartooning collection by Roy Peterson with text by Peter C. Newman, is entitled "The Man We Loved to Hate." Newman contends that "Trudeau put us [Canada] on the map" and "his candor, his intellectual curiosity, his nose-thumbing at the staid traditions of this country's highest political office qualified him as our first existential political hero: the man with the red rose in his buttonhole, the guy who finally rescued us from the age of Mackenzie King" (7).

Born on 18 October 1919, in Montreal, Trudeau was trained by Jesuits and driven by shyness and insecurities, developing austere, almost ascetic, personal habits (Bliss 247). Pierre Trudeau has been "a professor as well as a playboy, a millionaire who, in 1949, stood by the workers against the strike-breaking police of Duplessis, and a civil-libertarian lawyer who invoked the War Measures Act in October 1970" (McIlory 11). After Trudeau became Prime Minister in 1968, Macpherson was still struggling to refine him in caricature. Gradually, he adopted a variation of the de Gaulle treatment. Macpherson's caricatures depicted Trudeau as Napoleon, Nero, Oliver Cromwell, and even as the first Emperor of Canada (see fig. 39 156). However, Macpherson seemed to lack both the exasperation and the grudging admiration that had animated his caricatures of Diefenbaker (Desbarats and Mosher 154). Depicted as a "swinging bachelor," Trudeau married Margaret Sinclair in 1971, and together, they had three sons. Politically, Trudeau became obsessed with the unity question, often meeting with stiff opposition.

Next to Trudeau, Réné Lévêsque became the Canadian cartoonist's second source of inspiration during this time period (see fig. 40 157). Macpherson's treatment of Lévêsque showed a similar uncertainty at the start, but he adopted the device of dressing him up as a member of the 1870 Paris Commune. "Racial animosity in Canada is

expressed almost as clearly in some of Macpherson's cartoons as it was in the work of nineteenth-century cartoonists in Canada" (Desbarats and Mosher 155). His caricatures of Lévêsque as a Parisian revolutionary harkened back to Gillray in the eighteenth century. Just as Gillray had expressed horror at the excesses of the French Revolution, Macpherson illustrated the scorn of English-Canada toward Québec nationalism (Desbarats and Mosher 155).

The Québec Sovereignty Association question hung in the air occupying much of the 1979 federal election. Coupled with these constitutional concerns, the personal affairs of the Prime Minister opened other possibilities for Canadian political cartoonists. No marriage in prime ministerial history had been in the public eye as much as this one. It provided an element of political commentary and report rarely employed in Canada previous to Pierre Trudeau. The fairy tale ended, with Margaret leaving 24 Sussex Drive and promptly publishing an intimate autobiography that went on sale during the 1979 federal election campaign (Desbarats and Mosher 163).

Trudeau claimed that he was the only public figure capable of dealing with Québec during the period of its referendum on Sovereignty Association (Desbarats and Mosher 208). However, Canadians did not agree, and on May 22, 1979, Trudeau, Canada's leader for eleven years and survivor of three previous general elections, was defeated by Charles Joseph Clark from High River, Alberta. Clark's success meant that cartoonists were once again faced with a change of the political guard. Clark ended a sixteen-year Liberal reign in Ottawa. There are an incredible number of cartoons caricaturing the physical features of Clark, from the exaggeration of his ears to the stringed mittens (see fig. 41 158) to cartoons attacking his relationship with his wife Maureen McTeer.

After only six months in office, two days after presenting his first budget, Clark faced an NDP nonconfidence motion in the House of Commons. With the small Social Credit caucus abstaining, along with the combined opposition of the Liberal and NDP caucuses, the Conservatives were defeated by a vote of 139 to 133. Parliament was dissolved on 14 December 1979. In Canada's thirty-second general election held on 18 February 1980, Trudeau welcomed Canada to the 1980s (Landes 83).

Clark, like Diefenbaker, was another prime minister who took exception to his treatment by political cartoonists, particularly Duncan Macpherson (North 28). Susan North states that "Clark felt that Macpherson's relentless portrayal of him as a gangly, naive boy had cost him votes in the 1980 election" (29). Clark voiced these concerns publicly in a television interview with Knowlton Nash on December 22, 1980. Cartoonists across the country leapt to Macpherson's defense in the form of a flurry of visual blows to Clark's image (see fig. 42 159; North 30).

Defended, respected, and revered by his peers, Macpherson's cartoons "have everything a good political cartoon should have" (Desbarats and Mosher 156). Often, his images possessed humour that had a real sting, but they also presented political caricatures that revealed the psychological characteristics of politicians "in a sometimes chilling fashion" and critically judged the quality of the leaders' political efforts (Desbarats and Mosher 156). From Diefenbaker to Stanfield, Trudeau, Lévêsque, and Joe Clark, Macpherson depicted his politicians in a manner that was decidedly different from that employed by his predecessors.

By the end of the 1980s, Canadian cartooning had been identified and connected primarily through Bengough and Macpherson. In terms of raw talent, Bengough had a genius for humorous invention but little technical ability, whereas Macpherson had the technical skill, wit, imagination, and subjects of the times to maximize his artistic potential (Desbarats and Mosher 156). Macpherson drew his last cartoon only two months before his death in 1993 (Dorothy Macpherson, letter, 27 May 1997).

The trend established by Macpherson moved editorial cartoonists toward the company of columnists whose opinions do not necessarily reflect the judgment of the editorial pages (Desbarats and Mosher 17). This shift in the cartoonist's role appears to have gone further in Canada than in the United States, where cartoonists are usually tied more closely to the editorial policy of their newspaper" (Devin 2).

ACROSS CANADA, THE HIGH CONTINUES: EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS RIDE THE SECOND WAVE

According to Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, in the late 1970s, there were roughly "twenty-five cartoonists who support[ed] themselves by working for newspapers" in Canada (177). They wrote that during the majority of the second wave, political cartoonists "enjoy[ed] the editorial independence, the salaries and the fame of the most successful newspaper columnists" (177). Members of the Canadian cartooning community were feeling especially positive, and Desbarats and Mosher comment that there was a "consensus within this group that rapid political and social change in Canada and the existence of a stable and prosperous newspaper industry had created unprecedented and even unparalleled opportunities" (177). This optimism was shared by cartoonists throughout the country.

In Western Canada, Len Norris positively influenced cartoonists working in the region at the time. This "perhaps explains why the West has produced a disproportionately large number of "good cartoonists during Norris's career," one of whom was Sid Barron (Desbarats and Mosher 178). From 1937, when he studied alongside Pierre Berton in art classes in Victoria, to 1959, when he joined The Victoria Times, Barron, like Macpherson and Norris, often filled his cartoons with secondary jokes, with titles hanging on walls and books or newspapers casually displaying headlines (Desbarats and Mosher 179). Like Yardley Jones of The Montreal Star, Barron used a cat as a trademark in his cartoons. Barron's ubiquitous Puddytat would often be featured holding up a sign. Many cartoonists in Canada have trademarks or mascots on regular display in their cartoons. In the first wave, J. W. Bengough established this trend with his raven trademark. Arch Dale had a fat little white dog that enjoyed enormous public recognition. Cartoonist Jack Boothe used an owl. Andy Donato also conceals a bird within his drawings as a trademark mascot. A mouse can be found in Al Beaton's cartoons, and another mouse lives in the bottom right-hand corner of Adrian Raeside's. Normand Hudon's hungry vulture was extremely persistent once it became attached to a political figure. From Bengough to Hudon, the

individualism that accompanies a trademark mascot is in keeping with the cartoonists' desire to stand out and be recognized for their work.

According to Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, an individual who does not employ a mascot but is considered "one of the most versatile contemporary cartoonists" is Roy Peterson (180). Peterson began working during the second wave and had many of the same technical abilities as Macpherson, "maintaining something of his savagery while at the same time displaying a sense of fun reminiscent of Bengough" (see fig. 43 160; Desbarats and Mosher 180). Another western cartoonist often considered "tough and radical" for the period was Edd Uluschak. "His cartoons about racial or social discrimination have all the subtlety of a mugging," while his middle-class cartoons dealing with the same subject matter are veiled in heavy symbolism (Desbarats and Mosher 182). In terms of a mascot, Uluschak's venomous cartoons are home to a wise-cracking snake.

On the East Coast, Robert Chambers, who won the National Newspaper Award in 1953 and again in 1966 with his cartoons in The Halifax Chronicle-Herald, would prove to be the first of a group of cartoonists from the Maritimes who would be prominent in the third wave. This group includes Bruce MacKinnon, Kevin Tobin, and Theo Moudakis.

In Ontario, Ed Franklin of The Globe and Mail, Andy Donato of The Toronto Sun, and Blaine of The Hamilton Spectator all made their mark on Canadian cartooning during this second wave. Unlike most, Franklin did not get an early start in the art. He immigrated to Canada at the age of 38 and did not begin cartooning until he was 40. This may account for his distinctive view of Canadian politics (see fig. 44 161). Franklin worked for eighteen months at The Star on Macpherson's days off before joining The Globe as a full-time cartoonist in 1968. In the 1970s, The Sun flourished in Toronto, with cartoonist Andy Donato expressing "the newspaper's irreverent and aggressive posture, particularly in opposition to the Trudeau government" (see fig. 45 162; Desbarats and Mosher 185).

In comparison with other artists in Canada, Québec cartoonists have a unique way of simplifying drawing, often with only one object in the foreground. In Québec, there are rarely the notes, books, signs, furniture, or other elements that one sees in cartoons from

other parts of Canada (Desbarats and Mosher 188). This style appeals to cartoonists emigrating to Canada, such as Roland Pier of Le Journal de Montreal, who came to Canada from France in 1960, and Jean-Pierre Girerd of La Presse, who arrived from Algeria in 1964 (Desbarats and Mosher 188). Girerd stated, "I think that the most important thing is to give a strong idea, and rapidly. The readers of a newspaper are always in a hurry" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 188). To a significant degree, this explains the visual simplicity of the Québec style and has much to do with LaPalme's influence.

In Québec, cartoons dealt primarily with the concerns of the province within the nation in 1965. The separatist views of cartoonist Roland Berthiaume at Le Devoir "created irreconcilable differences between himself and the federalist editor of the newspaper, Claude Ryan" (Desbarats and Mosher 187). Raoul Hunter, who had been with Le Soleil since 1969, also criticized terrorist action and faced condemnation from the members of the journalist union at Le Soleil (Desbarats and Mosher 189). He maintained his right to make an independent judgment of events and continued to produce cartoons, stating that "a cartoonist is charged with making people laugh, but more than that, to make them reflect on certain things" (qtd. in Desbarats and Mosher 189). Terry Mosher has long been considered a major star on the Québec cartooning scene. Mosher believes he has a "point of view like a columnist and you're damn well going to treat me that way, or I'm not going to work for you" (Desbarats and Mosher 191). It should be noted that several other promising Canadian cartoonists took their first steps toward prominence during this second wave. Artists such as Dale Cummings, Mike Constable, Tony Jenkins, Brian Gable, Cameron Cardow, Guy Badeaux, John Larder, Vance Rodewalt, Adrian Raeside, Raffi Anderian, and Sue Dewar all began to express themselves at this time, much in the same fashion as Terry Mosher. Canadian editorial cartooning was riding the resurgence of the second wave. The individuals involved in the art were experimenting and developing derivations on the themes of cartooning constructed a century early. The Canadian political cartooning path had been paved, but there were legal, financial, and technical bumps to be navigated on the road ahead.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE THIRD WAVE: FILLING IN THE SKETCH

The third wave has encompassed the last eighteen years of cartooning activity. Much has changed over the course of this time in terms of the artists' parameters, subject matter on which to create satire, and day-to-day aspects of being employed as editorial cartoonists. This study reviews the connection between cartoonists and circumstances by using issue-based examples from the third wave. This study then goes a step further to examine politicians and their views on cartooning, with some interesting revelations on the impact of the art. Given the opportunity of the 1997 federal election, a content analysis of three Toronto-based newspapers --The Toronto Sun, The Toronto Star, and The Globe and Mail-- offers tangible examples of the tripartite relationship among the public, politicians, and political cartoonists. The third and final portion of chapter five includes an examination of technology, including a summary of current newspaper circulation numbers as well as the influences of television and the Internet. In this section, an investigation of the concerns that face modern Canadian editorial cartoonists includes media concentration, downsizing in the newspaper industry, the price of freelance material, syndication, and the dumbing down of Canadian editorial cartoons.

POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE THIRD WAVE

The year 1980 did not mark the end of the Trudeau era nor the century-long concern surrounding Canada's national identity. On 17 April 1982, after two years of intense political conflict between the federal and provincial governments and one hundred and fifteen years after Confederation, Canada became an independent nation. "The proclamation of the 1982 Constitutional Act by Queen Elizabeth II in Ottawa also added a Charter of Rights and a series of amending formulas to the existing Canadian Constitution (Landes 4).

On 29 February 1984, Trudeau announced his intention to retire. Given that 1984 was a leap year, some critics and cartoonists assume that "the date was chosen to prevent an annual celebration of the blessed event" (Landes 4). The departure of Trudeau meant that Canadian cartoonists would face a different cast of characters in federal politics. At the June 1984 convention, John Turner defeated Jean Chrétien for the leadership of the Liberal party. During this period, cartoonists reflected varying views through their cartoons, depending largely on the region in which they worked, their newspapers' political leanings, and their own personal feelings on this shift of power. With his retirement, Trudeau became the subject of dozens of personal and political summary texts, many of which included caricatures.

However, the Liberals' place in the polls was not enough to alter the Conservatives' rise to power. On 4 September 1984, lead by the "relatively unknown Brian Mulroney," who had replaced Joe Clark in June of 1983, the Conservatives won a convincing majority. Mulroney achieved the largest party win in Canada history, an unpredictable election victory, the first Conservative majority government in twenty-five years. The Tories won 211 out of 282 seats in the House of Commons (Landes 4).

On 30 April 1987, according to Ronald Landes, "much to the surprise of Canadians," the first ministers announced an initial, unanimous decision on yet another new constitutional agreement for Canada. The effort was primarily the result of trying to bring Québec back into the Canadian constitutional family, since it was the only province that did not sign the 1982 Canada Act" (4). The proposed Constitution Act of 1987, popularly know as the Meech Lake accord, recognized Québec as a distinct society (Landes 4).

The following 1988 federal election focused on the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, which eliminated tariff barriers and imposed some limits to nontariff barriers. As with any trade agreement, there were sharp differences of opinion about the consequences (Granatstein et al. 514). The majority of economists and prominent businesspeople supported the move because it offered some assurance of wider access to American markets, but critics argued that access was not assured and that the proposed

economic benefits were illusory (Granatstein et al. 514). At the beginning of the talks, neither side suggested that the impact on trade or employment would be dramatic. Not unlike the Laurier reciprocity issue, free trade became more than a debate over economic consequences and evolved into a debate over Canadian identity.

"When the election of 1988 was called, no one expected a one-issue campaign" (Granatstein et al. 514). The government intended to run on its record, with an emphasis on prosperity, financial responsibility, Meech Lake, and the free trade agreement. The opposition parties hoped to capitalize on the excesses of government patronage and ministerial conflicts of interest, environmental and welfare issues, and the free-trade agreement (Granatstein et al. 514).

During a television debate, John Turner accused Mulroney of having negotiated an agreement that "endangered Medicare and other welfare policies, and one that would undermine Canada's regional economic policies and limit public support in the future of Canadian cultural activities" (qtd. in Granatstein et al. 514). Many Canadians took these allegations seriously, and the cartoons of the day reflected some of those concerns (see fig. 46 163). The slogan "It's more than an election; it's your future" crept into the Liberal campaign, echoing the cries of 'Continentalism or Canadianism' at the beginning of the century. In this election, the Conservatives retained power by winning 169 seats, marking the first time since Sir John A. Macdonald that the party had won back-to-back majorities.

On 22 June 1990, after months of political debate and negotiations among the first ministers and the general public, "the Meech Lake accord died when the Newfoundland legislature refused to take a vote on the matter" (Landes 4). French-English relations were seriously damaged "perhaps irreparably, as support for Sovereignty-Association grew in Québec" (Landes 4). Kim Campbell succeeded Brian Mulroney as leader of the Conservative party but stepped down on 13 December 1993 after suffering catastrophic losses in the 1993 Canadian federal election. Jean Charest stepped in as interim leader and is the current leader of the Conservative party of Canada. The unity issue would again become a key in 1995 when the Liberal federal government, led by Jean Chretién, was criticized for its dealings with Québec. Sovereignty Association and the movement toward

Québec separation continue to be an issue.

THE PRIME MINISTER: CARTOONS OF THE HIGHEST ORDER

Editorial cartoonists can present an intrusion that is not always welcome to the nation's chief executive (Robinson 6). Conversely, prime ministers admire and often acquire caricatures they like, but they are also sensitive to the image that political satire presents and to what they may feel are overtly personal attacks (North 30). As with many of the elements associated with editorial cartooning, the position of a subject can often be a double-edged sword.

Despite the diversity of characters who have occupied the Office of Prime Minister, there are several conventional ways in which the Office is portrayed. From the autocratic dictator to ineffectual bumbler, the shyster or shady dealer, the cartooning convention can often depend on the issue at hand, the governing style of the leader in question, the cartoonist's personal style and political slant, and each newspaper's approval of a particular portrayal (North 29). It should be noted that history and the political climate globally can also guide the cartoonist in determining what is appropriate. In Laurier's time, the image of a czar called up the required antidemocratic association, whereas a fascist dictator in military uniform sufficed in the post-Second World War period. As the medium evolved, the cartoonists themselves took the lead and established, shaped, and created new conventions within the subjectivity of their art.

The "prime minister as shady dealer" theme manifested itself in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as "the image of the back-room card shark" and in contemporary cartooning as the image of someone associated with organized crime (North 30). The prime minister as captain of the ship is almost a cartooning cliché. Whether it be going down with the ship, walking the plank, drifting in uncharted waters, or mutiny, the variations on this nautical theme are long standing and well-known visual images in the repertoire of editorial cartoonists (see fig. 47 164). This theme has been modified with the advancements in transportation technology to include similar scenarios aboard trains and airplanes (see fig. 48 165).

"The prime minister in drag is another enduring caricature tradition," as observed with the examples of Marie-Antoinette, Little Bo-Peep, or Old Mother Hubbard, who are often associated with elderly spinster aunts or care-worn housewives. Actually having a female politician as Prime Minister presented a challenge, and, by and large, cartoonists have "difficulty adapting the long-established imagery that had developed for predominantly male politicians to the relatively new phenomenon" (North 29).

With the succession of Kim Campbell, cartoonists experienced a paradigm shift in terms of presentation (North 29). They often portrayed her dressed in power suits, so it is difficult to assess whether or not Canadian cartoonists really made the switch from male to female subject matter. Jan Brown, former Member of Parliament for Calgary Southeast, has explored the connection between female politicians and Canadian cartoonists. According to Brown, much of the representation has to do with power (23). The fact that Campbell was often portrayed as a male-dominated political puppet, as illustrated by the example of the Prime Minister as a ventriloquist's dummy seated on Mulroney's lap, is the other side to the representation of a female in federal politics (see fig. 49 166).

Jan Brown is quick to point out that more female political cartoonists would "not necessarily make a difference in the exposure of female politicians" (personal communication, 6 June 1997). Regardless, only 4% of the members of the Canadian Association for Editorial Cartoonists are female, but 41% of newspaper employees overall and 32% of executives and managers are women (National Newspaper Association 24), which begs the question of low female representation in editorial cartooning.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the reason for the lack of female representation within Canadian editorial cartooning. However, speculation might lead to three possibilities. First, the editorial cartooning tradition has been male dominated not only in Canada but in the rest of the world as well, rendering it a difficult career to access. Second, cartooning has often been perceived as a "highly critical job" that is designed to decipher political situations and lampoon them relentlessly (Brown 30). The stereotype may have been that women could not comprehend and communicate effectively using cartoons in a male-dominated political arena that they would need to mirror in their work.

Third, over the course of the second wave, when a record number of women were selecting full-time careers outside the home, staff cartooning positions were hard to come by. They were usually occupied by individuals who had served overseas and had proven their skills in the 1930s and 1940s as being reliable and abiding.

Through the 1980s and into the 1990s, the range of prime ministerial themes, namely, attacks on the personal lives of politicians and the issues they represented, has remained and may have even increased in tenacity. With all the cartooning attention prime ministers receive, one would think that there would be some record of libel action against cartoonists; however, in Canadian history, there has never been a libel suit waged over a political or editorial cartoon in which the plaintiff is a prime minster. In 1979, the first major Canadian court case involving a cartoonist took place, and the findings would alter media libel law considerably (Robinson 7).

WILLIAM VANDER ZALM: A FLY IN THE OINTMENT

On 16 January 1979, a case came before the British Columbia Supreme Court and Justice Craig Munroe. The plaintiff, William Vander Zalm, was a member of the provincial legislature and the Minister of Human Resources in the government of British Columbia and a politician who would become premier of British Columbia in the 1980s. He claimed damages for an alleged libel contained in the 22 June 1978 issue of The Victoria Times daily newspaper. The newspaper had a circulation of approximately 31,000 at that time (Western Weekly Reports 673). Alongside the cartoon was an actual photograph of the politician as part of a reprinted editorial criticizing Vander Zalm's statements and policies. It is apparent that the cartoon exaggerated the facial features of the plaintiff.

On trial were Robert Bierman, who drew the cartoon that was alleged to be libelous, along with the editor and the publisher of the Times. The alleged libel is contained in a cartoon that caricatures the plaintiff "gleefully pulling the wings from flies, with obvious enjoyment, with a tag reading Human Resources upon his chest" (see fig. 50 167; Western Weekly Reports 674). Justice Munroe wrote, "Literally, upon its face, the cartoon depicts the plaintiff as a person with a love of cruelty who enjoyed causing

suffering to defenseless creatures which was a false misrepresentation of the character of the plaintiff" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 674).

The defense pleaded that the cartoon was intended to, and did, depict the plaintiff as a person who, in his role as Minister, acted on occasion in a cruel and thoughtless manner, inflicting suffering on those who were unable to protect their own interests. If Bierman could substantiate his charges, he could plead fair comment, meaning the cartoon was created without malice in the matter of public interest.

According to Justice Munroe, the publisher of a newspaper has no special immunity from the application of general laws, and in the matter of comment, they are in no better or worse a position that any other citizen. He said, "Such laws impose no unreasonable restrictions upon freedom of speech and provide ample scope for lampooning public figures by political cartoonists" (qtd in. Western Weekly Reports 676). Further, he stated that the public has an interest in the maintenance "of the public character of public men, and the law does not sanction attacks up them" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 676).

The judge ruled that after considering it symbolically, allegorically and/or satirically, the cartoon was defamatory because "said false pictorial representation lowered the plaintiff's reputation and standing in the estimation of right-thinking members of society generally by exposing him to hatred, contempt or ridicule" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 676).

The conviction of Bierman and his newspaper shocked cartoonists across the country and provoked a number of cartoons "that pleaded for legal prosecution" in protest of the court's action (Desbarats and Mosher 194). Almost simultaneously, Mosher in Montreal and Uluschak in Edmonton drew cartoons of Vander Zalm pulling the legs off frogs, referring to a 1979 controversy when the same politician had used the term "frogs" to refer to French-speaking Québecois (see fig. 51 168; Desbarats and Mosher 194). Girerd in Montreal went so far as to caricature the real court case (see fig. 52 169; Desbarats and Mosher 194).

Not resigning itself to defeat, the newspaper petitioned the British Columbia Court

of Appeal over the Bierman cartoon case (Martin 143). In a brief prepared in summary of the appeal case, the judges agreed that "most political cartoons have, inherent in their satire, a tendency to lower their subject in the estimation of the public" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 261). Nevertheless, Justice Munroe said that persons accepting public office can expect attack and criticism on the grounds that "the public interest requires that a man's [woman's] public conduct shall be open to the most searching criticism" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 261). Further, the panel stated that the Canadian public has become accustomed to witty cartoons and that this example was coarse (Western Weekly Reports 267). However, they said that "a cartoon can be in bad taste and not be defamatory; mere insult or vulgar abuse have been held not to constitute defamation and it is defamation that is the basis of the respondent's claim" (qtd. in Western Weekly Reports 267).

The Court of Appeal reversed the trial court's decision, holding that "almost by its nature, an editorial cartoon was an expression of opinion" (Martin and Adam, A Sourcebook 143). Having decided that this cartoon was an expression of opinion, it was thus considered fair comment, and the previous ruling was reversed (Martin and Adam, A Sourcebook 143). Robert Martin believes the original trial court decision "made a serious mess out of the Bierman case and very often you see the appellate court decisions go further than they need to in order to correct the really bad trial decisions" (personal communication, 8 July 1997). The decision stands "almost to the extent that all editorial cartoons are expressions of freedom." This is extreme, and it gives editorial cartoonists as "much freedom as they could reasonably ask for" (Martin, personal communication, 8 July 1997). The end result, according to Martin, was that "unless there are any signs of malice, the editorial cartoonists are pretty much free to do whatever they like" legally (personal communication, 8 July 1997).

In this same interview, Martin points out that "where you see libel actions with politicians as plaintiffs is usually municipal politicians." There has always been a kind of unwritten rule about political culture in this country, with the exception of Brian Mulroney and William Vander Zalm, that major political figures don't sue for libel." Canadian case

law supports Martin's claim that Vander Zalm is the highest profile politician who has ever sued a political cartoonist.

POLITICIANS: AND NOW A WORD FROM OUR SUBJECTS

In order to carry out this study, the author distributed a fax requesting an interview on the subject of the relationship between editorial cartooning and the politician. Of the twenty requests distributed to members of the Queen's Park Legislature, three individuals responded: David Tsubouchi, Al Palladini, and Dalton McGuinty.

The Honorable David Tsubouchi, Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations for the Province of Ontario and Member of Parliament for Markham, stated that his opinions of editorial cartoons depend on how he is portrayed (personal communication, 18 June 1997). Tsubouchi said that cartoons provide a gauge of a newspaper's thoughts and readership opinions. The Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations does keep cartoons in which he is featured; he has two framed originals at home. When asked whether written editorials or cartoons had any influence, Tsubouchi stated that "cartoons have more impact because people remember visuals, and they don't remember the editorials at all," but Tsubouchi does not believe that this translates into political influence (personal communication, 18 June 1997).

The Honorable Al Palladini, former Minister of Transport and Member of Parliament for York-Centre, also believes that "more people look at the editorial cartoons than read the editorials" (personal communication, 7 July 1997). Palladini stated that "the cartoons don't bother him" and cited Andy Donato's work as exceptional. He also admits that he enjoys looking at cartoons that transport him to specific events in political history. When comparing the impact of the written editorial to editorial cartoons, Palladini says "they both serve a purpose," and he feels cartoons have "helped his political career so far" (personal communication, 7 July 1997).

Finally, Dalton McGuinty, Leader of the Official Opposition for the Province of Ontario and Member of Parliament for Ottawa South, stated that "the cartoons of him have always been flattering" (personal communication, 5 June 1997). However, McGuinty

believes the cartoons have an impact. "More people look at the cartoons and don't read the editorials." According to McGuinty, editorial cartoons entertain and educate simultaneously. Cartoonists, by and large, "move to satirically illustrate a situation, event, or individual in order to enlighten, inform, and entertain" (personal communication, 5 June 1997). Some cartoonists disagree about their role "as cartoonist entertainers and others as visual editorialists" (Best 36).

In terms of a subject's possible reaction to opening the newspaper to see his/her own features caricatured, former Newfoundland Premier Joey Smallwood once stated, "I've never seen a cartoon about myself that I didn't like. Cartoons, friendly or unfriendly, are so good that I'd hate to see them wasted on my opponents" (qtd. in North 28). However, others, such as Marion Boyd, Ontario's former Attorney General, have been less impressed by the cartooning coverage they have received.

An editorial cartoon that appeared in The Toronto Sun on 4 May 1994, depicted Boyd announcing the launch of Sexual Assault Prevention Month (Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). The cartoon suggested that Boyd "was too unattractive to be sexually assaulted" (see fig. 53 170; Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). Cartoonist Andy Donato justified his drawing by citing "sweeping generalizations regarding little boys all wanting to sexually assault little girls in the school yard" as an "overly melodramatic and politically correct statement by a key cabinet minister and a government that the cartoonist believes often has an antimale bias and agenda" (qtd in. Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). Donato also admitted that Boyd's statements had made him angry, so he drew the cartoon (personal communication, 14 May 1997).

When it comes to action regarding editorial cartoons, the court is not the only venue for subjects to express opposition. Press councils exist and operate in Canada to assess events in the media (Ontario Press Council 44). The council is a voluntary organization embodying nearly all of the daily and weekly newspapers in the country (Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). Regional press councils in Ontario, Québec, Alberta, British Columbia, and Atlantic Canada have been established and are modelled, to a certain extent, after the British Press Council (Osler 99). The press councils lack the

authority to impose fines or exercise any form of punitive power. The publication of an adjudication is intended to make the public aware of the actions of judgment by various and named publishers (Osler 101). The councils do believe that newspapers should act promptly to publish corrections when an article or column is shown to be inaccurate (Ontario Press Council 44).

Boyd did not launch the complaint to the Ontario Press Council herself, but two fellow politicians stepped in to attack the inappropriateness of the cartoon. Sharon Murdock, one of the concerned members, stated that the "cartoon was a personal, ugly, and unjustified comment on Ms. Boyd's appearance" (Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). Boyd says that the cartoon was "stupid" and that she did not let it bother her (personal communication, 12 May 1997). Normally, Boyd appreciates editorial cartoons, and she stated that editorial cartoons are "a quick way for people to absorb emotions that sum up a political issue," but in most cases, cartoons "reflect the opinions of the cartoonist and it's not something I pay a lot of attention to" (personal communication, 12 May 1997).

In respect to the "controversial" editorial cartoon, the Ontario Press Council rejected the complaint, stating that they would "extend to cartoonists, editorial writers and columnists wide latitude in expressing opinions, no matter how controversial or unpopular the opinions may be" (Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13).They did, however, acknowledge that the cartoon was "insensitive" and "offensive" but, nonetheless, ruled to protect the opinion of the cartoonist (Fitzgerald, "Controversial" 13). Robert Martin is quick to point out that "if a politician goes to the press council rather than the courts, by implication that is saying that it [the cartoon in question] is not libel because you only go to the press council as a token gesture" (personal communication, 8 July 1997). Again, it is important to point out that editorial cartoons are considered "journalism of opinion and a manifestation of freedom of the press" (Ontario Press Council 1). With that said, this study moves on to an evaluation of the individuals who create the editorial art of the third wave.

SOME FAMILIAR PENS:
THIRD-WAVE EDITORIAL CARTOONISTS

At the present time, there are many prominent cartoonists working throughout the country. This is in contrast to the turn of the century when the majority of Canada's editorial cartoonists were centralized in Ontario and Québec. In the West, cartoonist Malcolm Mayes of The Edmonton Journal and Adrian Raeside at The Victoria Times-Colonist have been cited as exceptional (Bandeaux, Portfoolio 12, 146). In addition, Dale Cummings of The Winnipeg Free Press, along with Cameron Cardow and Vance Roadewalt of The Calgary Herald, has won the National Newspaper Award (see fig. 54 171-2). In Ontario, Mike Constable is a freelance cartoonist and editor of Piranha, a Toronto humour magazine. Susan Dewar, cartoonist for The Ottawa Sun, also works on syndicated cartoon strips. Frank Edwards worked at The Whig Standard in Kingston as its first full-time cartoonist but was "downsized" in 1994 (Bandeaux, Portfoolio 12, 146). Now, his cartoons are syndicated in Canada and the United States. Guy Badeaux, editor of Portfoolio and winner of the 1991 National Newspaper Award, works at Le Droit and is also considered a staple of the Canadian cartooning scene.

In Québec, individuals such as Michel Garneau at Le Devoir and Serge Chapleau at La Presse, are considered to be among the best in their profession. In the Maritimes, William Hogan of The Moncton Times-Transcript, Kevin Tobin of The Evening Telegram in St John's, Ron Evely of The Cape Breton Post, Sandy Carruthers of The Charlottetown Guardian, and Bruce MacKinnon of The Halifax Herald are all respected. The Maritimes has been transformed from an area sparsely populated by prolific editorial cartoonists to one that houses some of the best in Canada in the third wave. Among them is Theo Moudakis of The Halifax Daily News who, in April of 1996, organized "The Unpublishables," Canada's first exhibition of unpublished editorial cartoons (Bandeaux, Portfoolio 12, 152).

Collectively, these artists have produced thousands of editorial cartoons. Seventy-thousand political cartoons are housed at the National Archives of Canada, a collection

that increases by 4,000 items each year. The majority of the aforementioned individuals belong to the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists, which was established as a separate entity from the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists in 1986. According to Brian Gable, the current president of the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists, the main catalyst for the creation of the independent association was the selection of cartoons and publication of the text Portfoolio, established that same year (personal communication, 25 July 1997). This collection was designed to highlight the best editorial cartoons in Canada and to feature cartoons that had been "killed" or otherwise restricted by specific newspapers (personal communication, 25 July 1997). From these meetings, the association grew and now meets every other year. There are approximately eighty members of the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists.

According to Jennifer Devine, there have been many discussions touching on issues crucial to the art form, primarily the dumbing-down of cartoons by editors and publishers in "an attempt to walk the straight line of political correctness" (1). However, cartoonist Terry Mosher believes that "Canadian cartoonists are a breed apart from their American counterparts and are somewhat freer in the liberties they take with a cartoon idea" (qtd. in Devine 1). Canadian cartoonists tend to stress a much more individualistic approach and style (Devine 1). Expanding on his comments, Mosher reflects that "Canadian editorial cartoonists have freedom from restrictions, unfettered imaginations, and excellent drawing abilities, all of which are required to produce quality work" (qtd. in Devine 1).

This sense of pride in Canadian art contributed to the interest and subsequent creation of The Canadian Museum of Caricature. Exhibitions held at the National Archives relating to Canadian caricature display a commitment to the field of cartooning that is perhaps unparalleled in the world. Robert LaPalme states that "no other government on earth has been broad-minded and sophisticated enough to erect a temple" to political cartoons (qtd. in Canadian Centre for Caricature 1: 3). Indeed, having a venue for an exhibition and presentation would be considered an accomplishment for any medium as well as a means of acknowledging the importance of the editorial cartoon in Canada's

political and historical life.

When the Honourable Marcel Massé, Canada's Minster of Communications in 1986, announced that such a centre was to be created, he stated that "the history of caricature is a long and honourable one. So much so that historians of popular imagery now refer to a specific Canadian school of caricature" (Canadian Centre for Caricature 1: 3). The belief on the part of cartoonists, historians, and politicians that Canada has reached a point in its caricature development when it is no longer drawing on American or British elements but rather representing a style of its own is a great accomplishment (Canadian Centre for Caricature 1: 3). Canadian cartoonists provide a reaction to an event, skewer a political target, or encourage us to laugh at ourselves, thereby adding considerable insight into Canadian life.

From the cartoonists who created the art to the connections among the history, politics, and visual medium of cartooning, the Canadian Museum of Caricature welcomed 25,000 visitors a year from 1989 to 1993 (Jim Burant, personal communication, 21 May 1997). Carol Lafernière, senior project officer with the Communication and Public Program Division of the National Archives of Canada, said the museum was closed as a result of lack of funds that accompanied "substantial budget cuts" within the National Archives of Canada. She also said that the acquisition and display of items suffered greatly as a result of these cuts, so the government-funded National Archives of Canada turned to more permanent displays, rather than the shows that had highlighted specific caricature themes, in order to save money (personal communication, 19 August 1997). There are currently cartoons and caricatures featured in permanent displays with the National Archives, but there are no "shows" expressly dedicated to Canadian editorial cartooning (Carol Lafernière, personal communication, 19 August 1997). Cartoonists were concerned about the cuts, and a motion was passed at the 1994 meeting of the Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists to write both the heritage minister and local members of parliament in order to elicit support for the program, but to no avail (Devine 1).

A CASE STUDY: THE 1997 FEDERAL ELECTION

The opportunity to examine editorial cartoons in The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun over the course of the last federal election allowed the author to assess some of the features of modern editorial cartoons. By testing six aspects of the content of the first-, second-, and fourth-ranking circulating newspapers in Canada, this study applies practical examples to further academic studies. These three papers were selected because they represent a complete market base and because they are the top English-language newspapers in Canada in terms of circulation. Cartoons from these three papers were collected from 27 April 1997 to 3 June 1997. It should be noted that not all of these publications are produced seven days a week, so the difference has been absorbed statistically by establishing an average.

It is also important to the assessment of these editorial cartoons to consider the unique style of the cartoonists themselves. Andy Donato is a contract freelancer with The Toronto Sun, a downgrade from his full-time status; Brian Gable is the editorial cartoonist for The Globe and Mail; and Patrick Corrigan is the editorial cartoonist for The Toronto Star.

The first test was designed to determine exactly who was drawing the cartoons by discovering whether the art was constructed by the chief editorial cartoonist of these three papers, namely, Gable, Donato, and Corrigan; provided by freelancers; or supplemented by syndicated material. The Globe's Tony Jenkins is the only other person who creates editorial cartoons for the newspaper. During the period in question, Gable provided 87% of the cartoons, and Jenkins supplied 13%. At The Sun, The Sun Media Corporation syndication system supplemented Donato's cartoons with the work of John Larder of The Calgary Sun, Sue Dewar of The Ottawa Sun, and Fred Curatolo of The Edmonton Sun. Donato supplied 57%, and 43% of the cartoons were composed by one of the aforementioned cartoonists reproducing his/her own work in the Toronto newspaper. Finally, at The Star, Corrigan supplied 51% of the cartoons, with the remaining 49% provided by freelancers Dusan Petricic and Peter Pickersgill. These numbers further point to the fact that both freelance and syndicated materials play a profound role in the

cartoons that appear in larger Canadian papers.

The next part of the study was designed to determine the extent of political content, that is, whether or not during this highly charged political atmosphere the cartoons actually depict both political and nonpolitical subject matter. In this Toronto election coverage survey, the findings established The Star as the paper with the most political content in its editorial cartoons at 91%, The Sun was second with 81%, and The Globe a distant third with 74%. The difference between The Star's and The Globe's political content was significant at 17%.

The third test also involved content. It was established to compare caricature versus noncaricature subject matter in these three newspapers. Each cartoonist's personal style has much to do with whether or not cartoons actually contain recognizable caricatures of newsworthy figures. The Star again lead the way with 79% of its cartoons featuring caricatures, The Sun contained 65%, and The Globe had 59%. Brian Gable of The Globe consciously attempts not to include caricatures in his work because he feels it can sometimes mean more coverage for a politician the cartoon is attempting to ridicule (personal communication, 13 May 1997). Content among the examples can vary greatly, up to 20% in terms of caricature content.

What about the notion that the Prime Minister is frequently portrayed in caricature in editorial cartoons, especially in election races when an incumbent is running for reelection? This test was to determine how often the current Prime Minister of Canada, Jean Chrétien, was caricatured. In The Sun, his caricature appeared 32% of the time; in The Star, 29% of cartoons contained a pictorial representation of Chrétien; and in The Globe, only 3% of the cartoons caricatured Chrétien. Again, The Globe results had much to do with Brian Gable's personal preferences (personal communication, 13 May 1997).

A question that needs to be addressed is whether or not cartoons reflect on the same subject matter that written editorials do during this election period. This becomes increasingly important as this study moves to the topic of dumbing-down and the potential for cartoons to merely illustrate the written editorial. In The Star, 38% of cartoons featured in this period had the same theme, whereas in The Globe, 37% focused on the

same subject. At The Sun, 30% of the written editorials were on the same subject as the cartoons. No real conclusive or significant differences were established with this test.

Finally, given that editorial cartoons are often a combination of written and pictorial elements, the author set out to determine how many words on average were used at the three sample newspapers. It should be noted that this study does not include numbers, symbols, or cartoonists' signatures among the word count, but it does include labels, phrases, and sentences employed to assist the pictorial. Over the course of the entire thirty-eight days of the study, The Star's cartoons contained a total of 219 words for a mean of 6.3 words per cartoon, with a high of 40 words and a low of zero. The Globe was next with a total of 290 words over the course of the election for a mean of 7.9 words per cartoon, with a high of 38 and a low of 1. Finally, The Sun had the highest total of 452 words counted during the study period. Its average cartoon had 12.2 words, with a high of 38 and a low of 1. This average is almost twice that of The Star. One might have considered that the inverse would be the case, given that The Sun is designed, written, and advertised as a popular press, tabloid-style newspaper. However, the increase in labelling can be attributed to the fact that cartoonists "often provided labels for their less educated or sophisticated readers" (Beniger 108).

THE GAME IS UP: THE CHANGING FACE OF CANADIAN CARTOONING

The technology of newspapers, television, and the Internet, along with some of the concerns that face editorial cartoonists in Canada today, will determine the direction of the industry. The concerns of downsizing, syndication, dumbing-down, media concentration, financial compensation, and internal politics may have an impact on the cartoons and cartoonists of the third wave.

Even in the second wave, the effects of television as a competing medium had an impact on newspaper circulation and, thus, the exposure of Canadian editorial cartoonists (Vipond 61). Television sets are now found in over 98% of all Canadian households and

"in addition to commercial and public television programming, the proliferation of cable and pay-per-view channels has significantly altered television viewing habits since the late 1970s and has exploded in the 1990s" (Derevensky and Klein 36).

Within Canada, 75% of all households have cable, and the proportion of homes having at least one speciality channel is approximately 40% (Derevensky and Klein 36). Like cable and pay-per-view, the videocassette recorder (VCR) industry is also flourishing in Canada. As of 1993, as many as 75% of Canadian homes had a least one VCR (Statistics Canada 12). Further, and "virtually overnight, the video rental store has created a new industry, which reported over $800 million in sales during 1991 in Canada alone" (Derevensky and Klein 37). The age at which children become video literate is becoming lower with each generation. Derevensky and Klein recall a cartoon depicting a young child and his mother seated in front of the television set, and the three-year-old child proudly professes that "I'm not in school yet, but I already know my numbers:... zero, one, two, three, four ,five, six, seven, eight, nine, pause, fast forward, rewind, play and record" (36). Canadian children between the ages of two and eleven watch an average of eighteen hours of television per week (Statistics Canada 12). The fascination with the visual can be connected to the editorial cartoon as a visual entity that has the potential to capitalize on the comfort of the population with the medium. The editorial cartoon is also assisted in this regard by the comics section of the paper.

The average, adult Canadian viewer consumes an average of twenty-three hours of television weekly, with residents in Newfoundland watching twenty-five hours of television programming per week (Statistics Canada 12). "The average North American spends more time watching television than on any other activity save sleep and work" (Derevensky and Klein 38). The magnitude of television's role in our daily lives is punctuated by David Sohn and Jerry Kosinski, who state that the average North American watches approximately 12, 000 hours of television per year yet spends only five hours per year reading books (263). Mark Starowicz, in an article entitled "The Gutenberg Revolution of Television: Speculation on the Impact of New Technologies," states that "we are at the threshold of the Gutenberg Revolution in television and film" (237). He

continues by stating "the effects will be profoundly transforming and potentially terrifying" (237).

Gillian Steward maintains that since her days as a "young eager" reporter for The Calgary Herald in the 1970s, "television was still mainly an entertainment medium" rather than the authoritative news source that it has become in the third wave (274). Steward also points to the early 1970s and the fact that "the expanding economy meant more people had money to spend, and businesses were only too happy to fill newspapers with ads encouraging them to spend" (274). With television predominating, the newspapers' slice of the advertising pie became increasingly smaller.

The effects of television on newspapers is widespread in terms of circulation. For example, there were more evening dailies then morning newspapers during the 1970s in Canada, a trend that has shifted somewhat (see fig. 55 173; Steward 274). The papers were run off the press in the afternoon so that "readers could expect to learn what had happened that morning or the day before or even the day before that" (Steward 274). Given there were no "twenty-four-hour TV news channels," the pressure was not as great to be the first to break a story (Steward 274). With the advent of television, daily newspaper circulation numbers decreased, despite the increase in the population.

Between 1986 and 1994, The Calgary Herald's Friday circulation, normally its biggest circulating day of the week, fell from 183,000 copies to 158,000, a reduction of 13%, even though the city's population increased by 15% during that same period (Steward 278).

Steward cites the increased fast-paced lifestyle that allows for less free time to read the paper, coupled with the fact that potential readers could acquire news even more efficiently via the television, as the catalyst for this downward trend (283). Daily newspaper circulation numbers over the last seventeen years reflect a decline in readership (Canadian Newspaper Association 12). This is not to say, however, that the newspaper medium has been moved to the brink of extinction. In 1988, according to Vipond, 87% of Canadian adults read a least one issue of a newspaper each week and "older, wealthier and better-educated Canadians read proportionately more" (67). The competing elements of

television, cable, pay-per-view, and VCR's, plus their effects on society as a whole and more directly on a newspaper's ability to turn a profit, are profound. There are, however, many other factors, such as newsprint prices and ad revenues, involved in the assessment of the decline in the newspaper medium.

According to the Canadian Press article "Back in the 'Black': Canadian Newspaper Industry," analysts who work to understand the financial rise and fall of the newspaper industry in Canada believe that the medium is currently experiencing an upward swing, despite the downward trend in circulation (Canadian Press, "Back" 1). Circulation is down from what it was in 1995, with an average of 5.2 million copies each publishing day (1). However, "advertising, which is the newspaper industry's lifeblood, rose 4.1 percent in January and February of 1997 to build on a late 1996 surge," which followed a seven-year decline (Canadian Press, "Back" 1). This is encouraging for newspaper owners because "newspapers have had to cut expenses drastically over the last few years to cope with shrinking ad revenue caused by the lingering recession of the early 1990s and high newsprint prices, which have since fallen" (Canadian Press, "Back" 1). Whether the increased ad revenues will translate into increased circulation numbers or even a growth that would allow some of the individuals who have been fired to return remains to be seen. However, an extended element of newspaper production that is expanding at a phenomenal rate is Online publications. Papers are going Online in record numbers, which in turn could have an effect on traditional circulation.

According to the National Newspaper Association, more than 500 North American daily newspapers; Online services, including Websites and partnerships with consumer online companies; and the cartoonists themselves now have the opportunity to have their art displayed to a wider audience than ever before in the history of the medium (14). Both large and small newspapers are posting Online extensions. Ninety-five of the top 100 newspapers by circulation have Online products, and more than 60% of the daily newspapers on the Web have circulations under 30,000 (National Newspaper Association 14). With the overhead for Websites low, 36% of Online newspaper producers state they turned a profit in 1996 or will be profitable in 1997, with another 24% predicting

profitability within four years (National Newspaper Association 14).

Many cartoonists have started their own Websites, embracing the technological advantages of the Internet that have no spatial or editorial constraints. A cursory search revealed over 30,000 sites currently featuring editorial cartoons from amateur, professional, and syndicated sources. Some sites, such as the new "Frank & Ernest" cartooning strip, feature three-dimensional characters and environments, navigable QuickTime virtual reality files, and a searchable archive of nearly 2,000 comic strips. Bob Thaves, creator of the "Frank & Ernest" strip, states that "a key goal for the site is to complement the comic strip in the newspaper" (qtd. in Astor, "Innovation" 28). Print as well as "cartoon cannibalization," or stripping the most popular aspects of the printed newspaper for the Online version, has been a concern for some newspapers (qtd. in Astor, "Innovation" 28). As a result, newspaper managers are selective about the content that the Webmaster posts in an effort to foster this complementary relationship and to reduce self-competition.

With the advent of Internet technology, the newspaper industry has expanded existing presentation formats. Similar to the advent of the printing press and the development of the print medium, the Internet has the potential to offer readership to a much more diverse element. Given the fact this new technology is in its infancy, it is difficult to determine whether the Online newspaper features that are now supplementing the printed newspaper industry will grow in popularity to the point of surpassing or even replacing the original version in circulation. With these Online ventures just now becoming financially self-sustaining, it is too early to predict their impact on newspapers or Canadian editorial cartooning.

It should be noted that there has never been an academic media study correlating circulation and editorial cartoons. However, it appears obvious that the editorial cartoon is a vital element that has been maintained even in tough economic times. A practical example of measuring political cartoons' impact on newspaper circulation was provided by cartoonist Ron Evely in January of 1993. In an attempt to move his status from part-time to full-time at The Cape Breton Post, Evely contacted Bruce MacKinnon, The Halifax

Herald's editorial cartoonist, and Jerry Jackson, The Herald's circulation manager, in order to comprehend the growth in circulation "which has increased steadily every year, totaling approximately 8.94% since 1985-1986" (Evely, personal communication, 10 June 1997). According to Jackson, MacKinnon "has had a most profound effect on our circulation increase" and that "reader surveys have shown MacKinnon's cartoons to be the most popular feature in the paper" (qtd. in Evely, personal communication, 10 June 1997).

According to Jackson, the MacKinnon cartoons are the most talked-about feature in the newspaper; every morning, in the coffee shops, people talk about the cartoon in the paper (qtd. in Evely, personal communication, 10 June 1997). Evely's intentions in conducting this research were obviously personally motivated, but the fact remains that the circulation numbers do show a marked increase of over 12,402 from the time MacKinnon started with the paper until 1993 when Evely conducted his research (personal communication, 10 June 1997). Clearly, there could have been, and probably were, other variables involved in the increase, but the numbers and Jackson's comments support Evely's correlational claim.

THE MULTI-HEADED HYDRA: CONCERNS IN CANADIAN CARTOONING

At the end of the second wave, Desbarats and Mosher predicted that the political cartoon would "endure in its present form as long as newspapers remain important channels of political information and opinion" (11). The survival of the editorial cartoon in Canada depends on several other factors that have a profound effect upon its existence in its present form. Examining the concerns that face Canadian cartoonists today requires a holistic perspective. In reviewing the evidence, one must first acknowledge the interlinking nature of the concerns. This portion of the study connects concerns about media concentration with those of syndication and, in turn, financial compensation that can be associated with the dumbing down of editorial cartoons and the loss of the local angle. It should be noted that media concentration and downsizing are not the only catalysts shifting in the Canadian editorial cartooning scene; however, these two elements are the primary concerns for cartoonists.

The control by corporations such as Hollinger and Sun Media Corporation, who collectively own approximately two-thirds of Canada's dailies, is unprecedented in Canadian popular printing history. As illustrated in the listing of the top ten circulating daily newspapers in Canada, there are fewer corporations controlling more of the newspaper market (see fig. 56 174). The tradition of the family newspaper has all but disappeared. It is clear that the newspaper business is changing, as is the role of the editorial cartoonist. According to the Canadian Newspaper Association, there are presently 105 daily newspapers in Canada; of course, not all of these have staff cartoonists. In fact, only 30% of daily newspapers actually have full-time, exclusive staff cartoonists (Canadian Newspaper Association 15). The newspaper market has never been as volatile as during the third wave. In 1996 alone, the ownership of seventeen newspapers changed hands (Canadian Newspaper Association 22).

Conrad Black currently controls more than half of Canada's newspapers, accounting for 43% of daily circulation through Hollinger, Southam, and associated companies Sterling and Unimedia (Canadian Newspaper Association 22). Concentration of power through conglomerations and mergers is not an uncommon practice in other industries. It is a naturally occurring phenomenon in a free-market capitalist society driven by production-based economic principles. Black is well within his rights to purchase media outlets. However, the concerns for some newsworkers, including cartoonists, is that a concentration will limit the voices in an industry fundamentally built on the freedom of expression for all.

THE BLACK INK: MEDIA CONCENTRATION AND DOWNSIZING

If one were to take this assessment of Black's media concentration a step further to include the notion of downsizing, the publisher reportedly "spent two million dollars revamping The Ottawa Citizen into a flagship while the paper's Southam parent continues with a three-year plan to cut 750 jobs from its chain" (Canadian Press, "Back" 1). Part of the restructuring at The Citizen involved "downsizing" editorial cartoonist Alan King. King, who has twenty years of experience, is now freelancing one cartoon a week with

another paper. He cites a difference in politics with the publisher for his leaving The Citizen (personal communication, 26 June 1997).

Media concentration is linked to the increase and predicted prominence of syndication. Syndication can be viewed as a double-edged sword, both increasing and decreasing the number of individuals who have the potential to feature cartoons in Canadian newspapers. Syndication can reduce the number of voices when cartoonists who belong to the same chain often fill in or, in some cases, replace other cartoonists at other branches of the newspaper franchise (Andy Donato, personal communication, 14 May 1997). This phenomenon can be illustrated with the example of the internal Sun Media Corporation cartoon syndication service. A seasoned cartoonist like Donato may have his cartoons featured in The Sun in Ottawa, Edmonton, or Calgary as well as The Financial Post, The London Free Press, and so on, down the chain of papers that the corporation owns or controls (personal communication, 14 May 1997). In this way, sparked by media concentration, publishers would only really need one editorial cartoonist for every string of newspapers. This would result in the elimination of much of the local angle.

On the other hand, a gifted freelancer who has not had the opportunity to secure a staff position would be able to sell cartoons to a chain like Southam. The exposure that he/she would receive could increase greatly and present the cartoonist with a chance to voice personal opinions. Certainly, the wordsmiths of the newspapers are no strangers to the concerns surrounding syndicated material. The simple fact that papers need to employ fewer reporters, with the help of columnists such as Michael Coren and David Frum, is now apparent. In this way, written commentators have preceded pictorial commentators in feeling the effects of syndication and media concentration. The average cartoonist produces four cartoons per week, it is possible that the increase in syndication and freelancing could potentially eliminate concerns regarding deadlines and daily pressure through an element of free-market job sharing. If each cartoonist produced few cartoon the quality could improve and more people could share the work load.

Although many professionals, including reporters and columnists, are governed by deadlines, the editorial cartoonist is regulated by artistic and opinion-based subject matter

that contains an element of creativity. For example, if a cartoonist is not able to come up with an idea on a given day or is faced with a topic for which he/she feels little enthusiasm, the task of creating a cartoon is considerably more difficult. This obstacle could potentially be compounded if coupled with editorial constraints (Press 19).

Editorial interference, deadlines, and the climate of opinion in the workplace stood out as drawbacks in James Best's study. One might go as far as to argue that the adherence to deadlines could negatively affect the quality of the work produced. An elimination of these deadlines as a result of freelance work and syndication could improve the quality displayed across the country. However, it is more likely that the effects of syndication and dumbing-down will have a far greater impact on the quality of production.

As the newspaper industry shrinks in terms of ownership, fewer full-time cartoonists are being hired during the third wave and into the twenty-first century (Brian Gable, personal communication, 13 May 1997). As with any other industry in which there are surplus workers, in this case freelancers, the cost of employment decreases as a result of competition. In an era of downsizing, what motivation would newspapers have to keep staff cartoonists? Full-time cartoonists require salaries, which are, incidently, comparable with those of staff writers. In the case of the more prominent cartoonists at larger papers, pay can reach upwards of $70,000 a year. One must also consider vacation time, vacation pay, benefits, and pensions.

EDITOR VERSUS CARTOONIST: WHO'S IN CONTROL?

In general, "editorial cartoonists recognize that editors need to have some voice in the editorial cartoons" (Keener 158). Cartoonists are skeptical of colleagues who profess absolute independence from an editor's approval. A common working pattern calls for the cartoonist to rough sketch several of his/her own ideas; then the editor chooses or helps to select the "best" one (Keener 158). Polly Keener states that "this is a tiresome way to work, and often makes for bland cartoons," and in such cases, the cartoon "becomes an illustration for the written editorial" (157). Cartoonists, generally, are adverse to this conversion to illustrator, and the relationship can be one in which cartoonists "often find

themselves at odds with their editors because of the obvious difficulty of tailoring their own graphic form of expression to the literary conventions of written journalism" (Desbarats and Mosher 18).

FREELANCING AND DUMBING-DOWN: THE WAVE OF THE FUTURE?

Any concerns that editors have with their cartoonists could be eliminated by the predominance of the freelance element. Rather that deal with one staff cartoonist, an editor would be able to come in and select from a variety of perhaps twenty cartoons produced by freelance artists. As one cartoonist explained, the freelance purchasing process that the editors now exercise as the ultimate form of control is "if you don't like it, you don't have to buy it." For a nominal fee, the editor can select the cartoon that most appeals to the paper's desired editorial direction.

However, the freedom that freelance cartoonists enjoy in terms of creating what they want when they want comes at a financial price. With freelance comes fierce competition to have material purchased. The freelance industry has grown out of the surplus of cartoonists to fill the number of positions available, not unlike the freelance situation facing many newspapers writers.

With the financial security of the freelance cartoonist in question, it would only be in his/her best interests to create cartoons with a greater sale potential. It would not be in the best interests of the freelance cartoonist to spend valuable time on a cartoon only to find out that an editor feels it is too risqué or not in line with the editorial policy of a given paper. Not unlike any other individual selling a product, the potential for editorial cartoonists to tailor cartoons becomes obvious. This leads to dumbing-down, the reduction in the quality of editorial cartoons and a tendency toward the gag cartoon that is grounded in base humour and has a noncontroversial presentation. However, "it's common knowledge that similar or even the same ideas will come to a couple or even several cartoonists on a given issue at a given time" (Hewison 12). This phenomenon has been attributed to the conventions established in the industry and to the nature of idea production, and not to a group-think mentality, in Canadian editorial cartooning.

Part of the dumbing-down process comes as a result of problems addressing the local angle. Media concentration and a large and talented freelancing population mean that cartoon content would have to become universal. This, in turn, would dramatically alter the subject matter that editorial cartoons are based upon.

One might not notice a difference in the draftspersonship of a cartoon that has been dumbed-down. A metaphor for the meeting of the artistic elements and the idea to maximize the influence behind a political cartoon could be a person. Just as there are many physically attractive people, there are many physically attractive, aesthetically pleasing political cartoons. Without a certain degree of wit, personality, and intelligence, neither can hold your attention for any length of time. This may be the case with the dumbed-down version of Canadian editorial cartoons. Certainly the drafting is present, but some of the ideas lack punch. This could be the first sign of another downward trend in cartooning quality, not unlike the political cartoons of the 1930s and 1940s (Gerberg 185). The factors of media concentration, downsizing, syndication, freelancing, and dumbing-down are realities that are currently affecting the realm of the modern editorial cartoon. Like the court jester, these external limitations, if not confronted, will result in the elimination of the Canadian editorial cartoon.

A CONCLUSION: COMPLETING THE SKETCH

We must now return to the image of the court jester to try to comprehend the concerns that currently face Canadian editorial cartoonists. In the medieval era, when society tired of the puns and the criticism, the jester was dismissed from the royal court and stripped of his status. Instead of having the security he once enjoyed, he was forced to take piecework at town fairs or in public squares in order to stay alive.

In reviewing the concerns that seem most prevalent to contemporary Canadian cartoonists, it is essential to look toward the aspects that they themselves can control in order to provide solutions to prevent the death of a one-hundred-and-fifty-year-old cartooning legacy. Media concentration and the elements involved with downsizing are

clearly beyond the sphere of control of newsworkers, including editorial cartoonists. Thus, there is no real solution that can be offered if one believes these factors are detrimental to Canadian cartooning. Media concentration will translate into fewer jobs for cartoonists. Conrad Black is the modern version of Henry VIII, and the contemporary court jester must either adapt to survive or face extinction.

The wandering freelancer is also one of the entrepreneurial variables beyond the collective cartoonists' control. The fact remains that the majority of freelancers want more work than they can get, which is frustrating, especially for the younger generation of cartoonists who are not acquiring the practical experience that their predecessors had (Brian Gable, personal communication, 13 May 1997). Freelancers will have to deal with the financial restraints that are the result of a surplus of suppliers of cartoons. Individual freelancers will have to fight harder to encourage the decision makers to select their material; in doing so, they will more than likely compromise themselves and the quality of their product. This dumbing-down in order to meet the editorial desires will further result in the loss of pride in one's craft and eliminate much of the passion that was present in the work of their predecessors. "Editorial cartoonists are a special breed who seem motivated by a smoldering sense of moral outrage at the world and a compulsive need to express it" (Gerberg 185). This fire will die if editorial cartoonists are not granted the freedom to express their own opinions. This expression is the essence of the art, as illustrated by the likes of Daumier and Hogarth. Otherwise, it means that editorial cartoons are merely a connection of lines.

Conversely, syndication is an element that cartoonists can personally control. As a collective, if Canadian cartoonists decide to end the elements of syndication exercised by approximately half of the working cartoonists in Canada today, the need for more cartoonists' work would increase, thus expanding the number of individuals involved in the field. This conscious, collective decision is unlikely to occur because of the cartoonists' own desire for fame and financial gain as well as the individualistic nature of each cartoonist. Veteran syndicated cartoonists would be foolish to allow the younger and potentially more talented jesters onto the cartoon stage. This risk would be at their own

financial expense, with the potential that they themselves would receive the axe in the name of maintaining the high quality of cartooning in Canada. This idealistic collective consciousness is not likely to materialize in the highly competitive realm of editorial cartooning.

Dumbing-down is another element that cartoonists can control. If the dumbing-down of Canadian cartoons is a concern, should cartoonists not take it upon themselves to personally alter the direction of their medium, perhaps by instigating peer quality control? Again, the individualistic nature of the medium as well as the financial benefits of creating dumbed-down cartoons would more than likely prevent all cartoonists from conforming; again, this alteration would be in the best interests of the field as a whole.

The historical component of this study has examined the rich tradition that editorial cartooning represents, whereas the contemporary component has focused on the current environment that could render editorial cartooning a dying art. This work's main objective was to turn the tables on Canadian editorial cartoonists by rendering them fair game and the subject of study from both a historical and contemporary perspective. Historically, the peridodization of political cartooning and the process by which the periods change is evident. This study has charted the historical background leading up to the birth of editorial cartooning in Canada, including influences from Europe and the United States. This study has traced the development of Canada's editorial cartooning heritage over the last one hundred and fifty years by profiling such individuals as Bengough, Julien, and Walker and their respective contributions in the first wave. The second wave marked different concerns, styles, issues, and personalities, such as Macpherson, LaPalme, and Norris. Great changes have taken place in cartooning in the third wave. Editorial cartooning is a declining art in Canada. The extent to which old conventions, practices, and traditions of political cartoons will change depends on the cartoonists themselves and their reactions to concerns in the field. This shift in the industry does not necessarily mean that editorial cartooning will disappear entirely.

The move to television and Internet access has the potential to increase visibility and take editorial cartooning in a different direction. Currently, in the third wave,

cartoonists are experiencing the boom before the bust. There are more artists working in some form or other in 1998 than at any other time in Canadian cartooning history. How the artists themselves face this crossroad and affect change within their sphere of control will determine whether sustained growth is possible. As more editorial staff cartoonists die or retire, they are not being replaced. Syndication will grip the industry more tightly, with editors able to select an editorial cartoon with its corresponding written commentary, like matching a drawing with the text in a child's storybook.

Unless there is a paradigm shift in the way that cartoonists deal with their newspapers, many more artists could be forced out of the cartooning scene, thereby reducing the number of visual commentaries. One way that full-time cartoonists could increase their chances of survival would be to elevate their profiles. If cartoonists are similar to columnists in their appearance on a regular base, why do they not have their picture accompanying the cartoon? Often times, they do not even have a typed by-line but merely their signature or pen name. This does not help to create a loyal following; the opposite could render it more difficult for the newspaper to justify the cost effectiveness of syndicated material and the elimination of staff positions. The success that Nast, Outcault, Bengough, Walker, Macpherson, LaPalme, and Norris enjoyed was a result of their talent as cartoonists and their self-promotion as a staple of their publications. Guest appearances not unlike the chalk talks of the Bengough era may be used to increase their profiles and assist the staff cartoonists in the attempt to render themselves indispensable, proving to the royal court that they are worth their payment in kind.

Taking into consideration the development of cartooning through the history of our country, there is no question that editorial cartoons and cartoonists have been influential. With examples such as Bengough's drawings of Sir John A. Macdonald, or Macpherson's graphic portrayal of Joe Clark, the level of influence that cartoonists will continue to hold depends on the quality of their products. The artists of the first and second wave were, for the most part, constantly striving for new ideas within a medium that encouraged such expansion. The current climate for editorial cartooning is not nearly as hospitable.

hospitable.

With a growing freelance market willing to accept lower and lower wages in the hopes of increasing exposure and making whatever living they can, the quality of the content of editorial cartoons will erode. The other possibility is that the conglomerated media outlets will find it more financially feasible to employ a single cartoonist per chain, eliminating the freelance market entirely. The cartoonists who attain these positions will rise above the rest by displaying superior drafting abilities, but the ideas will be directed by the newspaper. If either scenario, or a combination therein, comes to pass, the local angle will cease to exist. This will further weaken the editorial cartoonists' impact.

These concerns are the result of several interlocking historical, technological, and financial catalysts that might well jolt the editorial cartoonists of the third wave to attention. Respected Canadian cartoonist Ben Wicks, acclaimed worldwide for his syndicated cartoon strips and editorial cartoons, states, "Cartoonists think more of themselves than they should" (personal communication, 7 May 1997). Given the current climate, cartoonists in Canada will have to address some of the concerns within their sphere of control if they and their art intend to prosper in the twenty-first century.

The history of Canadian editorial cartooning has shown that cartoonists have been able to adapt and thrive, despite technological, financial, social, legal, and political challenges. Never before have cartoonists faced so many of these concerns simultaneously. If the cartoonist, acting as the court jester, is, in fact, running out of new and inventive material, the public will eventually tire. This decline would mean the end of a one-hundred -and-fifty-year-old Canadian cartooning legacy and the loss of a valuable national resource.

Fig. 1. Punch cover by Richard Doyle, in John Geipel, The Cartoon: A Short History of Graphic Comedy and Satire (New York: Barnes, 1972) 83.

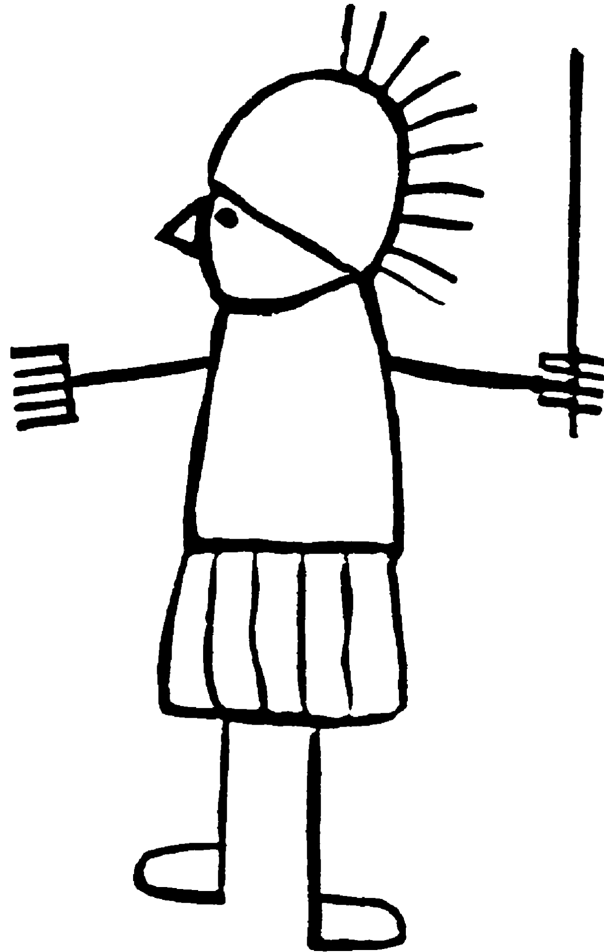


Fig. 2 . Drawing completed in 79 AD by a Roman solider, in James Parton, The Caricature and Other Comic Art: In All Times and Many Lands (New York: Harper, 1877) 15.

Fig. 3. Roman Mask, Comic and Tragic, in James Parton, The Caricature and Other Comic Art: In All Times and Many Lands. (New York: Harper, 1877) 22.

Fig. 4. Cave drawing of King Tutankhamen's father, in Randall P. Harrison, The Cartoon: Communication to the Quick (London: Sage, 1981) 73.

Fig. 5. Luther inspired by Satan, in James Parton, The Caricature and Other Comic Art: In All Times and Many Lands (New York: Harper, 1877) 64.

Fig. 6. William Hogarth, "Marriage à la Mode II," in Huge Honour and John Fleming, The Visual Art: A History 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1992) 539.

Fig. 7. James Gillray "The Death of the Great Wolf" and Benjamin West The Death of Wolfe, in Draper Hill, James Gillray: Fashionable Contrasts (Great Britain: Phaidon, 1966) 144.

Fig. 8. Thomas Nast "Christmas Eve 1863," in Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon.* (Toronto: Associated UP, 1981) 247.

A Pertinent Question.

Mrs. Britannia: "Is it possible, my dear, that you have ever given your cousin Jonathan any encouragement?"

Miss Canada: "Encouragement! Certainly not, Mamma. I have told him we can *never* be united."

Fig. 9. Political cartoon, in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 43.

Mother Britannia.—" *Take care, my child!*"
Uncle Sam.—" *Oh never mind, if she falls I'll catch her!*"

Fig. 10. Cartoon in The Canadian Illustrated News 23 July 1870, in Peter Desbarats, The Canadian Illustrated: News A Commemorative Portfolio (Toronto: McClelland, 1970) 16.

Fig. 11. Thomas Nast "Santa Claus in Camp," in Thomas Nast St. Hill, Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations (New York: Dover, 1974) 15.

Fig. 12. Thomas Nast "A Group if Vultures Waiting for the Storm to Blow Over, " in Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (New York: Oxford, 1968) 123.

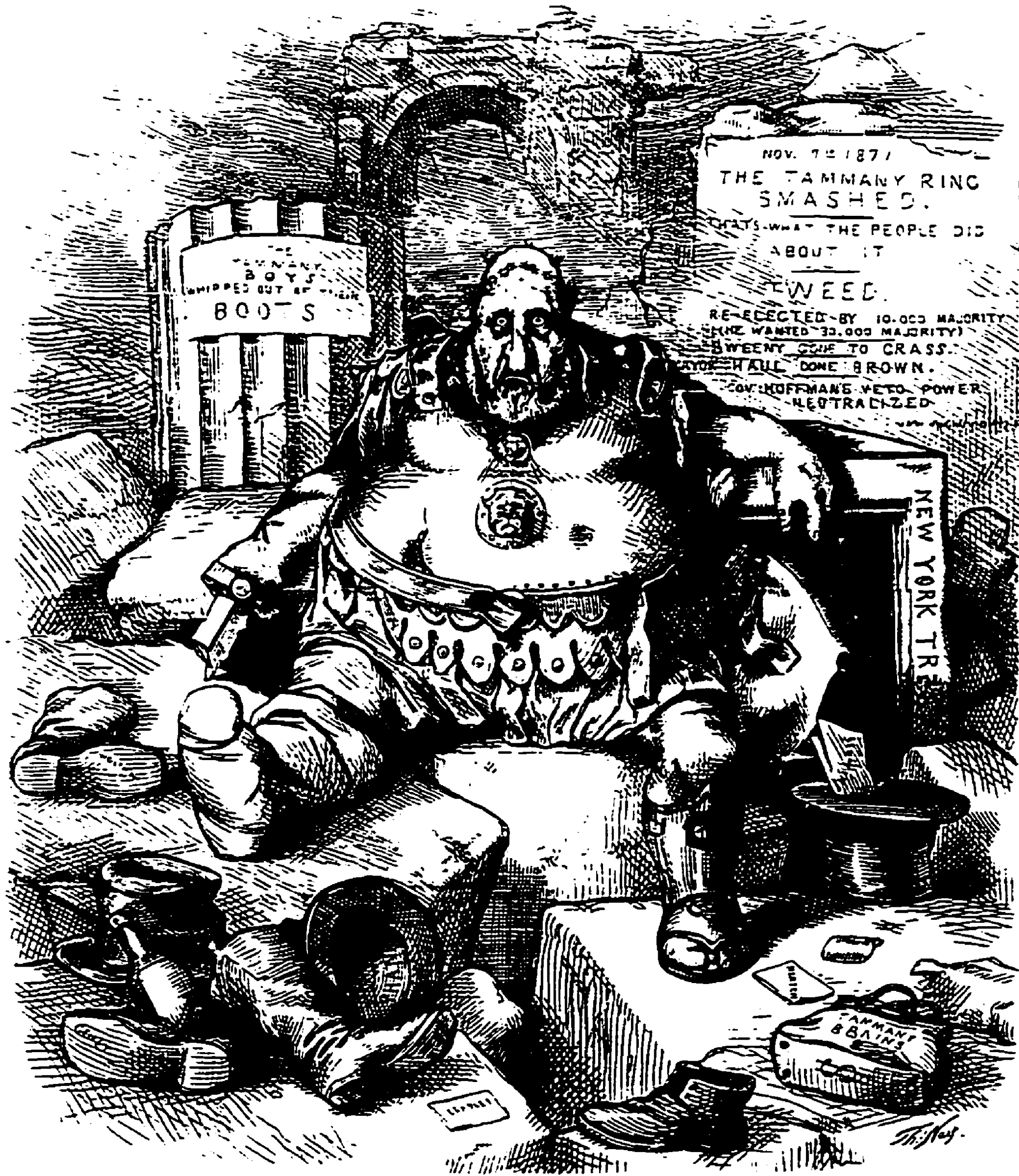


Fig. 13. Thomas Nast "To the Victor Belongs the Spoils," in Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (New York: Oxford, 1968) 127.

Fig. 14. Photograph of William M. Tweed, in Roger A. Fischer, Them Damned Pictures: Exploration in American Political Cartoon Art. (North Haven, CT: Archon, 1996) 8.

Our Artist's Occupation Gone.

TH. NAST. "It's all very funny to you; but what am I to do now?"

Fig. 15. Thomas Nast "Self-Caricature," in Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (New York: Oxford, 1968) 189.

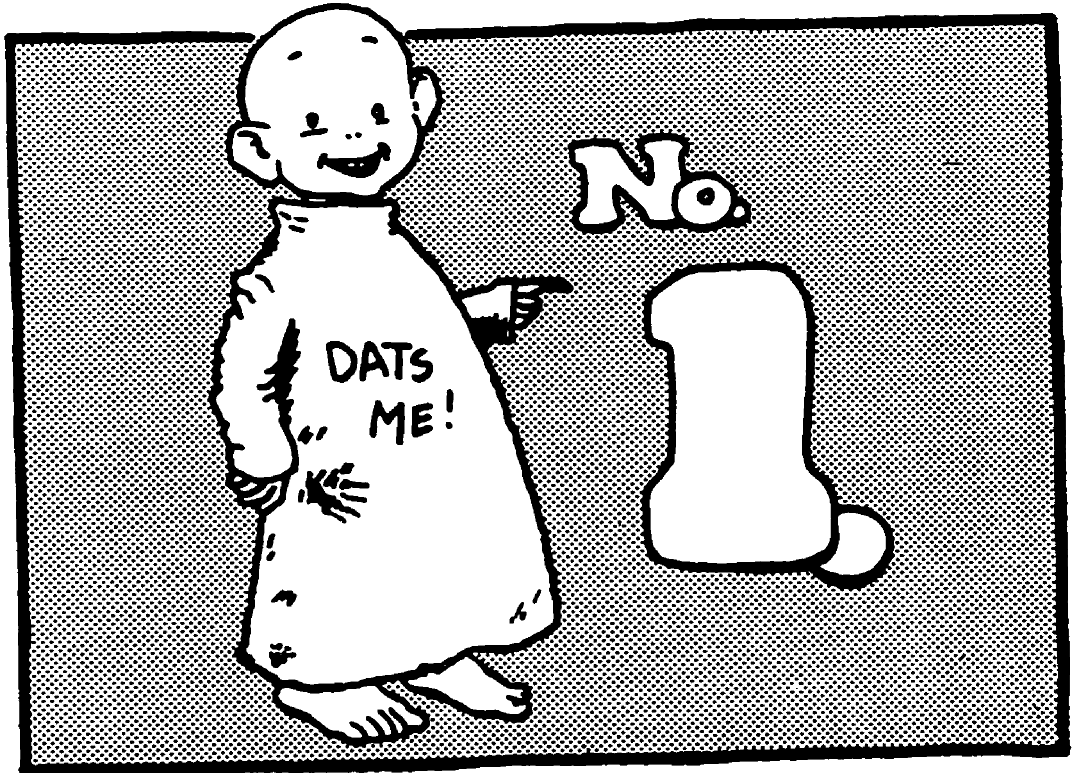


Fig. 16. R. F. Outcault "The Yellow Kid" in Randall P. Harrison, The Cartoon: Communication to the Quick (London: Sage, 1981) 86.

Little Ben. Holmes

And some naughty children attempt to pawn their mother's pocket-handkerchief, but are arrested by policeman *Punch*, who was stationed "round the corner."

Fig. 17. Political cartoon by J. W. Walker in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 43.

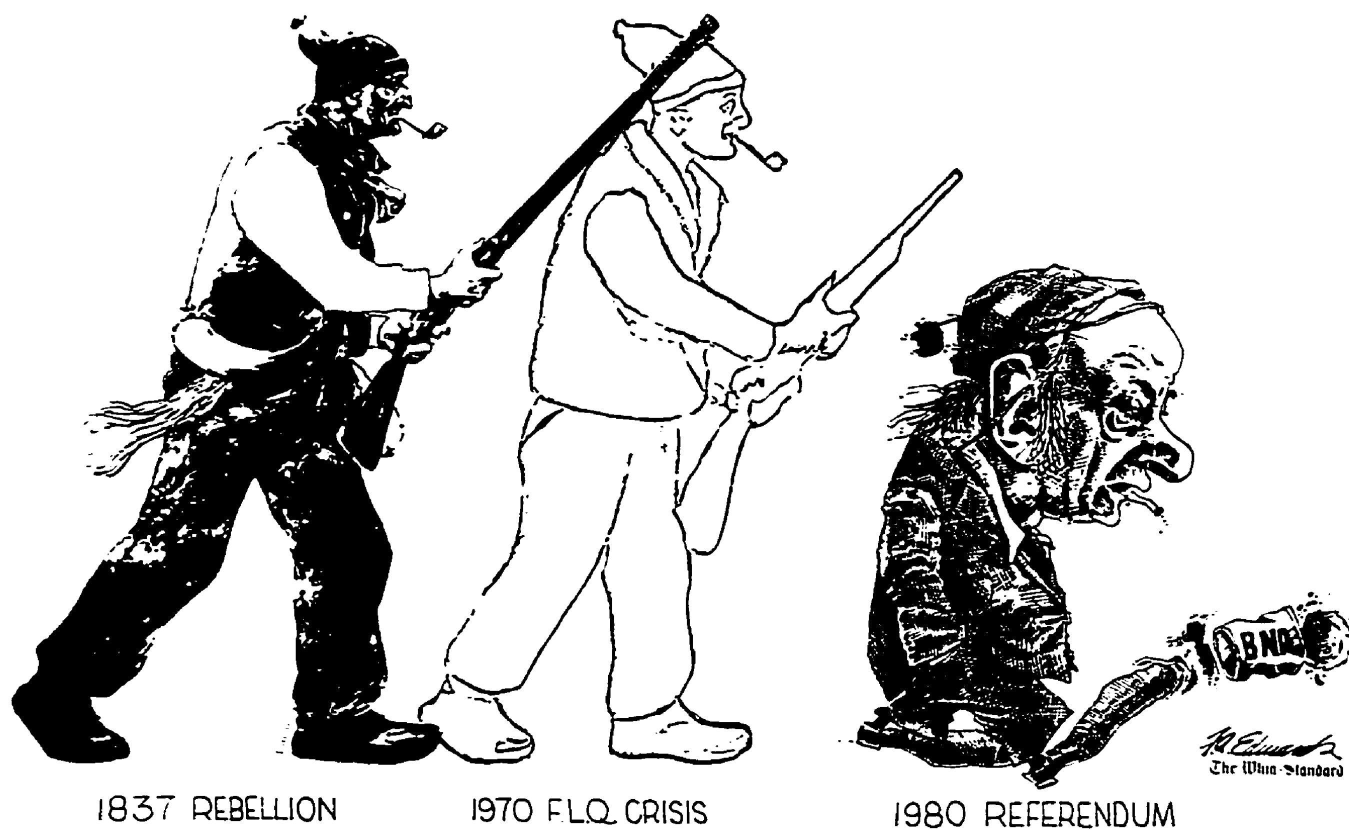


Fig. 18. Editorial cartoon by Frank Edwards in Steve Bradley, The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada 1980 (Toronto: Virgo, 1980) 86.

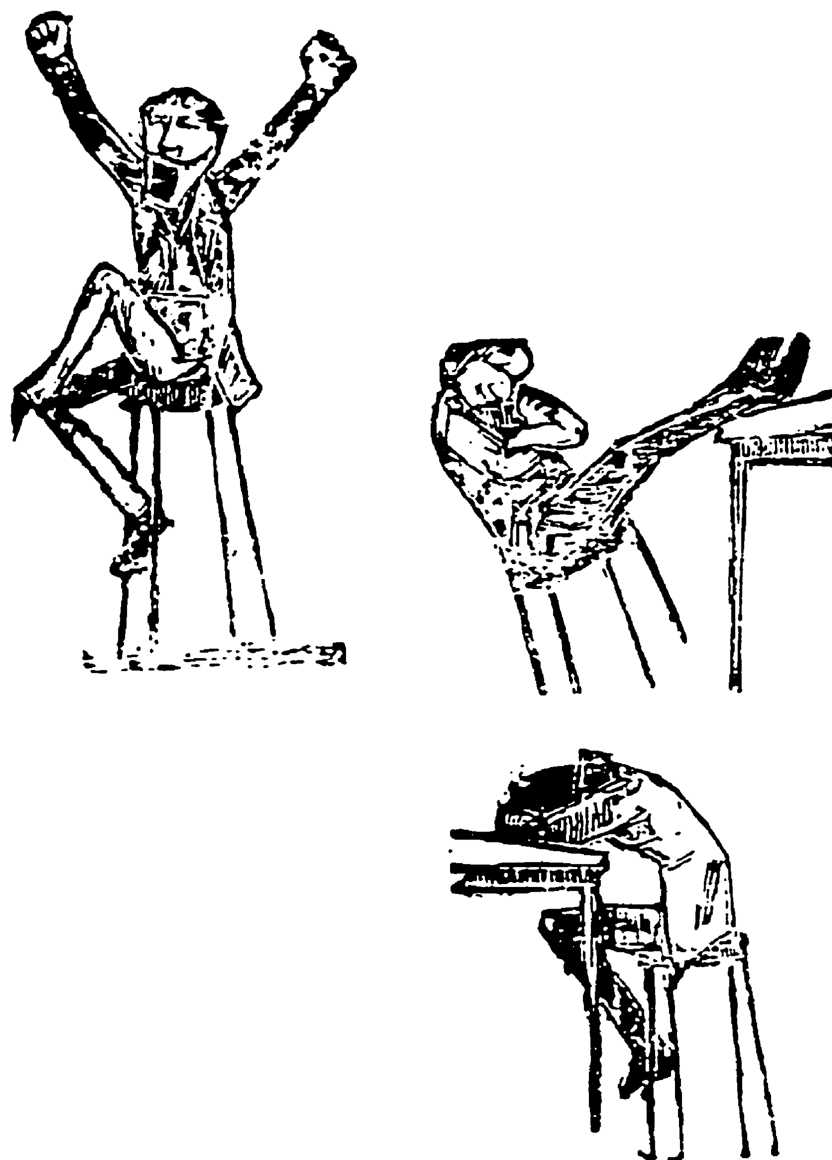


Fig. 19. Political cartoon by Jean-Baptist Côté in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 63.

Fig. 20. Political cartoon by J. W. Bengough in Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985) 134.

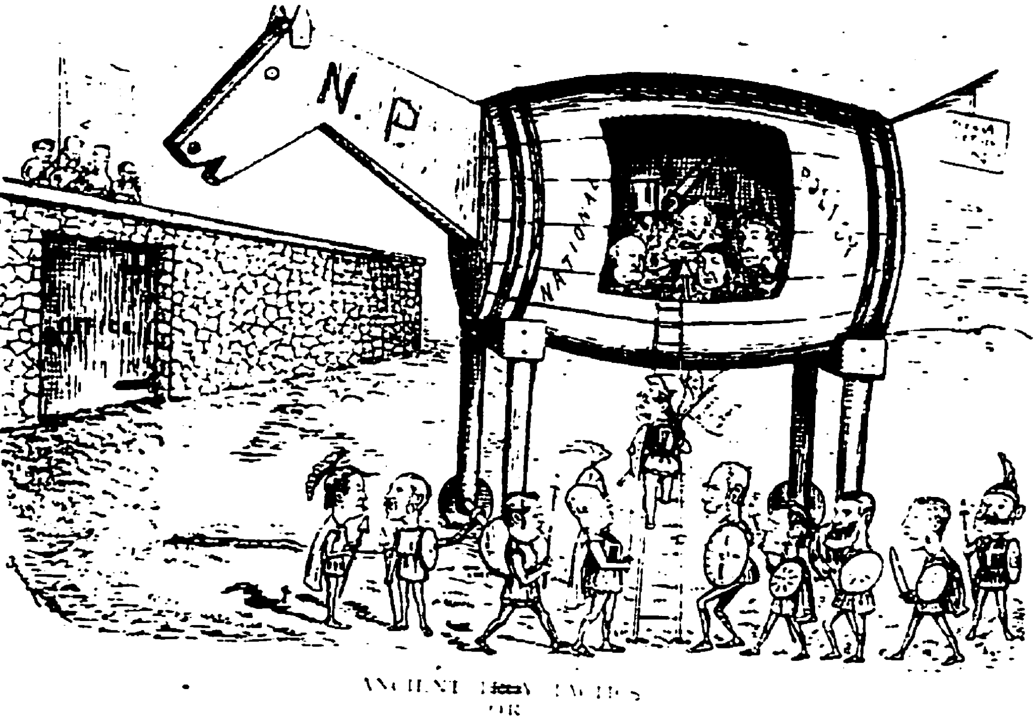


Fig. 21. Political cartoon by J. W. Bengough in Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985) 129.

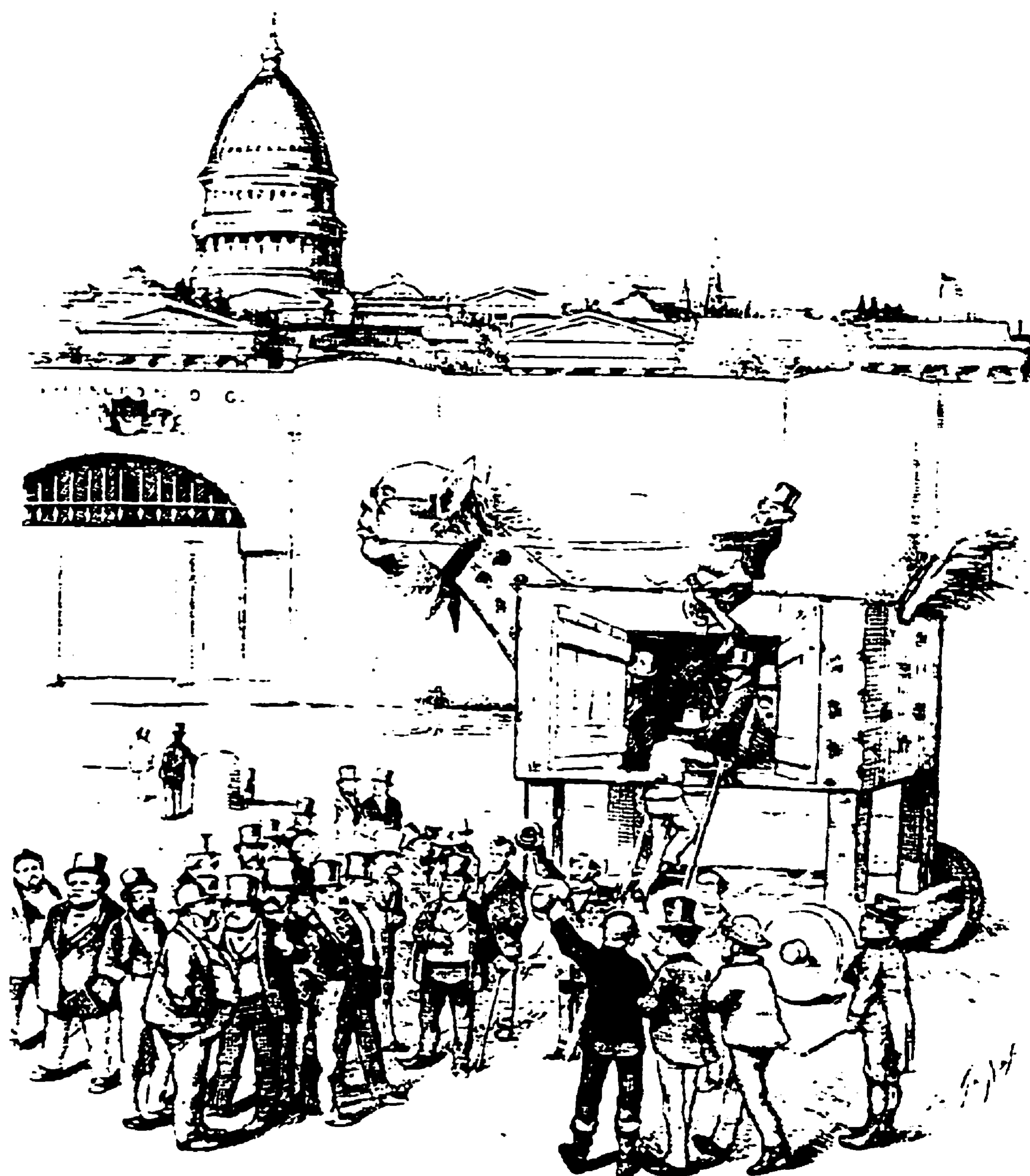


Fig. 22. Political cartoon by Thomas Nast in Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985) 128.

Fig. 23. The 1873 masthead for Grip, in Carl Spadoni, "Grip and the Bengoughs as Publishers and Printers," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada.(1988): 37.

Fig. 24. Political cartoon by J. W. Bengough in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 50.

La Confédération!!!

Wafting incense on the many-headed monster of Confederation to make it agreeable to Quebec, the Lamb.

Fig. 25. Political cartoon by Jean-Baptist Côté in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 53.

Coming Home from the Fair.

Bro. Jonathan: "Adieu, fair Canada. I have long adored you, but never so much as now. May I not hope some day to claim you as my own?"

Canada (*kindly but firmly*): "Never. I hope always to respect you as my friend and well-wisher, but can never accept you as my lord and master. Farewell."

Fig. 26. Political cartoon by James MacKay in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 58.

Young Canada: "We don't want you here!"

John Bull: "That's right, my son. *No matter what comes*, an empty house is better than such a tenant as that!"

Fig. 27. Political cartoon by John Walker in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 43.

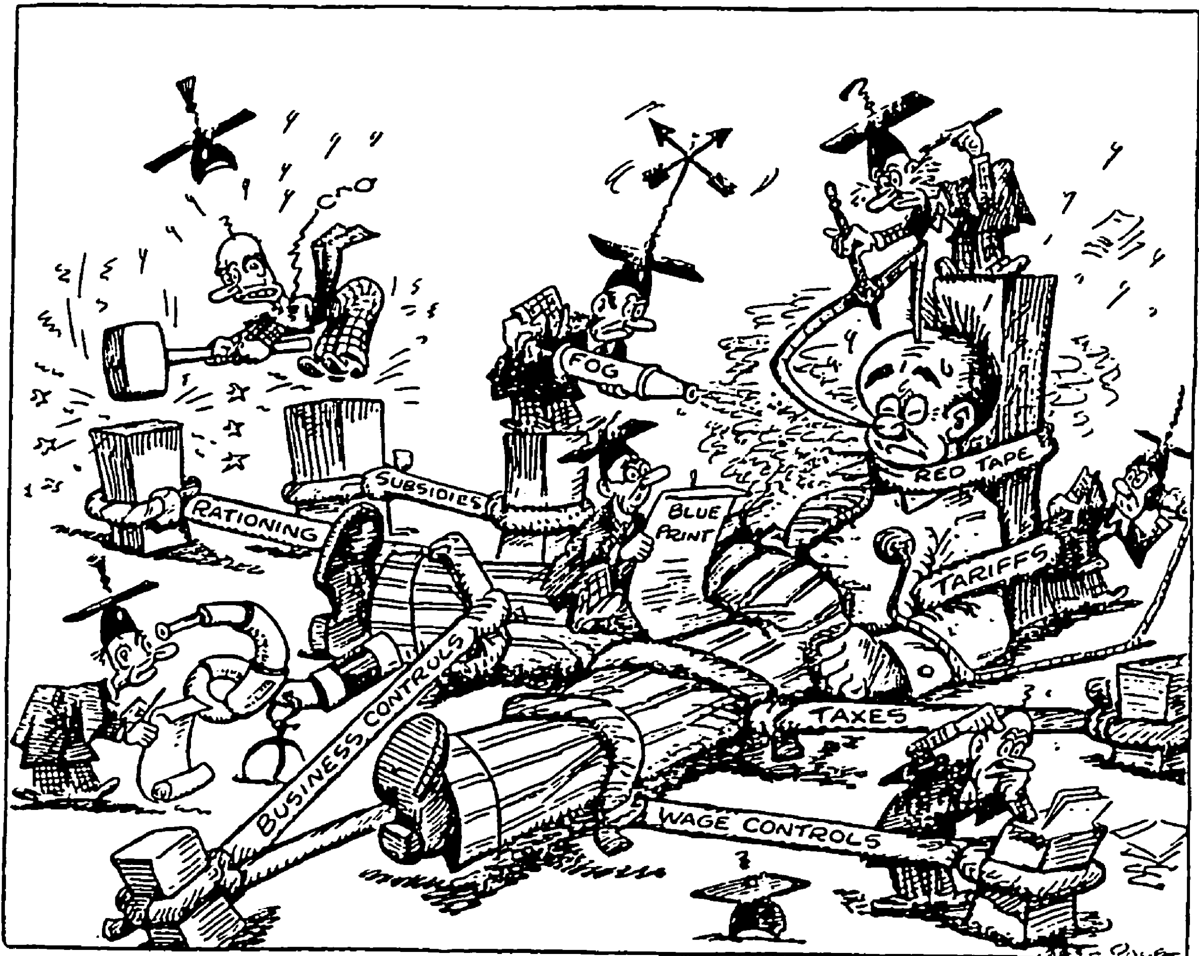


Fig. 28. Political cartoon by Arch Dale in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 88.

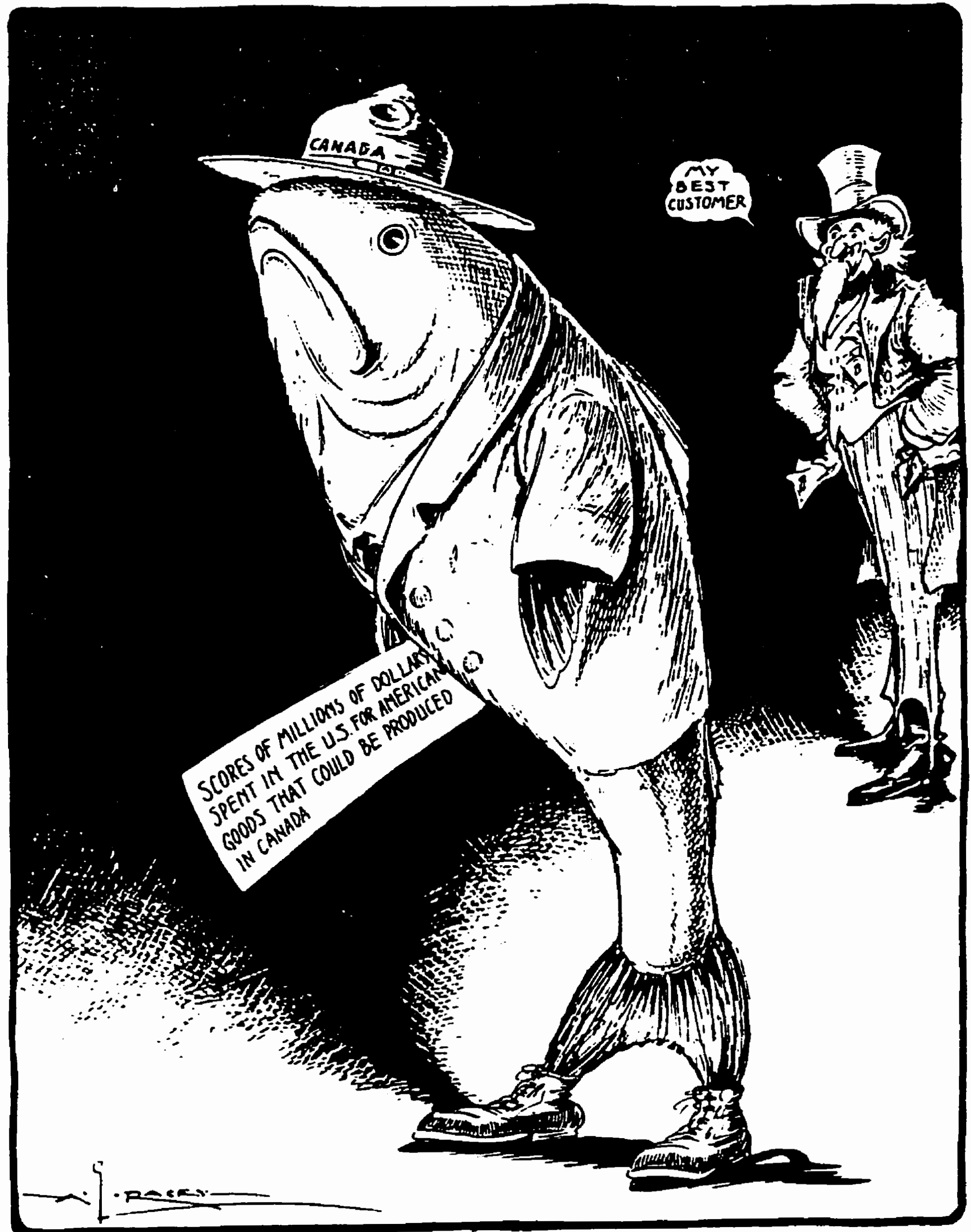


Fig. 29. Political cartoon by A. G. Racey in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 79.

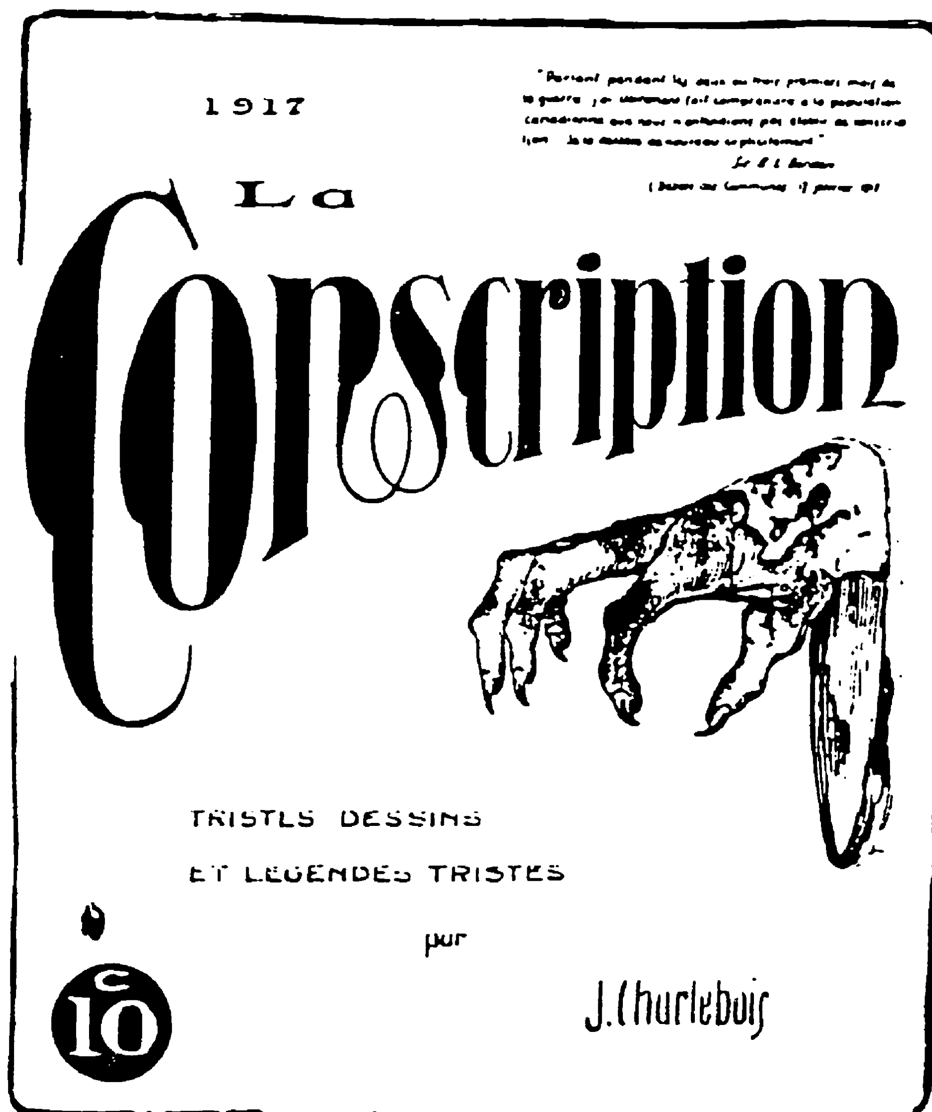


Fig. 30. Political cartoon by J. Charlebois in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 73.

Fig. 31. Political cartoon by Les Callan in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 99.

Fig. 32. Molly Lamb Bobac "Life Begins as Second-Lieutenant," in Cindy Richmond, Molly Lamb Bobac: A Retrospective (Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1993) 167.

Fig. 33. Political cartoon by Robert LaPalme in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 103.

Fig. 34. Editorial cartoon by Len Norris in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 126.

Fig. 35. Editorial cartoon by Duncan Macpherson in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 73.

Fig. 36. Editorial cartoon by Lewis Parker in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 134.

Fig. 37. Editorial cartoon by Duncan Macpherson in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 147.

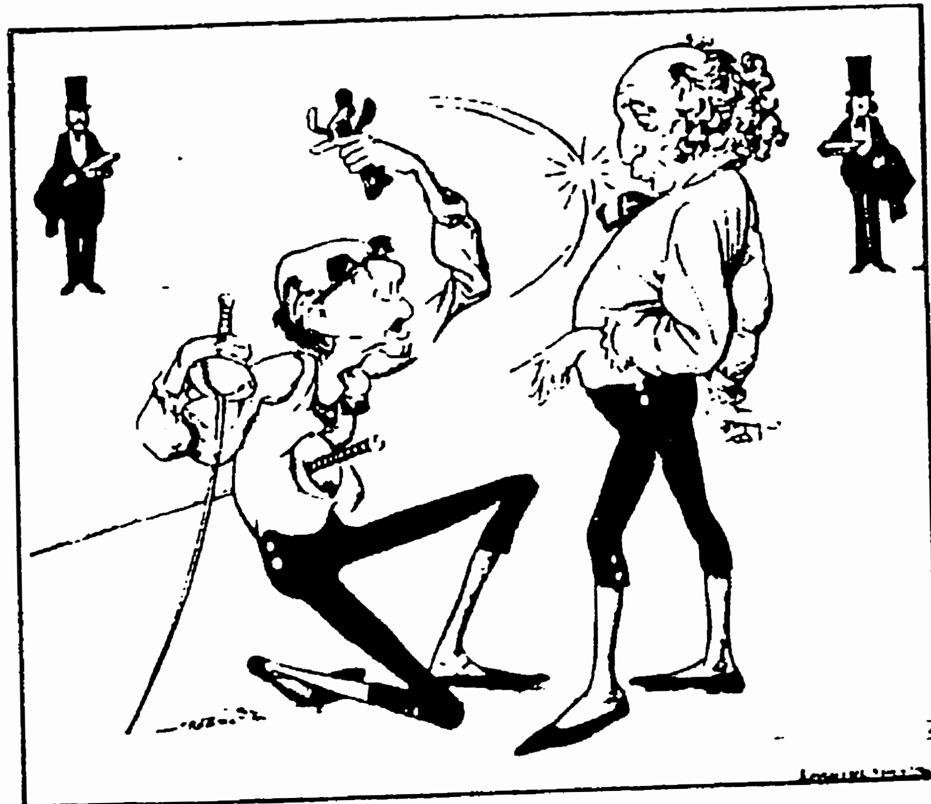


Fig. 38. Editorial cartoon by Duncan Macpherson in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 153.

Fig. 39. Editorial cartoon by Duncan Macpherson in Thad McIlroy, A Rose is a Rose: A Tribute to Pierre Elliot Trudeau in Cartoons and Quotes (Toronto: Arcadia, 1984) 25.

Fig. 40. Editorial cartoon by John Collins in Steve Bradley, The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada 1980 (Toronto: Virgo, 1980) 71.

...his proposed Sovereignty-Association...

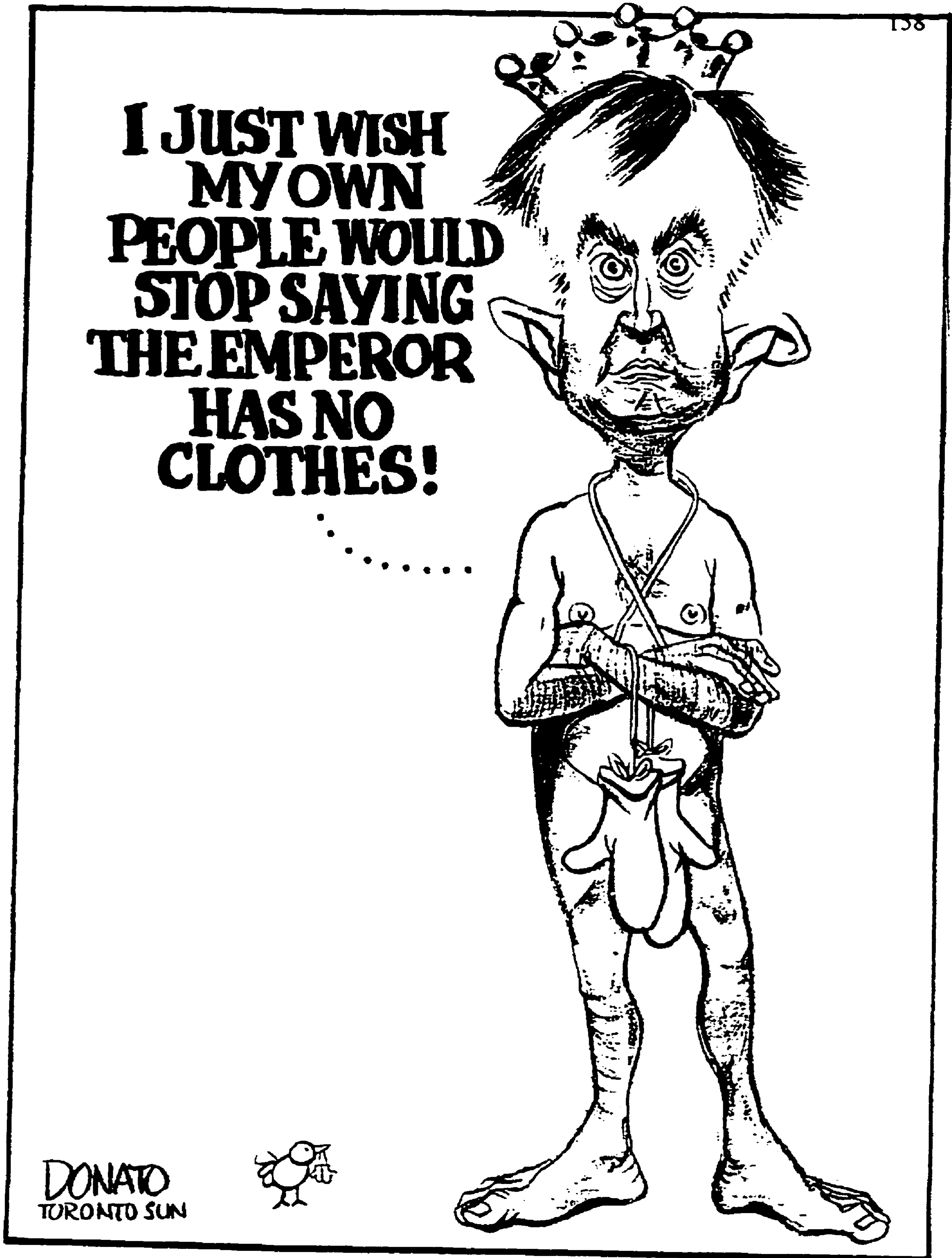
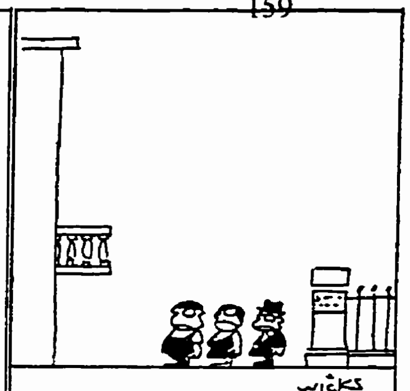


Fig. 41. Editorial cartoon by Andy Donato in Andy Donato, From There to Here: Donato's Political Cartoons (Toronto: Key Porter, 1983) 36.



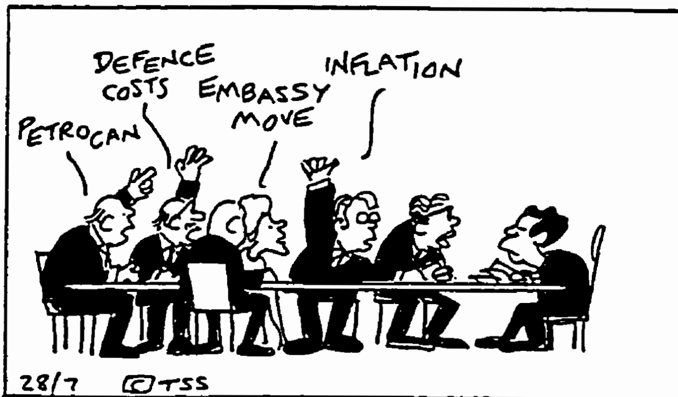


Fig. 42. Editorial cartoon by Ben Wicks in Ben Wicks, Wicks (Toronto: McClelland, 1980) 4.

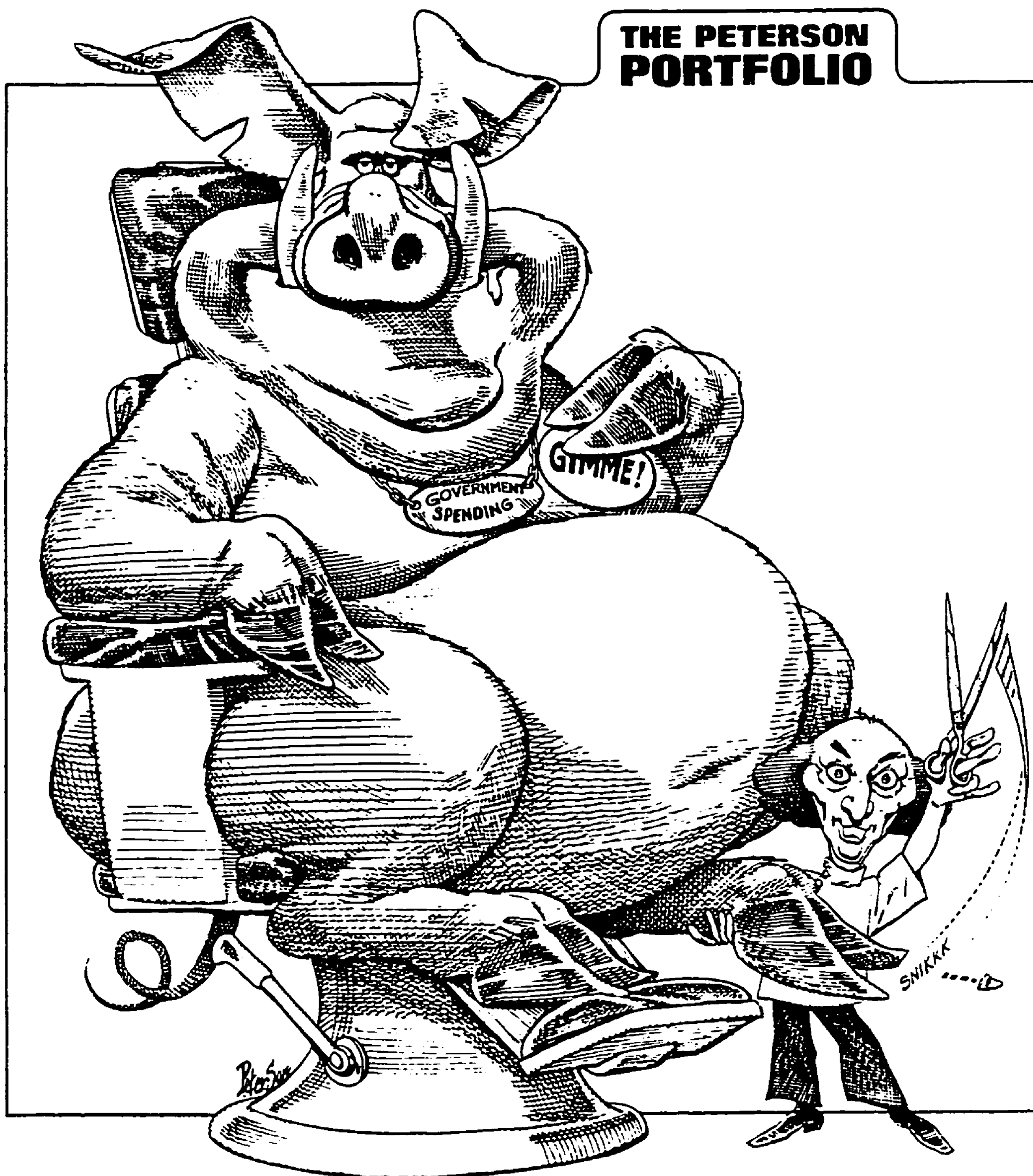


Fig. 43. Editorial cartoon by Roy Peterson in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 225.

"Nothing today. Come back in five years."

Fig. 44. Editorial cartoon by Ed Franklin in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 184.

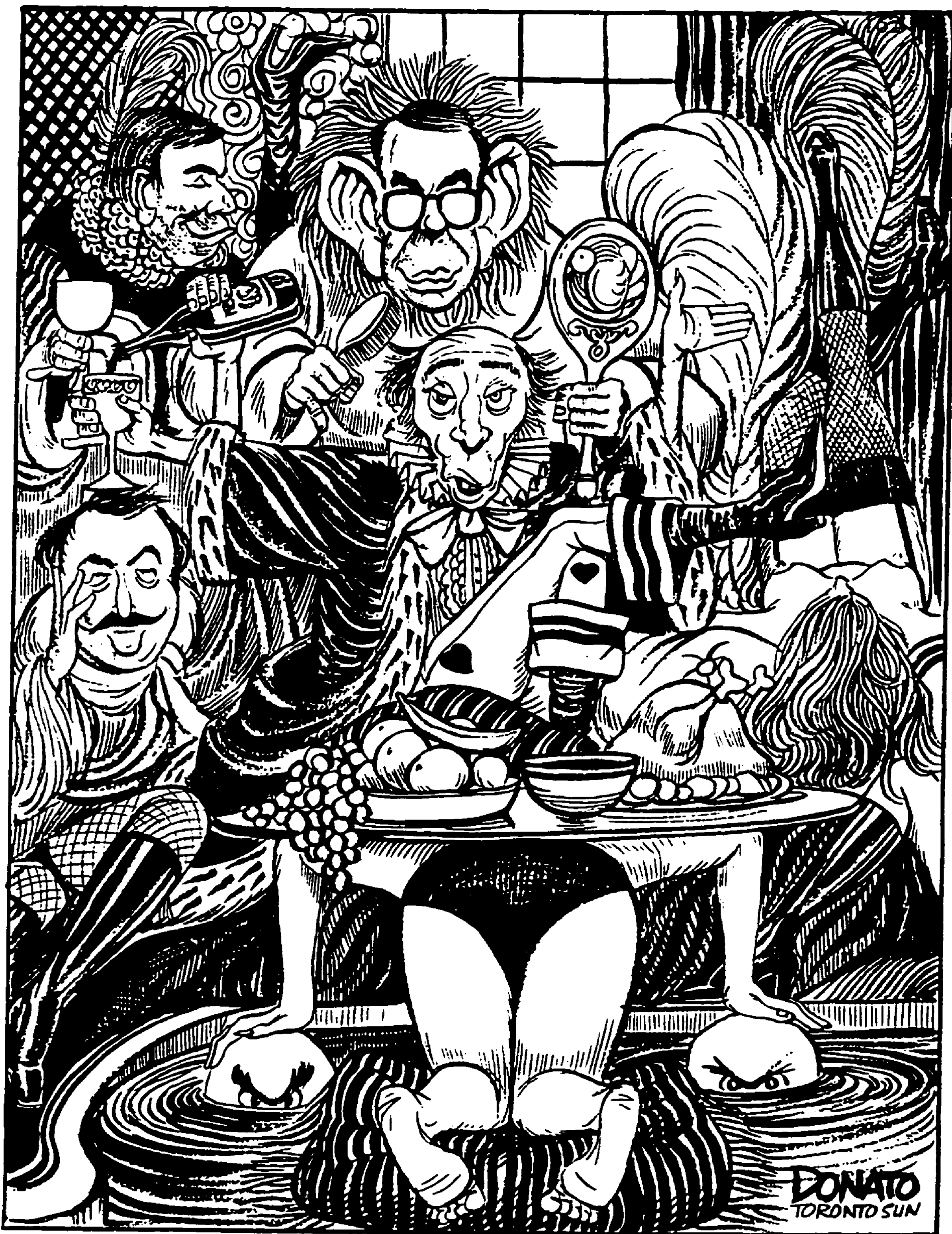


Fig. 45. Editorial cartoon by Andy Donato in Andy Donato, From There to Here: Donato's Political Cartoons (Toronto: Key Porter, 1983) 56.

Fig. 46. Editorial cartoon by Raffi Anderian in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 6.

THE CAPTAIN'S GOING DOWN WITH HIS SHIP!

Fig. 47. Editorial cartoon by Bert Grassick in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 97.

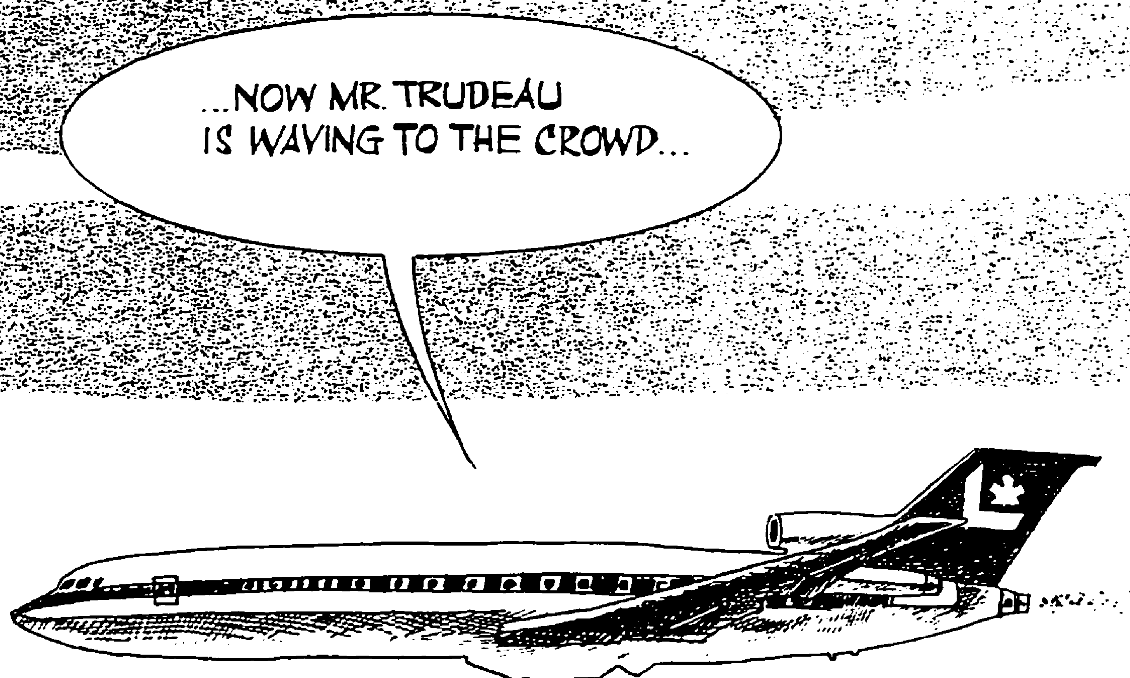


Fig. 48. Editorial cartoon by Terry Mosher in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 97.

Fig. 49. Editorial cartoon of Kim Campbell and Brian Mulroney in Jan Brown, "So, Why Aren't We Laughing: A Study of Women and Political Cartoons in Canada." Conf. On The Diefenbaker Legacy: Law, Politics and Society Since 1957 (Saskatchewan, University of Saskatchewan. 8 March 1997) 23.

Fig. 50. Editorial cartoon by Robert Bierman in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 192.

"It's a fun thing, don't you see!"

Fig. 51. Editorial cartoon by Edd Uluschak in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 193.

Bill Vander Zalm pulls the wings off Bob Bierman

Fig. 52. Editorial cartoon by Jean-Pierre Girerd in Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada (Toronto: McClelland, 1979) 194.

Fig. 53. Editorial cartoon by Andy Donato in Mark Fitzgerald, "Controversial Cartoon Upheld by Press Council." Editor & Publisher (26 Nov. 1994: 13).

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER AWARD FOR EDITORIAL CARTOONING.

YEAR	NAME	NEWSPAPER
1949	Jack Boothe	Globe and Mail
1950	James G. Reidford	Montreal Star
1951	Leonard Norris	Vancouver Sun
1952	Robert LaPalme	Le Devoir
1953	Robert W. Chambers	Halifax Chronicle-Herald
1954	John Collins	Montreal Gazette
1955	Merle R. Tingley	London Free Press
1956	James G. Reidford	Globe and Mail
1957	James G. Reidford	Globe and Mail
1958	Raoul Hunter	Le Soleil
1959	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star
1960	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star
1961	Ed McNally	Montreal Star
1962	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star
1963	Jan Kamlenski	Winnipeg Tribune
1964	Ed McNally	Montreal Star
1965	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star
1966	Robert W. Chambers	Halifax Chronicle-Herald
1967	Raoul Hunter	Le Soleil
1968	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun
1969	Edd Uluschak	Edmonton Journal
1970	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star
1971	Yardley Jones	The Toronto Sun
1972	Duncan Macpherson	The Toronto Star

1973	John Collins	Montreal Gazette
1974	Blaine	Hamilton Spectator
1975	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun
1976	Andy Donato	The Toronto Sun
1977	Terry Mosher	Montreal Gazette
1978	Terry Mosher	Montreal Gazette
1979	Edd Uluschak	Edmonton Journal
1980	Victor Roschkov	The Toronto Star
1981	Tom Innes	Calgary Herald
1982	Blaine	Hamilton Spectator
1983	Dale Cummings	Winnipeg Free Press
1984	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun
1985	Ed Franklin	Globe and Mail
1986	Brian Gable	Regina Leader-Post
1987	Raffi Anderian	Ottawa Citizen
1988	Vance Rodewalt	Calgary Herald
1989	Cameron Cardow	Regina Leader-Post
1990	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun
1991	Guy Badeaux	Ottawa LeDroit
1992	Bruce MacKinnon	Halifax Herald
1993	Bruce MacKinnon	Halifax Herald
1994	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun
1995	Brian Gable	Globe and Mail
1996	Roy Peterson	Vancouver Sun

Fig. 54. National Newspaper Award Winners in Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists. Association Home Page Database Online. (19 May 1997).

TRENDS IN THE NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY.

YEAR	MORNING	EVENING	ALL-DAY	TOTAL	TOTAL CIRCU-LATION
1980	25	95	0	120	5,391,724
1985	27	81	3	111	5,620,811
1986	28	79	3	110	5,681,850
1987	28	78	4	110	5,690, 589
1988	30	77	4	111	5,735,124
1989	28	77	4	109	5,824,736
1990	29	73	6	108	5,814,510
1991	28	74	6	108	5,654,390
1992	33	70	5	108	5,553,409
1993	35	69	4	108	5,536,546
1994	37	67	4	108	5,491,150
1995	42	62	2	106	5,309,600
1996	43	60	2	105	5,191,677

Fig. 55. Trends in the Newspaper Industry in National Newspaper Association, Facts About Newspapers 1996 (Vienna: Newspaper Association of America, 1997) 12.

MEDIA CONCENTRATION AND OWNERSHIP.

NEWSPAPER	OWNER
The Toronto Star	Torstar
The Globe and Mail	Thomson
Montreal Le Journal	Quebecor
Toronto Sun	Sun Media
Vancouver Sun	**Southam**
Montreal La Presses	Power
Vancouver Province	**Southam**
Montreal Gazette	**Southam**
Edmonton Journal	**Southam**
Ottawa Citizen	**Southam**

Fig. 56. Media Concentration and Ownership in Canadian Newspaper Association, Research Newsletter 1996 Circulation Data (Toronto: Canadian Newspaper Association, 1996) 11.

WORKS CONSULTED

Ames, Steven E. Elements of Newspaper Design. New York: Praeger, 1989.

Arden, Heather. Fools' Plays: A Study of Satire in the Sottie. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980.

Association of American Editorial Cartoonists. Inside the AAEC. Database Online. 18 May 1997.

---. The Notebook. Database Online. 18 May 1997.

---. General Information Kit. Raleigh, NC: 7 May 1997.

---. Association Home Page. Database Online. 19 May 1997.

Association of Canadian Editorial Cartoonists. ACEC Membership Directory. Toronto: Sun Media Corporation. May 22, 1997.

Astor, David. "Comics are Not Just for the Comics Sections." Editor & Publisher 9 Jan. 1993: 28-30.

---. "Editorial Cartoonist Is Also A Columnist." Editor & Publisher 26 Apr. 1997: 96.

---. "Innovative Web Site for 'Frank & Ernest'." Editor & Publisher 8 Feb. 1997: 28.

Badeaux, Guy, ed. 1988 Portfoolio: The Year in Canadian Caricature. Montreal: Eden, 1988.

---. Portfoolio 6: The Year in Canadian Caricature. Montreal: Eden, 1989.

---. Portfoolio 12: The Year's Best Canadian Editorial Cartoons. Toronto: MacMillan, 1996.

Barrett, John I. A Collection of P.E.I. Political Cartoons. PEI: Wheeler, 1986.

Bengough, J. W. A Caricature History of Canadian Politics: Events from the Union of 1841. Toronto: Grip, 1886.

---. Chalk Talks. Toronto: Musson, 1922.

Beniger, James R. "Does Television Enhance the Shared Symbolic Environment?: Trends in Labeling of Editorial Cartoons, 1948-1980." Institute of Social Research 48 (1983): 103-11.

Berton Pierre. My Times: Living with History 1947-1995. Toronto: Doubleday, 1995.

---. Telephone interview. 28 May 1997.

Best, James J. "Editorial Cartoonists: A Descriptive Survey." Newspaper Research Journal 7 (1986): 29-37.

Billington, Sandra. A Social History of the Fool. Great Britain: Harvester, 1984.

Bivins, Thomas H. "The Body Politic: The Changing Shape of Uncle Sam." Journalism Quarterly 67 (1987): 13-20.

---. "Format Preferences in Editorial Cartooning." Journalism Quarterly 61 (1984): 182-85.

Blackbeard, William. R.F. Outcault's The Yellow Kid. Northhampton, MA: Kitchen Sink Press, 1995.

Blackwood, Roy E. "Ronbo and the Peanut Farmer In Canadian Editorial Cartoons." Journalism Quarterly 66 (1989): 453-57.

Blake, Denis Edward. "J. W. Bengough and Grip: The Canadian Cartoon Comes of Age" Master's thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, 1985.

Bliss, Michael. Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney. Toronto: Harper, 1995.

Boyd, Marion. Telephone interview. 12 May 1997.

Bradley, Steve. The Art of Political Cartooning in Canada 1980. Toronto: Virgo, 1980.

Breed, Warren. "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis." Social Forces 33 (1955): 326-55.

Brehl, Jack. Macpherson's Canada. Toronto: Toronto Star, 1969.

Brinkman, Del. "Do Editorial Cartoons and Editorials Change Opinions?" Journalism Quarterly 45 (168): 724-27.

Brown, Jan."So, Why Aren't We Laughing: A Study of Women and Political Cartoons in Canada." Conf. On The Diefenbaker Legacy: Law, Politics and Society Since 1957. Saskatchewan, University of Saskatchewan. 8 March 1997.

Brown, Jan. Telephone interview. 6 June 1997.

Burant, Jim. Exhibitions Held at the National Archives of Canada Related to Caricature 1985-1996. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1997.

Burant, Jim. Letter. 21 May 1997.

---. Telephone interview. 21 May 1997.

---. Telephone interview. 18 August 1997.

Cadiz, John. The Wilds of Canada .Toronto: Doubleday, 1995.

Canadian Centre for Caricatures. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1988.

---. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1989.

---. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1990.

---. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1991.

---. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1992.

---. Caricature. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1993.

Canadian Newspaper Association. Research Newsletter 1996 Circulation Data. Toronto: Canadian Newspaper Association, 1996.

Canadian Press. Back in the 'Black': Canada's Newspaper Industry. Database Online. 16 Apr. 1997.

Canline Search. Canadian Politicians . Database Online. 19 May 1996.

Carl, LeRoy M. "Editorial Cartoons Fail to Reach Many Readers." Journalism Quarterly 45 (1968): 533-35.

---. "What Cartoons Mean: It All Depends." The Masthead 29 (1977): 15-17.

Clarkson, Stephen, and Christina McCall. Trudeau And Our Times: The Magnificent Obsession. Toronto: McClelland, 1990.

Cohoe, Margaret M. Sir John A. Macdonald 1815-1891: A Remembrance to Mark the Centennial of his Death 6 June 1891. Kingston: Kingston Historical Society, 1991.

Considine, David M., and Gail E. Haley. Visual Messages: Integrating Imagery into Instruction. Englewood: Teacher Ideas Press, 1992.

Cook, Ramsay. The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985.

Corrigan, Patrick. Personal interview. 13 May 1997.

Coupe. W. A. "Observations of a Theory of Political Caricature." Comparative Studies in Society & History. 11 (1969): 79-95.

Craven, Thomas. Cartoon Cavalcade. New York: Simon, 1943.

Creighton, Donald. John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician. Toronto: Macmillan, 1952.

Crosby, Harry H., and George R. Bond. The McLuhan Explosion: A Casebook on Marshall McLuhan and Understanding Media. Boston: American Book, 1968.

Dennis, Everette E. "The Regeneration of Political Cartooning." Journalism Quarterly 51 (1974): 664-669.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. History. Database Online. 7 July 1997.

Derevensky, Jeffery L., and Carolyn Klein. "Children and Television: A Contemporary Look." Seeing Ourselves: Media Power and Policy. Eds. Helen Holmes and David Taras. Toronto: Harcourt, 1996.

Desbarats, Peter. "Cartoons." The Canadian Encyclopedia. 1988 ed.

---. The Canadian Illustrated News A Commemorative Portfolio. Toronto: McClelland, 1970.

Desbarats, Peter, and Terry Mosher. The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and A Cartoonists' History of Canada. Toronto: McClelland, 1979.

Devine, Jennifer. Joint ACEC and AAEC Conference in New Orleans Report. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1994.

Dimbleby, Richard, and Graeme Burton. More Than Words: An Introduction to Communication. 2nd ed. New York: Methuen, 1985.

Donato, Andy. Donato's Collection of Political Cartoons. Toronto: Virgo, 1979.

---. Donoto's 1980 Political Cartoons. Toronto: Toronto Sun, 1980.

---. Donoto's 1981 Political Cartoons. Toronto: Toronto Sun, 1981.

---. From There to Here: Donato's Political Cartoons. Toronto: Key Porter, 1983.

---. Personal interview. 14 May 1997.

---. Son of a Meech: Political Cartoons. Toronto: Key Porter, 1990.

Doran, James. The History of Court Fools. New York: Haskell, 1966.

Douglas, Roy. Great Nations Still Enchained: The Cartoonists' Vision of Empire 1848-1914. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Duncan, Hugh Dalziel. Symbols in Society. New York: Oxford UP, 1968.

Evely, Ron. Letter. 10 June 1997.

Fischer, Roger A. Them Damned Pictures: Exploration in American Political Cartoon Art. North Haven, CT: Archon, 1996.

Fisher, Edwin, Mort Gerberg, and Ron Wolin. The Art of Cartooning: Seventy-Five Years of American Magazine Cartoons. New York: Scribner, 1975.

Fiske, John. Studies in Communication: Key Concepts in Communication. New York: Methuen, 1983.

Fitzgerald, Mark. "Controversial Cartoon Upheld by Press Council." Editor & Publisher 26 Nov. 1994: 13.

Fitzgerald, Richard. Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses and Liberator. Connecticut: Greenwood, 1973.

Gable, Brian. The Editorial Cartoons of Brian Gable. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1987.

---. Personal interview. 13 May 1997.

---. Personal interview. 25 July 1997.

Gandelman, Claude. "Scatological Semiotics: The Revolution as Defecatory Process." American Journal of Semiotics 6 (1989): 13-31.

Geipel, John. The Cartoon: A Short History of Graphic Comedy and Satire. New York: Barnes, 1972.

Gerberg, Mort. Cartooning: The Art of Business. New York: Morrow, 1989.

Gersh Hernandez, Debra, and David Astor. "Postal Service Will Offer Comic Stamps." Editor & Publisher 3 Dec. 1994: 30-31.

Giles, Vic, and F.W. Hodgson. Creative Newspaper Design. 2nd ed. Oxford: Focal, 1996.

Goffman, Erving. Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1974.

Gossage, Patrick. Close to the Charisma: My Years Between the Press and Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Toronto: McClelland, 1986.

Granatstein, J.L., Irvin M. Abella, T.W. Acheson, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown, and H. Blair Neatby. Nation: Canada Since Confederation. 3rd ed. Toronto: McGraw, 1990.

Griffiths, Linda. Maggie & Pierre: A Fantasy of Love, Politics and the Media. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1980.

Guillet, Edwin C. 'You'll Never Die, John A.!' Toronto: Macmillan, 1967.

Handelman, Audrey. "Political Cartoonists as They Saw Themselves During the 1950s" Journalism Quarterly 61 (1984): 137-41.

Harrison, Randall P. The Cartoon: Communication to the Quick. London: Sage, 1981.

Heath, Robert L., and Jennings Bryant. Human Communication Theory and Research Concepts, Content and Challenges. Hilldale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1992.

Hewison, William. The Cartoon Connection: The Art of Pictorial Humour as Seen by William Hewison. London: Elm Tree, 1977.

Hill, Draper. James Gillray: Fashionable Contrasts. Great Britain: Phaidon, 1966.

Hill, Robert H. Tales of the Jesters. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1934.

Hoff, Syd. Editorial and Political Cartooning. New York: Stravon, 1974.

Holmes, Helen, and David Tara, eds. Seeing Ourselves: Media Power and Policy in Canada. 2nd ed. Toronto: Harcourt, 1996.

Honour, Hugh, and John Fleming. The Visual Art: A History. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1992.

Horn, Maurice. The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons. New York: Gale Research, 1980.

Hovland, Carl I., Irving L. Janis, and Harold H. Kelly. Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change. New Haven: Yale UP, 1970.

Howard, Robert W. Learning and Memory: Major Ideas, Principles, Issues and Applications. London: Praeger, 1995.

Hutt, Allen, and Bob James. Newspaper Design Today: A Manual for Professionals. Bath: Bath Press, 1989.

Hynds, Ernest C. "Herblock, Oliphant, MacNelly Lead Cartoon Resurgence." Newspaper Research Journal 1 (1979): 54-61.

Inglis, Fred. Media Theory: An Introduction. Cambridge, MA: Basil, 1990.

Innis, Harold A. An Economic History of Canada. Toronto: Ryerson, 1935.

---. Essays in Canadian Economic History. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1962.

Jameson, Fredric. The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act. New York: Cornell UP, 1981.

Jeffres, Leo W. Mass Media: Processes and Effects. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1986.

Jenkins, Anthony. Personal interview. 13 May 1997.

Jocks, Conway. "Slings and Arrows: The Editorial Cartoonist." Deadlines & Diversity. Ed. Valerie Alia. Halifax: Fernwood, 1996. 151-72.

Jones, Yardley. Yardley Jones Cartoons: Book One. Edmonton: Edmonton Sun, 1981.

Jude, Waples. P.E.T. and His Unearthly Adventures: An Illustrated History of Trudeaumania. New York: Avon, 1983.

Keener, Polly. Cartooning. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1992.

Keller, Morton. The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast. New York: Oxford, 1968.

King, Alan. Telephone interview. 26 June 1997.

Kobre, Sidney. The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism. Tallahassee: Florida State U, 1952.

Kutcher, Paul Stanley. "John Wilson Bengough: Artist of Righteousness." Master's thesis McMaster University, Hamilton, 1975.

Lafernière, Carol.Telephone interview. 20 August 1997.

Landes, Ronald G. The Canadian Polity: A Comparative Introduction. 3rd ed. Scarborough: Prentice, 1991.

Lautens, Gary. How Pierre and I Saved the Civilized World. Agincourt: Methuen, 1984.

Laying, Craig. "Two Centuries of Satire in Canada." Caricature 3 (1991):1.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. Structural Anthropology. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

Long, Scott. "The Political Cartoon: Journalism's Strongest Weapon." Quill November 1962: 56-7.

Lucie-Smith, Edward. The Art of Caricature. London: Orbis, 1981.

Lunney and Lunney v. Agostini et al. Toronto: Canada Law Book, 177-83. 1983.

Lurie, Ranan R. Lurie's Worlds 1970-1980. Honolulu. UP of Hawaii, 1980.

Lynch, Charles. Our Retiring Prime Minister. Toronto: McClelland, 1983.

MacKinnon, Bruce. Inklings Two. Halifax: Nimbus, 1994.

Macpherson, Dorothy. Letter. 27 May, 1997.

---. Telephone interview. 30 May, 1997.

Macpherson, Duncan. Editorial Cartoons 1973. Toronto: Toronto Star, 1973.

Mapes v. Hub Publications Ltd. Toronto: Canada Law Book, 174-81. 1993.

Martin, Robert. Essentials of Canadian Law: Media Law. Concord: Irwin Law, 1997.

---. Personal interview. 8 July 1997.

Martin, Robert, and G. Stuart Adam. A Sourcebook of Canadian Media Law. 2nd ed. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1994.

McGuinty, Dalton. Telephone interview. 5 June 1997.

McIlroy, Thad. A Rose Is a Rose: A Tribute to Pierre Elliot Trudeau in Cartoons and Quotes. Toronto: Arcadia, 1984.

McKim, Robert. H. Experience in Visual Thinking. Monterey: Brooks, 1972.

McLuhan, Marshall. Culture is Our Business. Toronto: McGraw, 1970.

---. Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.Toronto: McGraw, 1964.

Messaris, Paul. Visual Literacy: Image, Mind and Reality. Boulder: Westview, 1994.

Millar, Dan P., and Frank E. Millar. Messages and Myths: Understanding Interpersonal Communication. New York: Alfred, 1976.

Milton, Joyce. The Yellow Kid: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism. New York: Harper, 1989.

Mitchell v. Nanaimo District Teachers Association. Toronto: Canada Law Book. 81-95. 1994.

Moen, Daryl R. Newspaper Layout and Design. Iowa: Iowa State UP, 1984.

Morris, Raymond N. Behind the Jester's Mask: Canadian Editorial Cartoons About Dominant and Minority Groups. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1989.

Morton, John. "The Sally Rand Rule of White Space." Washington Journalism Review 12 (1990): 48.

Mosher, Terry. Aislin 73: 150 Caricatures. Montreal: Content, 1973.

---. Old Whores: More Aislin Cartoons. Toronto: McClelland, 1987.

Nast St. Hill, Thomas. Thomas Nast: Cartoons and Illustrations. New York: Dover, 1974.

National Archives of Canada. Archives. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1988.

---. Archives. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1989.

National Gallery of Canada. Caricaturing Canada: English Views of Canadian Affairs. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985.

National Newspaper Association. Facts About Newspapers 1996. Vienna: Newspaper Association of America, 1997.

---. Facts About Newspapers 1997. Vienna: Newspaper Association of America, 1997.

Neill, Robin. A New Theory of Value: The Canadian Economic of H. A. Innis. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1972.

Nelson, Paul Roy. Cartooning. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1975.

---. Humourous Illustration and Cartooning: A Guide for Editors, Advertisers and Artists. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1984.

Newman, Lena. The John A. Macdonald Album. Montreal: Tundra, 1974.

Newman, Peter C., and Roy Peterson. Drawn and Quartered: The Trudeau Years. Toronto: Key Porter, 1984.

Nocks, A. J. "The King's Jester: Modern Style." Harper's Monthly Magazine Mar. 1928: 481-88.

North, Susan. "Caricature Corner: Countless Comic and Cruel Caricatures." The Archivist. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada. 1994. 28-30.

Olson, Janet L. Envisioning Writing: Towards an Integration of Drawing and Writing. Portsmouth: Educational Books, 1992.

Ontario Press Council. 23rd Annual Report 1995. Toronto: Ontario Press Council, 1995.

Osler, Andrew M. News: The Evolution of Journalism in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1993.

Overington, Michael A. "A Rhetorical Appreciation of a Sociological Classic: Durkheim's Suicide." Canadian Journal of Sociology. 6 (1981): 447-61.

Palladini, Al. Telephone interview. 7 July 1997.

Parton, James. The Caricature and Other Comic Art: In All Times and Many Lands. New York: Harper, 1877.

Perkins, D. N., ed. The Arts and Cognition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985.

Peterson, Roy. The Word According to Roy Peterson. Vancouver: Douglas, 1979.

Phillippe, Robert. Political Graphics: Art as a Weapon. New York: Abbeville, 1980.

Postman, Niel, and Steve Powers. How to Watch TV News. New York: Penguin, 1992.

Press, Charles. The Political Cartoon. Toronto: Associated UP, 1981.

Raeside, Adrian. There Goes The Neighborhood: An Irreverent History of Canada. Toronto: Doubleday, 1992.

Rehe, Rolf, F. Typography and Design for Newspapers. Washingtonplatz, Germany: International Association for Newspaper and Media Technology, 1985.

Reid, Angus. The Federal Political Scene. Database Online. 1996.

Richardson, John Adkins. The Complete Book of Cartooning. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1974.

Richmond, Cindy. Molly Lamb Bobac: A Retrospective. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1993.

Riffe, Daniel, Donald Sneed, and Roger L. Van Ommeren. "Behind the Editorial Page Cartoon." Journalism Quarterly 64 (1985): 378-83.

---. "Deciding the Limits of Taste In Editorial Cartooning." Journalism Quarterly 68 (1987): 607-9.

Robinson, Jerry, ed. The 1970s Best Political Cartoons of the Decade. Toronto: McGraw, 1981.

Roschkov, Vic. Roschkov. Scarborough: Prentice, 1979.

Ross, Al. Cartooning Fundamentals. New York: Stravon, 1972.

Schwam, Allan. Would You Buy a Used Country From this Man? Trudeau's Ten Years in Cartoons. Toronto: Coles, 1979.

Shaw, Brian. The Gospel According to Saint Pierre. Richmond Hill: Simon, 1969.

Shepard, Alicia C. "Open Season on Editorial Cartoonists?" American Journalism Review 16 (1994): 15.

Silverman, Francine. "Tracing the History of America's First Modern Comic Character." Editor & Publisher 26 Dec. 1994: 16-17.

Smith, Tom W. "How Comic and Cartoons View Public Opinion Surveys." Journalism Quarterly 64 (1987): 208-11.

Sohn, D. "David Sohn Interviews Jerzy Kosinski. A Nation of Videots." Television: The Critical View. New York: Oxford UP, 38 (1983): 826-34.

Spadoni, Carl. "Grip and the Bengoughs as Publishers and Printers." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada. 27 (1988): 12-37.

Stahl, N. M. Best Canadian Political Cartoons 1984. Toronto: McClelland, 1984.

---. Best Canadian Political Cartoons 1993. Toronto: McClelland, 1993.

Statistics Canada. Annual Television Viewing in Canada: 1992 Cultural Statistics. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1994.

Swainson, Donald. Sir John A. Macdonald: The Man and the Politician. Kingston: Quarry, 1971.

Toomey, J. P. "How Far Is Too Far In Political Cartooning?" Editor & Publisher 1 Mar. 1997: 48.

Toronto Election Coverage. Survey of The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun. 27 April 1997, 3 June 1997. London: Graduate School of Journalism. UWO.

Tsubouchi, David. Telephone interview. 18 June 1997.

Turabian, Kate L. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations. 6th ed. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996.

Unger, Tom. "He Wears Two Kinds of Syndication Hats." Editor & Publisher 20 Aug. 1988: 40-1.

Vander Zalm v. Times Publishers. Toronto: Canada Law Book, 259-89. 1979.

---. Toronto: Canada Law Book, 109-114. 1980.

Vipond, Mary. The Mass Media in Canada. Toronto: Lorimer, 1992.

Waite, P. B. Macdonald: His Life and World. Toronto: McGraw, 1975.

Weaver, J. D. "Drawing Blood: Political Cartoonist." Holiday 72 (1965): 20-8.

Welsford, Enid. The Fool: His Social and Literary History. Massachusetts: Faber, 1935.

Westell, Anthony. Paradox: Trudeau as Prime Minister. Scarborough: Prentice, 1972.

Wicks, Ben. Telephone interview. 7 May 1997.

---. Wicks. Toronto: McClelland, 1980.

Willeford, William. The Fool and His Scepter: A Study in Clowns and Jesters and Their Audience. Northwestern, Chicago, 1969.

Willett, John. Political Cartoonist Oliphant Unnerves Seven Presidents. Database Online. 2 March 1995.

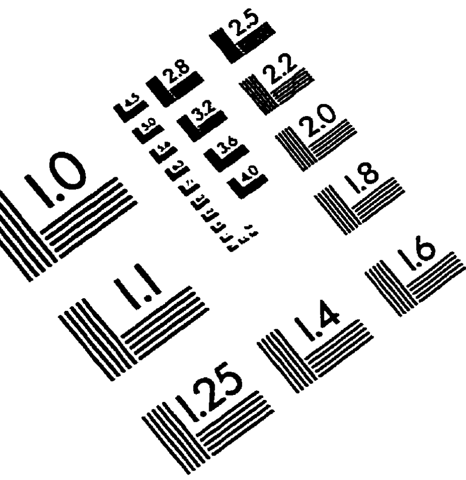
William Ready Division. J. W. Bengough Collection. Hamilton: McMaster University, July, 1997.

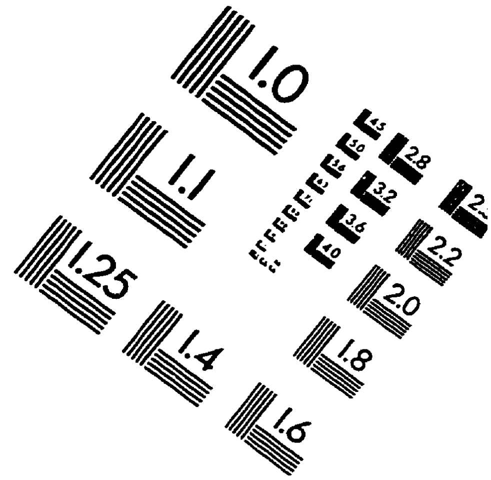
Willows, D. M., and H. A. Houghton. The Psychology of Illustration: Basic Research. New York: Springer, 1987.

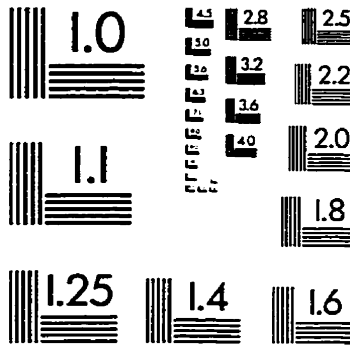
Woods, Gerald, Philip Thompson, and John William. Art Without Boundaries. New York: Praeger, 1974.

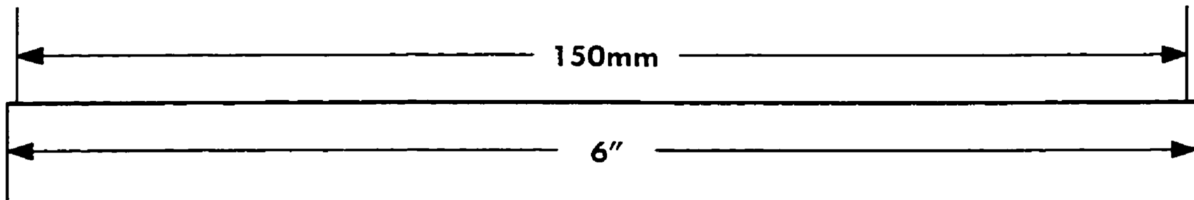
Zijderveld, Anton C. Reality in a Looking-Glass: Rationality Through an Analysis of Traditional Folly. London: Routledge, 1982.

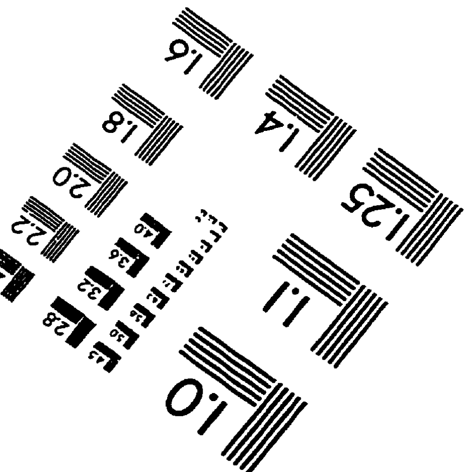
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

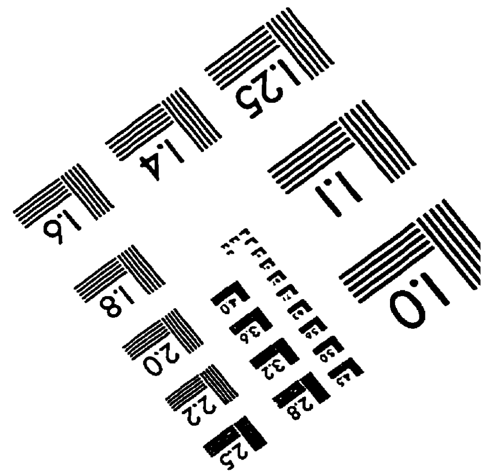












APPLIED IMAGE . Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved